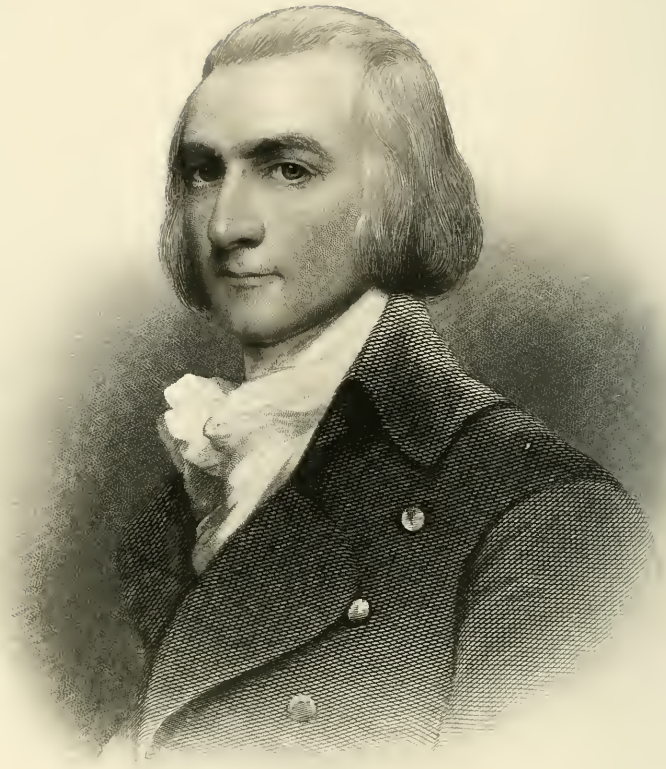

John Jacob Astor

CHRONICLES

OF

THE BUILDERS

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH

Historical Character Study

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

VOLUME I

SAN FRANCISCO
THE HISTORY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
1891

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PREFACE.

During the progress of my historical labors, the fact gradually forced itself upon me that the men who had made the history were not receiving sufficient attention. The narrative of events I could present in clear, connected form, but the artificers of those events I was forced to leave too much in the background. Throughout this westernmost America, within a comparatively short period, a great work had been accomplished, the results of which I could give; but the men who had achieved those results I could not properly present without so breaking the narrative as to deprive it of much of its historical value. In the history proper I could accord the usual space and attention; nay, more, I could and did give fully and freely biographical notices of greater or less extent; but this was not enough. They were not merely historical characters in the ordinary sense, but something more. They were not alone factors or originators of progress; they were authors of actualities, creators of commonwealths, having with their own hands fashioned from raw material the fabrics of destiny. And as such I could not but feel they were entitled to more than passing notice.

The conditions attending development here were peculiar. During the last half-century this western world has unfolded from a primeval wilderness into a

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garden of the fairest civilization. Many thousands of years were occupied by man in his journey from the hypothetical cradle of the race eastward to the western shore of the Pacific, and westward to its eastern shore. This encompassment of the earth by civilization completed the circle of human migration. It was a long way from America to China, and a still longer period was occupied by progressive man in passing from the same initial point to Egypt and Greece, to Rome and western Europe, and finally to America, and across its plains and mountains to its western seaboard. But after two or three hundred years had been consumed in extending settlement from the Atlantic coast to mid-continent, quick work was made of the remainder. To the ripeness of the time was added one of those culminating periods of progress, in which human affairs are forced onward to the accomplishment in a few years of what ordinarily occupies centuries. A progressional spasm of this kind occurred on the Pacific coast about the middle of the present century.

The events thus culminating, and which were the seed to sudden and brilliant blossoming, were the war with Mexico, ending in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the cession by Mexico to the United States of all that region west of northern Texas and Colorado to the Pacific ocean ; the discovery of rich placer gold deposits for five hundred miles along the foothills of the California sierra, and the establishing of a line of ocean steamships between the eastern and western seaboards via the isthmus of Panamá. The more immediate results were the rapid inflowing of population ; a revolutionizing of the world's

commerce and currency; a marked improvement in ocean sailing and steam craft; the building of the Panamá railway; the development of mines, agriculture, stock-raising, commerce, and manufactures throughout this whole western region; the laying out of roads, and the establishing of stage, steamboat, postal, express, and telegraph routes; the building of towns, cities, and innumerable happy country homes; and, finally, railroads everywhere, and high intellectual enlightenment.

Taking, then, California as the primary point, and the great gold discovery as the coalescing influence of this freak of evolution, the combination of events continuing into adjacent parts, as illustrated by the quickly following discoveries of precious metal on Fraser river, in Washington Idaho and Montana, in Colorado and Nevada, and elsewhere, the development of the great cattle interest in the Rocky mountain region, from Texas through Colorado Wyoming and Montana to British Columbia—a single glance at the existing state of affairs before this epoch, and at what followed it, overwhelms us with a sense of the marvels which have been accomplished within this short period of time by men most of whom are yet among the living.

The year 1848 was the date of the gold discovery. Steam had then been applied to locomotive engines scarcely twenty years. Steam navigation, both on inland waters and on the ocean, was in a crude condition. Indeed, eight years had barely elapsed since the first ocean steamship had been turned out of the New York yards, and but one year since the first United States mail steamship had been launched upon

the ocean. The first line of magnetic telegraph in the world, that from New York to Washington, had not been four years in operation. The first express line in the world, that between New York and Boston, had not been nine years running, and still assumed only the most insignificant proportions. Throughout all this western region there was scarcely a wheeled conveyance, except a few emigrant wagons and the Mexican *carreta*, or solid-wood-wheel cart; there were no agricultural or other implements of civilization worthy of the name; few if any farms, and little or no farm stock; there was scarcely a wagon-road, except the natural prairie, or the widened pack-mule trail; scarcely a postoffice, or any regular intercommunication anywhere, by land or water. All was a primeval wilderness; the faint sprinkling of settlers in certain parts, and the attempt at towns around the mission establishments on the seaboard south of San Francisco bay, hardly affecting the face of nature at all. Hot air power, electricity lighting, telephone talking, and like miracles of science were as far beyond human anticipation as was the way in which Puck was to put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes. Colt's revolver had just been invented, and this for the special divertisement of the devil in these parts.

What do we now behold? Throughout a vast region, which men at first regarded as absolutely worthless, we see the land inhabited by a thrifty and intelligent population; we see farms fenced, roads laid out, comfortable dwellings, and the implements of husbandry at work; we see mines developed, manufactures established, and hundreds of miles of irrigating canals. A great commerce has sprung up—

towns and cities with their busy hives of industry; fleets of vessels; postal, express, and telegraph facilities, and railroads in operation everywhere.

Who has accomplished this? What Cæsar or Napoleon has wrought this wondrous change? No such agency. It has been done, not by military genius or supernatural power, but by plain, practical men, laboring each for himself, his family, his locality, but in the aggregate accomplishing greater results than ever have been done by any king, potentate, or government on earth—aye, more than has been accomplished within the time and in equal area by all the kings and potentates and governments combined. It would seem a duty to the public no less than to themselves that their friends and the world at large know more of them, of their life, and the means by which they accomplished their life work.

It was thus that these volumes came into existence; the plan formulated itself, arising in the truest sense from the necessities of the case. It seemed absolutely essential, before it could be said that a complete historical presentation had been made, of the country and those who had made it, of the empire and builders of empire, that the history have a biographical section, devoted primarily to the men, as the historical section proper is devoted primarily to the events, and which would be in the truest sense a book of historical biography and characterization.

At the same time, here was an opportunity to do much better than simply present a collection of detached biographies of the most influential and prominent personages, after the usual form, howsoever good and valuable such a work would be in connection

with the history. But what would make it ten-fold more interesting and valuable would be to take one by one the more important of these men of strength and influence, and after a thorough character study, place their portraits in the midst of the work which they have done, and in company with kindred industries accomplished by others, and round the whole throw a frame-work of history, surrounding the frame-work with fresh biographies, as the necessity arises for them to appear, in the form of added volumes. Here, then, are embalmed in the annals of their own time and country the men and their deeds, there to remain, the benefits and blessings conferred during life thus being made perpetual.

To this biographical section of my historical series was given the name, after the most careful consideration, of *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, which I have decided to adopt as most appropriate. Those whose lives we write, whose deeds we chronicle, are the makers and rulers of the commonwealth, the political and social dominators, the embodiment of the power, wealth, and intelligence of the community, paying allegiance to none ; and they are builders of empire, having already laid the foundation for more advanced commonwealths than any the world has yet witnessed.

The frame-work, or historical and industrial structure, in which portraits and biographies are inserted, with the several divisions of their section of the history, is as follows :

1. Sources of Power and Progress, and the Influences Early Dominating America, particularly the Northwestern Part thereof.

II. Government.—Officials, Legislators, The Judiciary, Military, Lawyers, and Political Leaders.

III. Agriculture.—Agriculturists, Irrigationists, Orchardists, Stock-Raisers, and Viniculturists.

IV. Mines and Manufacturers.—Owners, Mines, Mining Ditches, Crushing Mills and Reduction Works, and Leaders in Mining Stock Operations, Owners of Metal, Wood, Sugar, Flour, Fibre, Electrical and Chemical Works, Makers of Machinery, Fish and Fruit Packers.

V. Routes and Transportation.—Railway, Steamship, Telegraph, Telephone, and Express Officials.

VI. Commerce.—Merchants, Bankers, and Insurance Officials.

VII. Society.—Real Estate Owners, Capitalists, Educators, Physicians, The Clergy, Men of Science and Literature, Journalists, Artists, Architects, and Actors.

To study the lives of great men is natural and beneficial. It is elevating and improving to search out in every community those who have accomplished most for good, those who are doing most for the advancement of mind and the purification of morals. Great men have their mission. They are the embodiment of progress. Inferior minds, without the influence of those intellects which in some degree dominate events, are retrograde.

They who accomplish most are greatest. They who achieve most are best. For men strive to achieve the beneficial, not the detrimental. We plant our fields to corn and olives, not to thistles and noxious weeds. Absorbing wealth as a sponge

absorbs water is not creating, or in anywise improving; hence, not all rich men are admirable. They alone are worthy of imitation who take in hand the crude materials of nature and make them beneficial to man. It is proper and just that men thus made prominent by their merits should be emulated and honored. It is by them and through them that the race advances. The quality of the community is elevated by them; every citizen is raised in importance through the genius of one man. To be of Athens, or Rome, or Stratford-upon-Avon is to have been bathed in the atmosphere perfumed by the godlike in humanity.

I confess to a profound admiration for men of superior efforts and accomplishments, for men of strength and ability, of applied genius,—great men if you will; for no man ever yet performed a great work who was not entitled himself to be called great. I like to begin with the boyhood of prominent men, and follow these strong, deep natures from their incipiency all through the several stages of intellectual and physical development, until the grand consummation of their lives has been attained. I like to watch the gradual formation of character, the engendering conditions of parentage, physical environment, and education, the unfolding of physical and intellectual strength, the courage and endurance displayed under discomfiture and disappointments, and the application of will power to the overcoming of obstacles. In this character study of great men, in the analysis of ingredient qualities and the individualizations attending it, we derive the greatest pleasure and profit.

It is in no sense exaggeration to say that within the territory of which we have been speaking has been performed the greatest work the world has ever witnessed or will ever again behold. I speak advisedly. No such miracle of development within so short a period has ever before come to pass; and it never can happen again, because the engendering conditions can never be duplicated. The results of the application here of intelligent effort are remarkable. Within the short period of thirty or fifty years a vast wilderness has been transformed into a seat of high civilization. This work has not been done by one great man but by many great men; builders of empire, who have here laid the foundations of progressive commonwealths broader and better than they have known. Some of them are to be found in every center of population, for no considerable community could have been formed without them. They are entitled to all honor. Their deeds should be recorded and their memory embalmed in the annals of the nation. This is the province of history.

Most of those the history of whose lives appear in this work are founders of families no less than founders of the commonwealth, and in thus making in some degree their lives perpetual, and continuing the beneficial results thence arising throughout all time, the greatest benefits to mankind must necessarily accrue. If the study of nature is improving to the heart and mind of man, how much more the study of man himself, who is the crowning work of nature. Therefore I say, had there been granted me the privilege of standing by at the great creation, and witnessing, as an intelligent spectator, the work of

the Almighty in originating and organizing the agencies of force and matter, in setting in motion whirling worlds and planting in inorganic substances the seeds of life and evolution, next only to the interest I fancy I might have felt in such a wondrous sight, is that which I now feel in following the men whom the Almighty has endowed with some portion of his intelligence and power, in their subordination of nature to their own purposes, chaining the lightning, casting down mountains, and bridging chasms, belting the earth with steam highways, disemboweling the hills for their treasures, and overspreading the primeval wilderness with the fair fields and happy homes of civilization.

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CHRONICLES OF THE BUILDERS.

CHAPTER I.

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It is my purpose to present in these volumes the biographies of some of those who have exercised an influence, for good or evil, in shaping events, building commonwealths, and establishing civilization and society in these later-developed American domains. And as the personages with whom I deal have been or are our real rulers, whether occupying a gubernatorial chair, directing the flow of merchandise, or supplying meat for the millions; whether priest, teacher, or physician; whether manufacturer or miner, cattle-raiser or railway-builder; whether lawyer, legislator, farmer, or mechanic; as they exercise in their several relations a paramount influence over each other and over the body politic, leading, directing, swaying, and controlling the affairs of individuals, communities, states, and nations, it is well first of all to inquire whence proceeds this power, and to examine somewhat the nature and action of human potency.

For these our Builders of the Commonwealth not

only direct, but do; not only are they rulers, but originators, establishing governments over themselves and others, carving out of blind fate their own destiny and the destinies of those around them. All that the ordinary or orthodox ruler is or does, they are and do; they are the supreme intelligence, the supreme influence, the supreme authority, in whom vests every prerogative and all preponderance, who, in their several spheres, know all that is known and can do all that can be done; they are the executive arm of the natural and the high-priests of the supernatural, the god of conventionality and the scourge of the sinful. They are feared and loved; yet not loved from fear, but feared for love, as Bacon hath it. Invested with unlimited patronage, they carry great responsibilities. They bless and curse, and are a law unto themselves, holding in their hand the power of life and death, meting out rewards and punishments with none to question.

Not that all men dominate. The great horde of humanity are anything but noble, either in bearing, intelligence, or mental or moral qualities; yet some may be lords, be the suzerainty no more than a kennel. Wherever the ruler, there must be subjects; there must be many subjects for every one ruler. From the beginning man and nature have been under universal domination. Man regulates and is regulated by his fellow-man; nature teaches and governs man, and may be made in some small degree subordinate to him. Some are created to rule, others to be ruled; for, as Carlyle remarks, "it is the everlasting privilege of fools to be governed by the wise." In the earlier epochs of human development, men held power as heroes and chiefs; then as high-priests, barons, and kings; and later as manipulators of power born of free politics, mind, and money. These last are our American rulers of to-day, the line of supremacy extending much further than is commonly brought within the category.

Every one of our builders is a personage of power in one direction or another, power of mind or money, power of education, refinement, religion, or as a shining light of society; for mankind consists mainly of puppets, the wires of which are worked by the master-hands, these being few. It is well known that throughout all ages and realms, in the world of matter and the world of mind, in the universe material and the universe impalpable, there is one absolute and eternal principle pervading all—power. There is the potency of physical strength, the power of matter over matter, and of matter over mind; and the potency of intellectual strength, the power of mind over matter, and of mind over mind.

There are many kinds of powers throughout this universe. There are the powers terrestrial and the powers celestial, the powers of light and darkness, of good and evil, of life and death. And there are powers that are no powers, only imaginary potencies, springing from the fermentations of ignorance and superstition. And more than any other, more than all others combined, of earth, or sea, or sky, save those influences alone which yield food and raiment, these imaginary powers, these hollow myths and senseless traditions, and the beliefs, theories, doctrines, and dogmas thereby engendered, have ever influenced man, urging him on to bloody wars, to deeds of injustice and infamy, and luring him in divers ways to his destruction.

And not men only, but beasts, and all inanimate nature, whether rejoicing in a knowledge of it or not, covet power; likewise deities and devils. It seems somewhat abnormal that a thing so universally desired, so strenuously sought after, should be so universally and liberally distributed. Though it is everywhere, illimitable, omnipotent, and eternal, all intelligences, real and imaginary, material and spiritual, crave it—all they can get of it, each one grasping all of it, were that possible. Be it a son of Adam, or be it Lucifer,

he would rule king of men; he would be possessor of the world, of all worlds, of all bodies and souls, of all influences and entities; be it a beast, it would rule king of beasts, or chief of a band, or master of one, if nothing more; or if a reptile even, it would be the biggest toad in the puddle.

The tendency of power is to increase; if it grows not it retrogrades and dies. Power craves power; power begets power.

Power signifies possession. Without possession there is no power. Possession is power. To hold in one's own keeping that which all men desire, to have under one's own control that which controls all men, to be able to influence that which influences all—this is possession, power. This puissance may be latent or active, inherent or acquired; it may be action, or the ability to act, a performing, or the faculty of performing, a controlling or suffering, or the capacity to control or to suffer. It may be a mental or mechanical agent, or the means by which mental or mechanical force is generated.

Possession is occupancy or ownership. It may be rightful or wrongful holding—it is the same, possession, and consequently power. A country may be gained by conquest, a horse by theft, country and horse are alike at the service of the possessor as long as he can hold them.

To be able to do, to possess the means or faculty of doing, performing, or producing an effect, this is force. There is the power of motion, and the power of remaining at rest; the power of heat, steam, electricity, of attraction and repulsion, and so forth. There is a passive strength in the susceptibility of being acted upon; as Sir W. Hamilton says, "in psychology, we may apply it both to the active faculty and to the passive capacity of the mind"; and Fleming remarks, "it is usual to speak of a power of resistance in matter, and of a power of endurance in mind. Both these are passive power."

Hence it is that no being or thing can exist without the possession, to a greater or less extent, of power, either in the direction of purely material or animal strength, or in the direction of mental force, as displayed in reason or the imagination. Shakespeare speaks of the power of fancy, Dryden of the power of fate, Shelley of the power of soul, Macaulay of the power of language.

It is not difficult to perceive the power of wealth, how money commands all, buys the services and respect of others, and influences all that most affects us. But there is also the power of poverty, which is no less easy of demonstration. For if there were no poverty, there would be no wealth, poverty being but the absence of wealth; and if there were no poverty, wealth would have no power. If all were equally rich, or equally poor, one would not wait upon another, one could not buy or sell another. It is only by the unequal distribution of the gifts of the gods that the equilibrium of progressional activities is preserved; were it otherwise, stagnation and death would ensue.

Political power may be wielded by the persons in office, or by king-makers, or politicians who place men in office, in which latter case such power is the power behind the throne. A nation is a power among nations, and may, besides, be a great naval or military power, a moral power, a financial power.

What shall we say of the grand passion, love?—that power of powers, uniting the strongest appetites of the flesh with the superlative sentiments of the soul. There are the instincts of self-preservation and race-preservation revealing themselves in a hunger whose outward manifestation is the love of woman. Powerful, indeed, are the forces which produce the phenomena of propagation and nourishment. The feeling within us is wholly natural, though unexplainable, that the brief period of our life is not complete without children to share it, offspring with their de-

pendence and trust, and to whom we may bequeath some results of our labors, and continue in some small degree the efforts of our lives on this earth after we shall have left it.

Poets have written volumes on the power of love, and the grand passion is presented in myriads of romances, and on the boards of theatres, every day, the world over. There is no sentiment or principle which so permeates the inner consciousness and heart of man, which so rules the daily, domestic, and social life of man as the family affections. Then there is the form of love called lust, and illicit indulgence, which is scarcely less powerful, though tending to the degradation of the finer sensibilities, and all the nobler instincts of family and legitimate love. But within the sacred precincts of the family there is no less desecration than elsewhere; for marriage without love is as much prostitution as love without marriage.

Iniquity of all kinds is a power—instance the monopolist, with his unjustly accumulated millions, the heartless speculator, who corners wheat, sends up the price of food, and reduces the inhabitants of a district to the verge of starvation. These are not workers or producers; they are of no value whatever to a community, but a curse to it; yet they are a power, a mighty power for evil, like noxious weeds or foul beasts under the noses of honest men. Banditti, thieves, murderers, ballot-box stuffers, and malefactors generally are a power, it being for these that governments are organized, prisons built, and laws established, with law courts, and learned limbs of the law.

For the origin of power, the scientist refers you to nature, the religionist to God. All knowledge, justice, goodness, and truth, says the latter, emanate from the almighty, the creator and ruler of all, who, himself loving power supremely, and possessing supreme power, may yet delegate his attributes to chosen instruments for administration among the sons of men. And herein is engendered a mighty power—the power of

God on earth, which, whether fancy or terrible reality, is none the less puissant. Then, beginning with the overawing demonstrations bred by the ignorance of early ages, change succeeds change, and yet there is nothing lost. Crusades for the capture of a golden fleece, or the rescue of a holy sepulchre, have passed away; but in their place are steamships and dynamite, free government and popular tribunals.

As in the material agencies of nature, so in the immaterial, there is an eternity of force; nothing is lost, no dropping out of existence of any potential or influential energy. There are infinite shiftings of positions and changes of possessors, but visible or invisible, palpable or impalpable, all might, mastery, sovereignty, that ever has been is now, and will continue. The power of religion, of superstition, of spiritual ignorance, and mythical tradition has decreased, and is decreasing, while the power of natural law, natural morality, of reason and reality, is proportionately enlarging. For the chivalry of the Middle Age we now have the humanity of a higher culture; and as the heroic ardor of mediæval Europe was not a development from proximate facts, an instantaneous blending of war and religion, but rather an evolution of Germanic manners springing from conditions and circumstances long before existing, so our present higher humanity is not the growth of an hour, but a moral and social necessity which has been slowly forced upon us by the inexorable law of progress from the beginning.

And of all powers, this power of progress is the most wonderful; that is, the least understood and the least explainable. The forces of nature we feel, and their existence we know; but what they are or whence derived we cannot tell. The might of mind, of reason, consciousness, and intellectuality we likewise feel and know, but these are also beyond the ken of human understanding. To fathom progress, we must know not only the elemental forces of nature, their origin and composition, but we must understand universal

evolution—not only why and how plants and animals grow, but how and why the species constantly improve; not only why and how among men is the constant advancement in the nature and quality of arts and industries, but what it is—this mighty development of the human intellect called civilization.

History is but an aggregation of biographies; but biography is more than history. It is impossible properly to present the man apart from his environment; nothing can be more suitable for our portraits than a frame-work of history; nevertheless, besides the surroundings and outward appearance of the person, the true biographer will institute in every case a searching analysis of character, such as will bring out in bold relief quality and individuality, thus sometimes making the man a marvel to himself—for among the things of which we know least is ourselves.

The frame-work then in which I propose to set my portraits shall be woven from a historic thread, itself dotted with pictures of the men who made the history, together with the conditions surrounding or affecting the individual, such as relate more particularly to physical resources and development, with something of society and general progression.

But before history and condition, even, it seems to me eminently fitting to allow our minds to dwell for a moment on the origin and nature of those forces which environ and govern man, and all things else in the universe, which teach men to rule, and give the appetite for supremacy, that we may be the better able, from the cause and consequence, to explain the nature of the product, and compare and measure it with other results proceeding from other causes.

Coeval with time, anterior to the universe, appears domination; a phenomenon inseparably connected with the cosmic germ noumenon; co-existing with the first matter from which evolved the world system.

Whether we accept a self-conscious creator, or blind chance, as presiding at the dawn of existence, the mind perceives certain forces which, primarily intermingling with chaos, sped forth to fashion worlds, and to set them revolving in space. Gravity draws atom to atom, and each accession adds to the power and gyrating velocity of the mass. With the increase of speed is increased the resistance of non-sympathetic elements, inert gases, counter-moving bodies, friction, which from the ponderous bulk segregates orb after orb, until the excess is reduced, or until compactness is complete. In this struggle for supremacy, the weakness, caused by extreme activity, and by disunion, yields the advantage to opposing forces, which vary in degree with their contiguity, volume, and density; and thus results a corresponding inequality of masses, and the consequent predominance of the strongest, within certain bounds.

Throughout, gravity enforces the observance of law, guiding planets round suns, and systems round sytems, in mazy paths.

Here is force impelling and controlling matter; soul animating substance; authority uniting a federation of interdependent governments. While bound to other systems, the sun regulates its own planets, leaving to them the main direction of their satellites. So masses predominate over atoms, atoms over molecules, in graded subordination, although permeated by the one all-potential pantheistic spirit.

Association becomes the vivifying condition. The atom by itself is inert, but in the gravity and intercourse of particles is born the phenomenon of force. The struggles of cohesion among molecules result in the domination of the greater mass, with the reservation that the *circulus æterni motus* marking universal energy and action, in seeking to gather all matter into one mass, which would be equivalent to repose or death, is counteracted by its redundancy, its intensity, and heterogeneity. Approximate harmony becomes

a controlling law, which demands and enforces a balance of power, as instanced in the great principle of duality, in positive and negative qualities.

The manifestation of cosmic force in gravity, heat, electricity, and other mechanical and chemical phases, is revealed to us daily in the formation and condensation of gases, the dissolution and compression of earth and rock; oceans are made and dissipated, mountains uplifted and leveled, and continents born and buried. In minute details or all-embracing generalities, the process of attraction and repulsion goes on, binding and balancing, creating and undoing. Yet midst all the seeming confusion of life-giving and death-dealing forces, unalterable laws prevail, ranged in orderly sequence. From the same causes are produced similar effects under like conditions. Diversity merges into uniformity, change into constancy, sunshine, rain, and wind succeed each other; heat and moisture start vegetation. Inorganic matter assimilates, and out of it spring organic substances. Inferior elements feed the superior, until is evolved a vast system of transformations, with an attendant metempsychosis from minute atom into infinite nirvana.

The struggle for domination is more conspicuous in organic life. Cells decompose and renew, instinct is arrayed against instinct, elements and qualities against each other. The hardy weed will overrun the field and garden, and exterminate the feebler cultivated plant; by absorbing moisture and sunshine the tree will kill or dwarf the minor vegetation within the limits of its spreading roots or shadow. So beasts prey on beasts, assisted by muscular strength, subtlety of instinct, and developed cunning, from which the weaker save themselves by watchfulness, advantages of environment, flight, and other precautions. The survival of the fittest is here attained less by the physical advantage of massiveness and strength, which predominate in organic and inorganic matter, than by

brain power, as shown by the supremacy of man.

The inequality which lies at the foundation of domination throughout nature is strikingly exhibited in that intimate attendant on man, the dog. It ranges in the variety of size and traits, from the fierce mastiff, the noble St. Bernard, and the fleet greyhound, to the docile poodle, the intelligent and courageous terrier, and the puny lap spaniel. Among men the difference in stature is less than the difference in mental and moral qualities. This intellectual difference appears the greater when we consider the helplessness of the infant as compared with the young of most animals, and the inferiority of brutes to adult human beings.

Man's advance in domination is slow. Life is a series of experiments. He wills, and nerves and muscles perform the bidding; but their power is limited, and the directing mind is restrained by the effect of its own over-exertion. He then becomes prudent and acquires skill. Perceiving his danger and the limit of his capabilities, he learns to ward off the one, and to extend the other by subordinating fresh forces. He multiplies himself.

His ascendency over nature was achieved by means of implements, and an intelligent combination of hands and heads for defence or onslaught. He hunted and fished; he seized a stick to strike down the forest beasts, and constructed a snare with which to entrap the wild fowl. In due time stone, club, and spear developed into sword, bow, and boomerang; the boat appeared, to be supplied in due time with sails and rudder. Thus he harnessed the wind and rode the wave. Yet how slow the fashioning of the tools for even this poor subordination of nature! The capabilities of the sail were not understood until far into the middle ages. The tempering of bronze and iron came about very gradually. Earlier even than the primitive sail dates the taming of the elephant and the horse; and in mounting these mighty

animals the rider received an ineffaceable impress of dignity as the lord of creation. It was an epoch in the history of sovereignty. It was a culminating feature in nomad life, which, by a peculiar exercise of courage and skill, and by the exhilaration of speed, fed the pride of mastery, extended man's vision beyond the hitherto limited horizon, stirred curiosity and thirst for acquisition, and gave new life to migration and conquest. The grassy hills and fertile valleys tempted others to a pastoral or an agricultural life.

The predilection for special food, drinks, and trinkets stimulated workers to greater exertion and skill, and the superior taste developed by settled life demanded improved shelter; the cultivation of fields was attended by the leveling of forests; solar heat was used to bake bricks, and, subsequently, fire to temper them. Love of ornament, whether emanating from vanity or a Platonic striving for the beautiful, fostered a desire for finer clothing, which, moreover, presented one of the best mediums for the use, display, and investment of wealth. Appetite and ambition led to rivalry and feuds, which developed the strength and ability to achieve distinction.

The change of seasons, with the attendant fluctuation in supplies, forced upon the mind the necessity of accumulation, which constitutes so essential an element in progress, as illustrated by the greater advance in temperate than in tropic zones. In accumulation, industry presented itself as one important factor in the acquisition of such power over the less fortunate as lay in wealth.

Man is a social being. Intercourse leads in him, as among the cosmic masses, to the unfolding of beneficent forces, to language, to exchange of ideas, to progress. This finds illustration around us in the development of helpless infancy into vivacious youth and strong manhood; in historic expansion, as of

Greece, under the stimulating Olympic gatherings, from barbarism into the most prosperous and enlightened among states; in the fruitful results of commercial intercourse alike among the Phœnicians and among the distant nations which they visited.

The social instinct is prompted by the necessity for mutual aid, for the division of labor, for organized association. This growing mutual dependence is most evident in war, in attack and defence. Tempted by the possessions of their prosperous neighbors, the stronger tribes will attack and plunder them. The mountaineers, for instance, make raids upon the occupants of the plain; the roaming nomads upon the valley settlers. Very early in the history of men combinations are made to preserve the balance of power. Atomic combinations and balanced masses prevail throughout nature. Individuality is a confederacy of the elements and organs composing the body; nationality of those composing the state.

Thus we see two ruling sentiments which crop out in man at every turn: love of liberty, and a spirit of determination to follow his own will and impose it upon others. As all are similarly actuated, resistance interposes a check to otherwise unrestrained inclination, and demands a respect for individual rights. These are subordinate to might, however, especially in savage times; and as in nature volume and activity control all, in man muscle and mind are influential. The bent for ruling is fostered in the family, where the male prevails over the weaker female and children, and where is established a semi-slavery, in patriarchal form, over the gradually increasing dependents. The consequent leisure of the master gives the opportunity for the practice of arts conducive to the extension of authority, as oratory, whereby wisdom is inculcated and enthusiasm aroused; also athletic feats, and impressive display in costly attire and dignified bearing. So strives the bird to please its mate, and surpass its rival in song and plumage.

The doctrine of the survival of the fittest finds its most conspicuous illustration in the rise of a leader, a strong man who, perceiving the emergency, seizes the opportunity to lift himself by aiding others. He thus sways those about him through their deference for skill and courage, as bombast, hypocrisy, and craft may prevail in other fields. Leadership gives the seal to tribal union or nationality. It unfurls the standard which kindles or inspires men's national pride. Instance Cyaxares, by whom the Medes were raised to temporary greatness; Jenghis Khan and Timour, who transformed hordes into conquerors; Cyrus, who created an enduring empire; Peter the Great, who started the progressive march of the Russians.

Harmonious association depending on the observance of the tacit or formal agreement which binds it, a guardian supervision became necessary to watch over its fulfilment and over particular rights. Capacity for participation in the government being scant in early times, the tendency was naturally to monarchy. The primitive patriarchal rule being autocratic, the comparatively lawless condition of the people demanded a similarly strong authority when circumstances called for a head. Fierce elements require a strong hand, like the wild horse, which, after roaming unrestrained over the steppes, must be curbed by severe treatment and held firmly in hand, yet soon obeying the lightest rein. The despot serves to discipline the lawless, to guide the childhood of the nation. He becomes obnoxious only when culture has imposed upon the people a healthful self-restraint. Even now the turbulent Mexicans require a military head, practically a dictator, to control them for their weal, while the people of the adjoining United States are able to govern themselves with the merest effigy as administrator.

Round the autocrat prominent families and officials rally, with the conservative instincts centring in pos-

sessions and inherited privileges, and with a sympathetic desire to share in and sustain domination. As aggression calls for troops, so conquest gives the pretence for maintaining standing armies, and their dependence upon the leader for spoils and pay forms a bond between them. The latter naturally gives his supporters the preference in distributing offices and lands; the conquered people being ofttimes assigned in bondage to the conquerers, though in small apportionments, for their better supervision and control by the chief authority. Thus with every act of robbery and injustice is added another link to the chain, while superstition is invoked to weld it firmer and firmer. The ruler is installed with religious rites and oracular designations; apotheosis frequently follows. As late as the time of Alexander divine paternity was alleged, and to-day in some quarters the divine right of kings is still unblushingly proclaimed. Sanctified tradition is upheld by complex ceremonials and splendor of attire and abode, all serving to impress the unleavened masses with the desired awe, and fascinate and fetter all those who are permitted to walk in such radiant paths. Yet traditions and conventionalities, especially when permeated by religion, as in Egypt, are safeguards for those whom they aim to overwhelm, as they constrain the monarch to his observance of accepted rules and duty.

Unfortunately the religious regulations were too protective, primarily for the controlling powers, and for the other classes successively, according to their several relations to the former. Castes, enslavement of men, bodily and mental, industrial stagnation, and other evils resulted from the protraction of this leading-string system, which, as in childhood, is beneficial only in limited and temporary form.

Domination and rule were evolved not alone through the necessity of assuring to the people their safety and rights, nor by causes incidental to a division of labor, nor to correct the abuses arising from the ine-

quality of the subjects; but they arose also from imperfection of mind and matter, stamped in those inequalities and wants, and in the circumscribed limits to all efforts. Our understanding loses itself in roaming beyond the bounds of the tangible and finite, and rarely grasps even such distinctions as the relative and positive qualities of good and evil, virtue and vice, the one being the insufficiency or excess of the other, a warning to enforce the rational and proper enjoyment of what will in the end prove the best.

The defects of our mind, tending to magnify the mysterious, readily conjure up phantoms, connected at first with the startling phenomena of nature, and then, as these become understood, with the more abstruse cosmic operations and the inconceivable infinite. The rustling branches of the fruit-bearing tree, the overflowing river, alike beneficent and destructive, the lurking life within the seed, the phantoms of dreamland, all suggest more immediate causes for good and evil, to be invoked and appeased, than the raging storm, the fertilizing rain, or the warming sun. Yet these last were first worshipped. With liberating knowledge the mind soars beyond, into the higher realms of polytheism, of loftiest monotheism, and pantheism; yet even there, as in the Brahma and Siva, Ormuzd and Ahriman, it invests infinite beings with a leveling personality, to bring them within the range of the understanding, only to admit fresh superstitions with new corruptions, and transform ministering angels to devils of darkness, and elevating rites to debasing idolatry.

The chains which bind the victim of transmitted slavery to the dominating supernatural are broken occasionally by the bold resolution of innate strength and superiority, amounting to inspiration or genius. Juarez and Lerdo de Tejada in Mexico are fair examples of this species of self-emancipation and emancipation of country. But it is usually through the reason and reflection arising from an increase of knowledge

that the fetters of the mind are broken. And to the lover of truth, the thought is most refreshing that the time will come when all mists will be dissipated, mysticism thrown out of the category of knowledge, men knowing what they believe and believing only what they know. We have the pledge and guarantee of progress that in the end only real and tangible truth shall remain. At the present time there are those who, being able to command both fear and learning, take care to secure command of the mainsprings of action, and play upon them to their own purposes. They play upon superstition, conjure up mirages of brighter days and the bliss of futurity, and employ the illusive arguments of asceticism to commend poverty and ignorance, which, hostile to progress, are nevertheless favorable to the ambitious aims of the leaders of mankind. Then, hastening to secure the substance so foolishly abandoned by their dupes for the shadow, they strengthen themselves with the monopoly of knowledge and wealth, blinding their subjects to the trickery by the glitter of pageantry and pomp, and by the soothing counsels and fascinating hopes poured forth in fiery eloquence. Thus dare chicanery and cunning to enlist even incomprehensible divinity, unfathomable infinity, to serve their base purposes.

The springs of human action may be played upon with intentions good or evil, frequently with equal ultimate good or evil results. Contentment often leads to inaction, stagnation, decline; luxury to dissipation, undermining health and squandering property. Thus we see fanaticism and greed serving as stimulants to the acquisition of knowledge, and to progress. War has its value in enforcing association, wherein lies all true and great development. Excess, nevertheless, in this and other things may result in such desolation as to wither all elements conducive to growth. The predominance of evil, to the pessimist, is owing to the lack of proper efforts to check extrav-

agance. In activity, or speed, as in passiveness, success depends on the relative proportion of different qualities or elements.

As in the celestial sphere excess of material leads to dismemberment, so in the political universe. The cohesion of vast empires of heterogeneous composition is not common; even though Iranians, Quirites, and Saracens introduced methods and ideas which upheld their sway for centuries. Disruption was brought about by means similar to those employed for acquisition by invasion and conquest, as instanced by the rise and fall of Rome; also by that feature, conservative of both supremacy and equality, inheritance, as shown by the fate of Charlemagne's empire; and further, by civil dissension, due less to ambitious intrigues than to corruption on the part of the prince, as Montesquieu declares. The rallying-cries of rights and principles, raised by remonstrating factions, find an echo beyond the physical dividing lines which rise as natural barriers between races. Resolution creates resources for the struggle; the selfish interests of neighbors prompt them to aid in the dismemberment of powerful rivals, and perseverance brings success. The histories of Greece and England reveal how emergencies are seized by the people for obtaining a share in the government, and limiting the authority of rulers, and how the king and aristocracy strive to regain the concession. The training acquired by participation in the government, and in local administration, serves to instil into the minds of men the self-control and respect for rights and laws which make possible the light rule of modern republics, and incite elsewhere a healthy aspiration among the masses and an abatement of autocracy.

The inherent sovereignty of civilization over savagism is like the sovereignty of God over man, or of man over nature. It is one with the universal domination of the powers of progress, resulting in the

supremacy of the fittest. It is a sovereignty predetermined and inexorable. The merciless law of evolution knows no distinction between right and wrong, good and evil, justice and injustice. It is absolute, omnipotent, and takes no notice of the laws of man. Right and righteousness are on the side of the strongest, who, whether or not, from a moral point of view, they deserve to survive, as a matter of fact do survive, and overawe and subdue all the rest. Under the wheels of the great juggernaut car of progress, destiny is ever flinging the weak, the timid, the simple, whose bones with grim satisfaction it grinds to powder. Wherever savagism encounters civilization, whether in the garb of kindness or cruelty, whether in the form of soldier, priest, or trader, the former must give way. It is so written in the law.

In the westward advance of the Aryans in America from the Antilles into the southern and central parts of the continent, and from the eastern seaboard inward, the farthest northwest was among the last regions to be entered. This long abandonment to primeval isolation was less due to its remoteness from the line of march than to the absence of those treasures or flourishing native cities, which alone could have tempted adventurers beyond the limits of methodical development. The Spaniards were accordingly confined for over two centuries within the more southern latitudes, while the French and Anglo-Saxons spread slowly northward along the eastern coast, battling with adversity, and limited at the first to a narrow strip of seaboard by the forbidding interior, with its hardships and hostile savages.

Nevertheless, there were attractions in this western wilderness which in due time drew men thither. Furs abounded beyond the range of settlement, which in some respects gave returns as liberal as mines of precious metal. Another less tangible attraction to the explorer was the elusive vision of a strait, which gradually changed to that of a northwest passage,

and later induced many an enthusiast to voyage in quest of the north pole. It was a fancy cherished since the days of Prince Henry the navigator, even then figuring as a sea route to the Indies. With the discovery that America blocked the way, it reduced itself to the slender confines of a channel through the supposed island group or southeastern projection of Asia. The disclosures made by isthmian coastings and expeditions, and the first circumnavigation by Magellan, revealing a vast continent, the search turned with the compass northward through the northeastern projection of the oriental continent. The finding of such a passage would have led to the establishment of forts and settlements along its shores for guarding the transit to the spice islands, and for supplying and trading with passing fleets; and from so profitable a nucleus would have sprung widespread colonization, especially toward the south.

It was a prize worth contending for, with fame for the discoverer and substantial benefits for the nation; and the appetite of both was sharpened by the hope of stumbling upon mines and peoples as rich as those which had tempted the Spaniards in the south. The wonders and mysteries of the remote and hidden had their special fascinations, and men were not lacking whose vivid imagination conjured up great cities and golden mountains from vague rumor, or well-defined straits from the faint indication of some inlet, which storms, sickness, or other obstacles had prevented them from entering. Others raised similar reports on mere assumption, to secure a share in the prospective glory of the real discoverer, or to obtain temporary gain as leaders, pilots, or contractors. Indeed, mendacity here assumes the heroic. Thus conquerors thirsting for lands, wealth, and offices, and friars for souls and ecclesiastic rule, stood ready to enter the paths to be opened by explorers.

The Atlantic side was diligently examined under Spanish auspices from South America to Florida and

beyond, under Columbus, Ojeda, Nicuesa, Cordova, Narvaez, Soto, and others. Soto, moreover, penetrated inland for 150 miles along a range extending from the present state of Texas, through Arkansas to Georgia, while Cabeza de Vaca crossed from Texas through Chihuahua to Sonora, and gave the incentive for Coronado's expedition through Arizona and New Mexico into Kansas, which reduced the rumored gilded cities to wigwam villages. English, Portuguese, and French joined in the search for a route, under Cabot, the Cortereals, and Cartier, the last penetrating far up the St Lawrence to the falls of St Louis. Thus by the middle of the sixteenth century the eastern coast had been explored as far as Hudson strait.

On the Pacific side Balboa led the way to similar exploration along the shores disclosed by him and opened the path for conquerors, who within a decade overran Central America and Mexico. Cortés extended the knowledge of this coast to both sides of Lower California, and Cabrillo beyond the 34th parallel, perhaps to Oregon's southern line, which remained practically the limit of north-western exploration for two centuries, owing to the discouraging revelation that in this direction there were no regions worthy of conquest. The hope of finding a passage had also been disappointed by the presumption that it could not be expected to exist south of latitude 60°.

Nevertheless speculation revived in time, and not alone Hudson strait but the river St Lawrence were soon afterward assumed to be the mouths of a channel which, under the fanciful name of Anian, should connect with the Pacific somewhere above the present California line. In support of this theory navigators were named who had either heard of or sailed through that canal. Sufficient doubt certainly remained to warrant further search. Frobisher found wide openings west of Greenland, and John David in 1585–7 applied his name to a wide strait in latitude 72°. In

1610 Henry Hudson created a flutter of expectation by sailing into the great bay named after him, and where his cowardly crew cast him adrift to die. Six years later Baffin immortalized himself by reaching latitude 78°, and upholding the reputation of the English as the foremost of Arctic explorers.

About the same time the British established permanent colonies along the coast from Virginia to Massachusetts; and the French, who had in 1562–5 made their entry into Canada, resumed the occupation of this Nouvelle France, and took the lead in daring explorations by land. Nicolet had by 1650 reached the shores of Lake Huron. Soon afterward trappers and missionaries arrived and penetrated to Hudson's bay, and in 1678 a fort was planted at Lake Superior. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette descended the Mississippi, ascertaining its course to be toward the Atlantic, and that a wide tributary slope must lie west of it. A few years later Père Hennepin travelled up the Mississippi to the falls of St Anthony, while his chief, La Salle, floated down the father of rivers to the gulf. This achievement obtained for him the grant of Louisiana, and furnished material for the fictitious expedition of Baron La Hontan. His misguided effort to found colonies within the grant resulted before the close of the century in permanent settlements, whence explorers and fur-traders pushed inward to connect with the line of forts planted by Canadian trappers from Hudson's bay down the banks of the Mississippi. On the Missouri the first fort was built in 1727, and during the following decade the Vérendrye expended a fortune in establishing a line of posts from Manitoba to the eastern base of the Rocky mountains, with the intention of extending it to the Pacific; but the plan was more than they could accomplish, and mercenary intriguers interfered to despoil them of the fruits of their labors. Marquette had already heard of a river flowing westward, beyond the dividing range, and a Missouri In-

dian, named Moncacht Apé, related to the French savant, La Page du Pratz, that he had descended that stream to the Pacific between 1745 and 1752. Captain J. Carver, who visited the upper Mississippi in the sixties, heard of this river of the West, and applied to it the name of Oregon, to which appellation the poet Bryant gave permanence in his *Thanatopsis*. Thus inland travellers, with the testimony of the savages, and the course and size of the streams, had by the middle of the eighteenth century pushed the mystic strait far into the Arctic, and opened to the view of the world a vast area abounding in furs, mines, and products of the soil.

Oñate's expeditions in New Mexico after 1598 met with many tantalizing rumors of the interior. The friar navigator, Urdañeta, had in 1565 opened the north sea route from the spice islands to Mexico, and among those who followed it, Gali skirted the coast for a certain distance, from latitude 57°, as some will have it, although this should undoubtedly read 37°. Vizcaino reached in 1602–3 the 42d parallel, and Drake in 1579 claimed a latitude fully as high. Their failure to ascertain anything of the coast beyond left room for the fictitious voyages of Juan de Fuca, whose happy guess at a strait in latitude 48° procured so wide a belief in his veracity that his name was applied to the inlet; of Maldonado, who in 1588 claimed to have sailed through the straits of Anian from ocean to ocean, from latitude 60° to 75°, and toward the end of the last century was believed by many to have passed through Bering strait; and of Admiral Fonte's similar achievement, so utterly at variance with facts as to be stamped as a hoax. The vagueness of geographic knowledge, as to this coast, is illustrated by the delineation of Lower California, which was displayed on the maps first as a peninsula, afterward as an island, and so remained far into the eighteenth century.

The solution came in time, however. In 1770 Hearne followed the Coppermine river to the Arctic sea, and fur stations rose on Athabasca and Peace rivers, facilitating expeditions to the Rocky mountains. In 1789 Alexander Mackenzie reached the same ocean by descending the great river bearing his name. Inspired by the result, three years later he crossed the Rocky Mountains along Peace river, and after wintering at Fork fort, he reached the Fraser, and striking across the continent beheld the Pacific at Bentinck north arm, on July 20, 1793, thus performing the first authentic passage of this slope in the north. It was an achievement to be expected from the advance of the fur-traders, but its early and happy accomplishment was due to the energy and reasoning power, the skill and determined courage of this hardy trader, who opened the way in the face of many dangers, through these unknown regions.

In the south the Spaniards had by this time occupied California, and made explorations from New Mexico to Great Salt lake. In the extreme northwest the Russian fur-hunters, after a century-march across Siberia, had learned vaguely of a land beyond the sea. In 1728 Vitus Bering discovered the dividing strait named after him, and thirteen years later, in company with Chirikof, his expedition discovered Alaska, whose wealth in furs quickly lured the Muscovites to occupy the country.

Their advance along the continent becoming known, jealousy roused the long slumbering Spaniards to fresh explorations, to secure the strait if such existed, and to anticipate the intruders in their claims upon the coast, by discovery if not by occupation. Perez sailed in 1774 from New Spain to latitude 55°, taking possession, and assisting in the following year the larger expedition under Heceta and Cuadra to examine the coast more closely as far as latitude 57°, especially from Nootka southward, the mouth of the Columbia being partially explored. Cuadra joined

Arteage shortly afterward in an exploration of Alaska. These voyages were not published, so that the names applied were replaced by subsequent, but better known English nomenclature. The first real explorer in these waters from England was James Cook, who, in seeking the strait in 1778, examined the coast from latitude 43°, northward, and more particularly beyond latitude 49°, and spread such information concerning its wealth in furs as to induce a number of trading vessels to visit that region.

This further influx of foreigners alarmed Spain anew; and in 1788-9 Martinez and Haro were sent to assert her claims to this region, on the ground of prior discovery, by establishing a fort at Nootka, on Vancouver island, and by seizing English vessels. The result was a threatening dispute between the respective governments. England pointed out that as Spain had failed to take advantage of her discoveries by actual occupation, her own explorations and acts of taking possession, under Drake, Cook, and other captains bore with them rights, to which an indisputable value had been imparted by actual commercial intercourse with the natives, and the establishment of camps and ship-yards, as well as the proclaimed purchase of large tracts from the aborigines. The obstinate Englishman would, no doubt, have wrested the advantage from the feeble Spaniard, but for the partiality of France for the latter. As it was, Spain consented to let the English share with her in trade, navigation, and settlement on the coast, above San Francisco, although she claimed that all territory south of Fuca strait should be recognized as hers. She offered this, in fact, as a limit; but the British commissioners sent out to verify the agreement, having no power to treat of boundaries, the restitution of confiscated property was alone secured. Spain soon afterward, in 1795, abandoned her fort at Nootka, and took no further steps to assert her rights above California, and the English government being equally

indifferent, the coast was left open to other nationalities.

Before the final adjustment of the Nootka affair Spanish explorers under Elisa, Fidalgo, Quimper, Casmaño Malaspina, and notably Galiano and Valdís, examined closely the region between Puget sound and Queen Charlotte island, the last in conjunction with the English official expedition under Vancouver. The elaborate reports of these captains being more promptly published and circulated, the English gained the adoption of their nomenclature, and the chief credit for the discoveries made, which resulted in the mapping of Puget sound and the British Columbian coast, in proving that Vancouver was an island, and in showing that Bering strait was the only one that existed. To Captain Gray, of the United States trading vessel *Columbia* was, however, awarded the honor of first entering and naming the great river of this region.

The main incentive for exploration in the northwest, with the attendant claims to possession lay evidently in its fur resources, as shown by the approach of the Russians, of Mackenzie, and the different merchant vessels, which roused Spanish and English official interference. Northern Europe had presented similar attractions to the roaming Phœnicians and their successors in commercial supremacy. Among them was England, which opened ports on the White sea, and impelled the Russians to extend their search for peltry into Siberia. In America, France was the first to open this trade and to give it a hitherto unparalleled magnitude. Her fishermen sought the Newfoundland banks early in the sixteenth century, and guided by the explorations of Verrazano and Cartier they began in 1578 to venture up the St Lawrence to barter with the natives, and as pioneers to lift the veil from this Ultima Thule.

The expense connected with a profitable pursuit of

the business, and the plea of suppressing the outrages upon the natives that attended unlicensed trading, were sufficient reasons for granting it in monopoly to strong companies, which would, moreover, ensure to the crown a certain revenue, and the proper management and expansion of its colonial possessions. It was not easy to check encroachments on the part of existing traders, or of new parties, tempted by the enormous profits, and by the immunity afforded by pathless wilds adjoining foreign borders and peopled by friendly Indians. Opponents, besides, secured at times influential advocates at court, who procured frequent restrictions upon the monopoly, and occasional suppressions. The result was largely to appease such pretenders with contracts for limited districts, or with factory licenses, and to leave them free to deal with natives as they chose—a course accompanied with no little extortion and abuse, under the cover of fire-arms and fire-water. The influx and advance of traders fostered colonization, and religious zeal joined in bringing tribes into subjection, and in pioneering and protecting settlements, until a series of forts stretched from Hudson's bay down the Mississippi to the colonies inaugurated by La Salle in Louisiana. By the middle of the eighteenth century France claimed as her domain nearly all of the present British America and the United States, leaving to other European powers only narrow strips along Hudson's bay and the seaboard.

Although by no means judicious in her management of colonies and her interference with commerce, which thrives best when left to its own course, her fur trade excelled in its earlier days that of other nations, owing to the hardihood of French *coureurs des bois*, and their tact in winning favor with the savages. They adapted themselves only too readily to the habits and vagabond life of the Indians, with alternate inaction in winter and carousing in summer, and formed in their marriage ties and half-breed off-

spring fresh claims upon their sympathies. But this adaptability to circumstances did not extend to the loftier requirements of colonization, with its plodding patience and provident restraint, its exclusiveness, organization, and enterprise.

The spirit of colonization, as unfolded by the Aryans among the ancient Mediterranean trading nations, yielded during the middle ages to one of migratory conquest by less cultivated peoples; by Teutonic and Turanic hordes over civilized Rome and her semi-civilized ex-provinces in Europe, Asia, and Africa. This was due partly to the lack of suitable unoccupied tracts, and to the absence, as yet, among these invaders, of the self-restraint and cultured self-reliance required for the development of nature's resources and the building up of settlements. The discovery of America supplied the field for practical adventures, but time must elapse before men would venture upon such novel undertakings. Spanish colonization, so-called, depended largely upon the enslavement of Indians, or upon the enforced requirements of trade and mining and frontier defence. The Anglo-Saxons began with agricultural settlements, established and maintained purely by their own people.

The first permanent English colonies were formed along the coast from Massachusetts to Virginia, although not until the beginning of the seventeenth century; but once rooted they spread surely if not rapidly. Once upon the ground their keen commercial instinct quickly discovered the source of the rich traffic secured by the French, and monopolies obtained grants to the same end. The concessions were made in latitudinal strips extending indefinitely from the coast inward, there to settle upon boundary lines with earlier Gallic occupants. Henry Hudson opened at the same time the way for British trade along Greenland, and then into Hudson's bay, for which region a special company was formed. It was not long ere the two nationalities collided. The antagonism in-

stilled upon European battle-fields gave zest to the hostility here roused by conflicting interests, even among rivals of the same race. Forts were captured and retaken; expeditions were waylaid and despoiled; Indian hunters were bribed and overawed, and tribes were arrayed against tribes or as allies against the white men. The French seized upon the Ohio valley, only to be overwhelmed in Acadia, and so the advantage alternated. In 1697 all the Hudson's bay territories were conceded to France, but in 1713 several large slices along the ocean and bay were transferred to England. By 1759 the persevering Britons had massed 50,000 for the fight against 7,000 opponents, and the result was that by the treaty of 1763 France surrendered all of her North American possessions, her insular rival obtaining everything east of the Mississippi, while to Spain was granted the region west of it.

The Dutch had also shared in the fur traffic from their centre upon Hudson's river, with attendant monopoly and colonization, upon a scale which required a fleet of fifty ships. Renegades from their ranks assisted the Swedes to a portion of the lucrative business. The Puritans and Virginians, although bent on state building, joined likewise in some degree in the pursuit; but the continent south of the 49th parallel was fitted rather for settlements, which circumstance, together with the prevailing disputes, drove hunters rapidly westward to the Mississippi, and then to the Platte and Red rivers, the people of New England origin establishing forts to protect their interests against the encroaching Canadians, and opening headquarters for the trade at New Orleans and then at St Louis. Later, Independence and St Joseph becoming conspicuous, under the stimulus imparted by trade, occupation pushed onward, after independence was secured, to and beyond the Rocky mountains. It was a motley crowd, however, that inhabited these regions of Anglo-Americans, mixed

on one side with Canadian half-breeds, on the other with Spanish types, and with their attention divided by varied interests, which southward embraced the imposing Santa Fé caravan trade.

A number of the leading Frenchmen and Spaniards combined with Americans to form the Missouri Fur company, with the intention of securing the lion's share of the peltry business, especially along the Rocky mountains. Henry, one of the partners, crossed this dividing range in 1808 and built a fort on Snake river, which was maintained for only two years. The firm suffered from competition on the part of the Canadians, and erelong a more formidable rival appeared in the person of John Jacob Astor, one of the shrewdest and most enterprising of New York merchants, by whom was founded in 1809 the American Fur company, with a capital of $1,000,000. In this was soon afterward merged the Canadian association, and when, after the war with England, foreign traders were excluded from the United States, Astor bought at his own price all British posts within the United States. Still later he acquired the interests of Ashley of Utah fame, and assumed the supremacy in the northern interior. In 1834 he sold his western interests to a St Louis firm, which had absorbed the Rocky Mountain company, and soon controlled nearly all the fur business on the Atlantic slope, as well as the Santa Fé trade. Among the connections and rivals of Ashley were Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, who, buying some of his establishments, including those in Utah and Idaho, explored westward as far as San Francisco, made the circuit through Oregon to Montana, and brought the first wagons to the Rocky mountains.

The annual rendezvous for these and other trappers was usually near the South pass of the great dividing range, where they gathered from every quarter hundreds of miles away, their numbers swelled with Indians of every grade, from the abased Shoshone and

crafty Blackfoot to the dashing Crow and the Nez Percé cavalier; with half-breeds admired by the savages by reason of a superior intelligence and appearance, but despised by others for their blood; with strutting Mexicans of pretentious air and dress little in accord with their degraded position; with half-effeminate and half-hardy *voyageurs*; and preëminent the free trapper, strong in the possession of his horse and rifle, and delighting in the roaming mountain life, yet enslaved by extravagant habits, and dependent upon or forced to enlist under more prudent and enterprising leaders.

Among the ideal trappers and mountaineers were Kit Carson, celebrated as an Indian fighter and guide to Frémont and other so called pathfinders; Jo Meek, the favorite of Oregon, where he figured in the legislature and on government commissions; and James P. Beckwourth, whose mulatto hue, keenness, and courage won for him the chieftainship of the Crows.

The regions south of Oregon were not rich in furs. California was remote, and largely absorbed by the Hudson's Bay company, which practically swept all the country northward. Hence the United States trappers found little inducement on the western slope, and confined their efforts more and more to the affluents of the Missouri, upon which Astor's successors maintained a line of forts, supplied by a special steamboat, the only one upon the upper waters till 1864. Monopoly was secured by purchasing or outbidding rivals, and revenue was increased by smuggling operations with the Red river settlers. Notwithstanding the efforts of New York and St Louis, England remained the great emporium for peltry, and only a few shipments found their way direct to Canton, Hamburg, and other cities.

The expedition of Captain Cook had a most important influence on the occupation of the northwest coast. It brought to public notice the abundance of

sea-otters, which offer the most precious of all peltry, and the high prices paid for the skin in the Chinese markets. This was confirmed by a venture in 1780, which showed that although the Russians had long profited by the traffic, they did so at a disadvantage.

The first regular trader in the new field was the Englishman, Captain James Hanna, who in 1875–6 made a trip to the Vancouver island region from China, probably under Portugese colors, with a view to circumvent the monopoly held by the East India company against British rivals. He was followed by a number of others from Asia and England, some provided with licenses. Among them was Meares from Bengal, who wintered here in 1786–7, and built at Nootka the first vessel in these waters; he published an account of the voyage, and of the losses inflicted upon him by Spanish seizures. Portlock and Dixon arrived from England with a trading charter the same years, and on their return likewise printed a book filled with fresh information. Colnett in 1789–90 was arrested by a Spanish expedition, and Barclay sailed from Belgium under the Austrian flag. All added to geographic knowledge by communicating their discoveries. French explorers and traders, in the persons of La Pérouse and Marchand, learned enough to induce a French firm to enter the business; but the attempt proved a failure, owing to the sudden closing of Chinese ports.

Citizens of the United States were early directed to this new field for commerce by John Ledyard, who had served under Cook, and although his own efforts were unsuccessful, several firms were induced to enter it. The first to arrive in 1788 were captains Hendrick and Gray, the latter being also the first to enter the Columbia river, named after his ship, and completing on his return the first circumnavigation of the globe by a United States vessel. The English suffered here under two disadvantages, the hostility of Spain and the monopoly of the East India and

South Sea companies. The Americans were free from both, and made good use of their opportunity by opening up a trade with the Spaniards, and securing contracts for the shipment of their peltry to China. In 1792 twenty-eight vessels are known to have touched there, most of them American, and more than half of them engaged in fur-trading. The *Otter* in 1796 was the first United States vessel to anchor in California; the *Boston* was destroyed in 1803, and the crew massacred, save two, who were rescued three years later; the *Tonquin* suffered a similar fate in 1811. During the war between England and the United States, traders of both nationalities held aloof, and after its close the measures adopted by the Russian and British companies, whose agents were constantly on the spot, made such ventures too hazardous, and their visits became less frequent.

In these ventures the Americans after the first few years acquired the lead, and maintained it during the decline of the fur-trade, often with ruinous competition among themselves, though aided by other traffic on adjoining coasts. Of the vessels that arrived between 1790 and 1818 over one hundred were American, against twenty-two English, three French, and two Portugese. The first named usually hailed from Boston, whence the distinctive appellation used by Indians to distinguish them from those of King George. In the beginning of this century they also joined with the Russians in hunting expeditions to the lower coast, shared in the carrying trade of Alaska, smuggled in California, and carried home valuable cargoes from China and the Pacific islands.

The restrictions upon English ships applied in a measure also to California, where the Spaniards neglected both the peltry and supply trade, while imposing almost absolute prohibition on foreigners. Necessity compelled officials as well as settlers to ignore the restrictive measures of Spain, and Mexico as a republic was powerless to enforce them.

Superior organization and perseverance had obtained for the British the control of the fur-trade on both slopes, against the experienced *coureurs des bois* and the cunning Yankee trappers on one side, and the nimble and unscrupulous Boston captains on the other. Their chief advantage lay, however, in the possession of the northern latitudes, which formed the fur region proper. The north-west promised, like the interior of Canada, long to remain a mere game preserve, a hunter's paradise, rugged and forbidding enough to prevent its occupation for purposes of settlement.

The control of this vast region, consisting of half a continent, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific fell in its resources and management to one great corporation, into whose hands it had come after long and fierce struggles with foreign and native rivals. This body, the Hudson's Bay company, had been chartered in 1670, under high auspices, as The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, with Prince Rupert as its governor, and a train of leading noblemen as shareholders. It was granted the privilege for two hundred years of the sole trade of Hudson strait and bay, with permanent proprietorship of Rupert land, and power to govern and to issue laws and land grants. This commercial sovereignty the company continued to enjoy for its term of two centuries, notwithstanding that the lands which they bestowed on others never belonged even to themselves, and that parliament never confirmed the charter. French parties claimed the same territory, and many a bloody battle, with alternate seizure and reprisal, took place before the men of Great Britain gained possession. These and other obstacles restricted the company's occupancy during the first century of its existence to less than 400 miles inland, and every care was taken to keep secret all resources, and to retard exploration, partly lest the discovery of a passage to the Atlantic should disturb their cher-

ished seclusion, and attract, especially French intruders. After the the cession of all North America to England, the company, relieved of its apprehensions, and with its posts increased by the transfer, hastened to widen its domain in anticipation of the rivalry threatened by their own countrymen, until the territorial limits exceeded the wildest dreams of its managers, spreading northward and westward, covering the entire width of the continent, touching at once three great oceans, and rendering hundreds of native tribes subject to its domination.

With enlarged experience, and the selection of a corps of skilful hunters and traders, operations were thoroughly systematized, and efficient service was maintained by the admission as partners of leading officials, who exercised personal supervision in enforcing discipline, economy, and strict attention to duty. The territory was in time divided into four departments: the northern, belting the frozen sea; the southern, extending from Rupert river to the Rocky mountains; the Montreal, stretching over the north-east; and the Columbia, comprising all of the Pacific domain, the latter being subsequently further divided. Aside from the governor and directors at London, there were nine grades of officials and servants, headed by a local governor for all the American establishments, and residing at a central point. Next to him were chief factors and shareholders, in charge of departments, or factories with their subordinate posts; chief traders or half shareholders usually in command of leading posts: chief clerks, in charge of expeditions or minor stations; apprenticed clerks, postmasters, promoted from the ranks; interpreters, voyageurs or boatmen; and laborers. The servants, including apprentices and officials of higher grade, were, for the most part, hardy Scotch highlanders or Orkney men, and the ranks of the voyageurs and laborers were largely recruited from French Canadians and half-breeds. The latter received on an average

£17 a year in wages; apprentices began with a trifle, but were paid £100 or more when promoted to clerkships. Besides a general council of chief factors, local councils met annually at the principal stations to determine appointments, duties, wages, vacations, rules, and methods. Thus the company held feudal sway as absolute as that of any mediæval baron. Its capital swelled from the original £10,500 to £200,000 in 1821; then the value of the Northwest company's stock, acquired by consolidation, raised the amount to £400,000, and in 1863 it was further increased to £2,000,000. The number of employés rose from 315 in 1789 to 513 articled men and 55 officers in 1846. In 1856 the 152 establishments employed a force of 3,000, whereof fully 200 were postmasters and other officials; one third were stationed on the Pacific slope.

Trade was conducted solely by barter, and with every conceivable class of goods that could tempt the fancy of the Indian. Arms were freely issued, but as spirituous liquors rendered quarrelsome both white men and red, and less efficient for work, they were prohibited. The price of goods was usually fixed, but under competition large commissions were made to drive away intruders.

Special trapping expeditions were despatched from the leading stations in the autumn, to return the following spring or summer; among the largest were those from Fort Vancouver to the head-waters of the Columbia and the Colorado, and into California, where latterly a tax was paid to the authorities. Their outfits,were advanced on credit. Parties, composed chiefly of boatmen under a few officers, were employed to carry supplies to the posts from such central depots as Fort Vancouver, and bring back the collected peltry. This duty was largely performed by the great annual brigade which maintained communication between the Columbia and the Atlantic shipping station. The trip involved no little hardship, with rough fare and exposures, facing storms

and floods, climbing mountains while laden with heavy burdens, burrowing through snow-drifts, forcing boats up stream and guiding them through rapids where a single slip or deviation meant disaster or death. But the men were trained and hardy, brave and merry, cheerfully encountering toil and privation, banishing fear with a joke, or perchance with a sign of the cross. These brigades were greatly relieved by the direct sea shipments to and from the Columbia, whence fast vessels and latterly steamers were regularly despatched to the coast forts.

Pack trains with horses were attached to certain districts and portages, and at times two hundred animals could be seen defiling along some mountain pass, each with two packages of furs. Dog-sledges were a feature rather of the eastern slope. This traffic pertained also to the birch bark canoe, with its resined seams, for the men of the Pacific coast used the keelless board bateau, propelled by oar or paddle to the song led by the steersman, the crew joining in the chorus, and showing the effect in steadier and more powerful strokes.

United States traders usually dispensed with costly establishments, by appointing every year a rendezvous where trappers could meet them for traffic, and for recreation in the shape of carousals and boisterous games. But organizations like the Hudson's Bay company, with rich territories and regular routes, preferred the convenience and security of stations. In determining to erect a post, the resources of a district gave the incentive, while accessibility and the supply of wood and water guided the selection of a site. The term fort was applied indiscriminately to all permanent fur-trading establishments, whether a bastioned fortress of stone, as preferred during the troublous times of Anglo-French wrangling in Canada, or a square stockade, palisade, or picketed enclosure, a block-house of squared logs with apertures, or at times only a common log cabin. The posts on the

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Pacific were much alike, forming usually a palisade of one hundred yards square. The pickets consisted of poles or logs sunk in the ground and rising fifteen or twenty feet above it. Sometimes split slabs were used instead of round poles. At two corners, diagonally opposite, two bastions commanded the approach, each provided with from two to six guns, and guarded with sentinels, the ground floor serving as a magazine. Within the pickets were the necessary warehouses, sheds, workshops, and dwellings; the officers' quarters and the bachelor's hall, for convivial gatherings, being conspicuous in the centre, together with the chief storehouse, while around them were dwellings for inferior employés. Near by was usually a garden patch, and sometimes a grain-field. Indian chiefs were won by special privileges and favors to curb the unruly among their tribe, and thus add to the feeling of security.

Life differed widely at the posts, from the pomp and discipline at Fort Vancouver, with its frequent visitors and well-appointed dwellings and tables, to the primitive simplicity at the log cabin with its solitary occupant, the exile of the latter rarely lasting more than a single season. At the larger stations the bell rang at dawn for the laborers to begin their toil, at eight or nine for breakfast, at one for dinner, and at six for supper when work was over. Separate tables were provided for officers, the laborers taking rations to their cabins kept by Indian wives. The arrival of important visitors, and of brigades with attendant chieftains, called for pomp and display; perhaps with salvos, grave smoking of the calumet, and speeches to propitiate some haughty savage or prepare the way for bargains. Usually trading was carried on in a special room, to which only a few natives were admitted at a time, the fort gates being closed to guard against illicit traffic and surprise.

On the Sabbath there were religious services and rest from labor, a Saturday half-holiday being de-

voted to recreation. For pastime, story-telling took the lead, with smoking and perhaps a jingling of glasses. Notwithstanding the absence of luxuries and of women, feasting and dancing were not infrequent, yet the fondest anticipations were for the nights of drunkenness, which were considered inseparable from certain important occasions, and from leading festivals.

Intercourse between officer and subordinate was stamped by strict formality, and often by sternness, blows being frequently administered. Canadian habitants must, like the English laborer, remain inferior, partly owing to the absence of the selfish exclusiveness which made the Briton feared and respected by the Indians, while the Frenchmen won their sympathy and fellowship by his suavity, light-heartedness, and sociability. The last of these traits, together with a certain adaptability, made the Gaul too ready to conform to native habits, to cast aside civilization, and to become the *coureur des bois*, or forest peddler, so famed in former days, but of late degenerated into the humble voyageur or boatman. He goes hand-in-hand with the despised half-breed, in whom Aryan intelligence combines with savage cunning and instinct, yet with a lack of stamina revealed in ill-sustained efforts at agriculture and other feeble attempts at settlement. The Anglo-American wood-ranger may have become sufficiently demoralized in his intimacy with redskins, and have displayed great coarseness and brutality; yet he never became so much akin to the savage as the other. In the acute intellect and tall, spare, tough frame of the United States frontiersman united subtlety and sagacity behind features of childlike simplicity, which, when aroused, change to a look of fierce determination. While yielding to impulses, and adapting himself to circumstances, he never wholly abandons the sound sense and practical prudence of his race.

There was a strong fascination in this forest life, and once within its influence, few were content to return to the stifling atmosphere of conventionalism. Yet it was full not alone of danger, but of toil and privations, far beyond the miner's life. The latter carried with it possibilities of a fortune, while the slow and hazardous accumulations of the other could never reach even a competency, for with reckless extravagance the hunter squandered in a few nights of dissipation the earnings of an entire year. The engagement of voyageurs and trappers was consequently like hiring penniless sailors for a voyage, with advances for outfit, the discharge of debts, and the parting carouse with friends. The free trappers, who hunted singly or in small parties of their own, were often kept in debt bondage by the calculating trader.

Of the thousands who launched forth into the wilderness, not one in ten was ever heard of again. Numbers perished from hunger and exposure, from sickness or accident, from wild beasts or from the scalping knife; others discarded all connection with the past and buried themselves in the wilds. An old trader declared that after a term of three years, only forty out of two hundred who entered the wilderness would be known to have survived.

Their haven of rest or relaxation was seldom the town, but rather the annual rendezvous of the Americans, or the entrepôt fort of the companies; but respite was also afforded at the wintering ground selected by various parties, as in the bend of the Yellowstone, with its mild climate and abundance of grass and game. Here the Indian housewife would soon raise the tent of her lord, enclosing with its eight or twelve poles, covered with buffalo skins, a circle of about ten feet in diameter. Without, the men were unloading the animals, felling trees for barricades, or bringing in game for the repast. After supper the blazing camp-fire threw its ruddy glow upon the reclining group, while humorous chat, or song or story passed

the hours until the decaying embers signalled to repose.

The picturesque in nature was reflected unconsciously in the life and garb of her children. The long-haired hunter delighted in fanciful costumes and trappings, with an abundance of finery. The ordinary dress of the French and Scotch consisted of a striped or colored cotton shirt, open in front, or held loosely by a gay handkerchief, leathern, woollen, or corduroy trousers, often protected with leggings, and a blue cloth or blanket or skin capote, with a hood serving for cloak and cap, and strapped to the body by a scarlet vest, lining and fur-edging being added for warmth. The pantaloons were tied at the knee with bead gaiters. When not wearing the capote, some had woollen caps or turbans of colored handkerchiefs, while the more foppish indulged in beaver hats or coverings almost hidden under feathers, tinsel, and tassels. Ornamental moccasins covered the feet, and scarlet belts encircled the waist, holding the knife and tobacco pouch. The voyagers delighted in variegated ribbons. The American hunter preferred deerskin trousers and an outer shirt of leather or flannel, while leather fringes, occasionally dyed, and adorned with porcupine quills, took the place of other finery.

The rifle was the main dependence for food, and the diet was therefore principally of meat, fresh or dried, varied with fish, berries, and roots. Bread, salt, and vegetables were rarities, except at larger stations. Even here rations were scant in quantity as well as variety. The staple was pemican, or dried, pulverized meat, valued for its condensed form and nourishing qualities, whether eaten raw or cooked. It was widely stored in cache, together with furs and other property not convenient to carry.

The transfer of the Franco-American possessions to England gave a stimulus to British enterprise, which was marked in 1766 by the entry of Scotch traders

in rivalry with the Hudson's Bay company, assisted by former French employés. Their starting-point was Michilimackinac, whence they spread in all directions, spurred by competition. Their success led, in 1783–4, to the formation by the more prominent, in association with Montreal merchants, of the Northwest company, which was obliged to admit several powerful opponents. Profiting by the methods adopted by the existing corporation, and by the zeal evoked under more liberal concessions to servants, the new organization was prepared to contest the field in eager rivalry. Indeed, of all fur-trading associations the Northwest company was the most audacious, and ultimately the most successful. From their headquarters at Grand Portage, on Lake Superior, they directed the shipment of supplies from England, and of furs, through the Montreal agents, who advanced the necessary capital, while the other proprietors furnished the ability and energy, and passed their time in the Indian country. Shares were sold only to servants, whose admission as partners was secured by vote, depending upon merit alone. This judicious policy raised the gross profits from £40,000 in 1788 to treble that amount within eleven years. But the risk and delay in realizing were great, and the agents were not reimbursed for their outlay for two years. The first partnership ended in 1790, with a dissension among the members, which was ended by a new coalition in 1805

Infusing into their traffic the spirit of enterprise, they pushed adventure beyond Lake Superior into the United States, but more especially to Winnipeg, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca, overspreading finally the then unexplored northwest. They discovered the river Mackenzie, and followed it to the frozen sea; ascended Peace river; crossed the Rocky mountains, traversed the country to the Pacific, and took possession of the Northwest coast, extending southward to

the Columbia, and becoming most formidable rivals of the adventurers of England.

They ignored the charter, policy, and claims of the Hudson's Bay company, and when the latter began to build a line of forts along their path, and contest their advance by force and by outbidding them, they strained every nerve for the contest. The result was a relentless feud, carried on in some quarters with strategy and tactics, in others with ruinous competition and demoralizing liquor traffic, and in many instances with scuffles, duels, and raids, attended by the seizure of goods and burning of stations, and the enrolment of savages for bloody campaigns. The Northwest company gained the advantage, and by 1804 proposed to buy the Hudson's Bay company's interests for the face figure of the capital stock, pointing out that its charter, owing to non-fulfilled conditions, amounted only to a claim of prior possession. The offer was of course declined.

The Northwest company now hastened to occupy the Pacific slope, and in 1805 James McDougall erected a fort on McLeod lake, the first in the Northwest. In the following years several additional posts were founded in the Frazer basin, and one in 1810 upon the Spokane, and upon other branches of the Columbia, the intermediate regions being meanwhile explored by the traders, in some directions as far as the coast. This advance into the Oregon country brought them face to face with rivals from the United States.

The attention of the United States had been attracted to this coast by the reports of traders, by the enthusiastic schemes of Ledyard, and by the acquisition of Louisiana, which was vaguely assumed to extend indefinitely westward. President Jefferson was greatly impressed by the importance of the transmontane slope, and obtained congressional assent to an exploring expedition. The command was given to Captain Lewis, his private secretary, associated

with Lieutenant Clarke, with instructions to examine especially the geographic and commercial features. The party, thirty-two in number, left Pittsburg in May 1804, and after wintering among the Mandans, under protection of an escort, proceeded up the Missouri and along Jefferson and Salmon rivers, crossing thence to Lewis or Snake river. It skirted the Rocky mountains to Clarke fork, reached the junction of the last two rivers, and on November 7, 1805, sighted the Pacific at the mouth of the Columbia. Here the winter was passed in the Clatsop country, and the return safely effected in the following year, notwithstanding that they were compelled to subsist entirely on game. It was an ably conducted expedition, opening a broad field for enterprise, and rewards came in land-grants and promotions. Clarke became general of militia, and subsequently governor of Missouri, and superintendent of Indian affairs. Lewis, to whose zeal and courage was mainly due the success of the enterprise, was made governor of Louisiana, in which position he died by his own hand, while suffering from hypochondria, due partly to the strain of his arduous trip.

A striking illustration of the power of intelligence and skill inherent in the individual in certain instances, and the effect of its action, not only on the fortunes of the possessor and his family through successive generations, but upon the nation and the national domain throughout all time, may be found in that part of the early history of European occupation in our north Pacific seaboard, which relates to the founding of Astoria.

Following the voyage of Mackenzie down the Fraser river in 1793, and the government explorations of Lewis and Clarke down the Columbia in 1805, came two expeditions to the Oregon country in 1811, one by land and the other by water, both

being despatched by the same man. The whole region north of Mexico and west of the Rocky mountains was at that time in an absolute state of nature. The Franciscans had, indeed, planted a line of their missions along the coast from San Diego to San Francisco bays; there were, as we have seen, a few Russian fur-hunters in Alaska, and Scotchmen from Montreal were cautiously pioneering their way into New Caledonia from the Peace river pass, while American trappers were percolating through the mountains westward from St Louis. Further than this, throughout these vast solitudes there was not a soul who knew aught of what existed beyond his horizon, aught of Europe or the progress of mankind therein, aught of Mexico or Peru with their indigenous progress, or anything else, save what was visible to the inhabitants amid their narrow environment. North of San Francisco bay all was primeval wilderness, inhabited only by wild men and wild beasts, and the few scattered Europeans who employed the one to hunt the other.

The breaking of this stillness, and the letting in of light destined to shine with ever-increasing brilliancy, was largely due to the members of the Pacific Fur company, organized in New York by John Jacob Astor, who furnished all the capital, one million of dollars, and assumed all the risk and responsibility of the venture. The plan was to establish a line of forts between the Missouri river and the Pacific, enter into traffic with the natives, establish a post at the mouth of the Columbia, and thence send furs to China, to be exchanged for teas and silks for New York, returning with Indian supplies to Astoria.

To Wilson P. Hunt, of New Jersey, was given charge of affairs on the Pacific, Duncan McDougall being chief in his absence. With a number of Scotchmen from Montreal, formerly members of the Northwest company, and now partners in the Pacific company, McDougall sailed from New York

in the ship *Tonquin*, Jonathan Thorn, lieutenant in the United States navy, commander. The vessel reached her destination in safety, though not without loss of life. After discharging passengers and cargo, she coasted northward for furs, and was captured by the natives at Nootka sound, nearly all on board being killed. Hunt, with a party of sixty, passed up the Missouri, and descending the Columbia, joined his associates at Astoria.

The American flag was raised none too soon at Fort Astoria to secure the great Oregon country to the United States. For already the men from Montreal were hastening thither to seize the prize; but they were too late. It is safe to say that had not Mr Astor moved in this matter as he did, had his plans been frustrated or his purpose delayed, the northern boundary of the United States might today be the forty-second parallel of latitude. Thus we see the momentous significance of this movement, which, though resulting disastrously to the projector, was pregnant with the most beneficial results to the nation.

True, the post was lost for a time, passing into the hands of the British and the Northwest company during the war of 1812, but the final effect was the same as if possession had been continuous. I do not, of course, affirm that the founding of this fort was alone sufficient to institute a valid claim to the Columbia river country, while David Thompson and his men of the Northwest company were at the same moment trading on the head-waters of its tributaries. But in so evenly balanced a scale as that which weighed the delicate differences in the Oregon question, there is no doubt but that even a lesser fact than the establishment of Fort Astoria would have been sufficient to turn it.

And in the fulfilment of the purpose of this work, here belongs the more complete characterization of the founder of the Astor family and his successors.

John Jacob Astor, the elder, was born July 17, 1763 in the village of Waldorf, near Heidelberg, in the grand duchy of Baden. He was the youngest son of Johann Jacob Astor, a poor peasant, whose father had been in better circumstances.

The first years of his life were passed in poverty and privation, and at the age of sixteen he left his father's occupation and joined an elder brother who had settled some years before in London, and who subsequently became the head of the musical instrument warehouse of Astor & Broadwood. He set out on foot for the Rhine, and resting under a tree while still in sight of his native village, formed three resolves, to which he adhered through life—to be honest, to be industrious, and never to gamble. He worked his passage down the Rhine on a timber raft, and on arriving in London received employment at his brother's factory. Here he remained three years, acquiring the English language, and putting by some scanty savings for the time when he should be able to realize the project upon which his thoughts were fixed, of removing to America, where he had a presentiment of attaining great riches. In his later period of prosperity he often referred to these years as having been among the happiest of his life. In November, 1783 he embarked at Southampton, taking a stock of flutes and other musical instruments which were to be sold at a profit. Upon arriving in New York he found his brother Henry Astor in possession of a considerable fortune, acquired by supplying at first the British garrison, and afterward the meat dealers of the city, with cattle which he bought in herds in the interior.

John Jacob Astor soon busied himself in the fur trade, to which his attention had been called by a fellow-countryman, and in which large fortunes were being amassed. He entered upon this new occupation with unremitting vigor, and at the end of ten years had diverted the most profitable markets from

his competitors, and was at the head of a business branching to Albany, Buffalo, Plattsburgh, and Detroit. Finding that London was a better market for furs than New York, he chartered a vessel, put his brother-in-law William Whetten, a ship captain, in command, sold the cargo to great advantage, and returned with Astor and Broadwood instruments, which from their excellence were held in high reputation. Taught by this experience he bought ships and engaged in the lucrative China trade, sending vessels round the world on each cruise, carrying furs to England, English manufactures to Canton, and thence returning to New York with tea. His business increased immensely, but he superintended all parts of it personally and gave attention to the minutest details. His letters of instruction to his agents were written with extraordinary comprehensiveness and accuracy. It was his maxim, "If you wish a thing done, get some one to do it for you; but if you wish it done well, do it yourself." He meditated long before acting, but a resolve once taken it was executed without hesitation.

His greatest enterprise was the settlement of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia river, which is the subject of Washington Irving's volume of that name. After the famous journey of Lewis and Clarke across the continent, he dispatched traders and buyers to the Indian tribes of Oregon and Dakota and the great lakes. The British Northwest fur company opposed him to the utmost, driving away his agents and voyageurs, and claiming exclusive rights to the fur trade of the Pacific. In the face of great difficulty the station of Astoria was maintained for four years, and a treaty was signed by his agent and son-in-law Bentzon with Count Baranoff on behalf of the Russian government in Kamtchatka and Alaska. In dealing with the Indians, and in his instructions to his captains relative to their intercourse with the savages, Mr Astor was wise, humane, and liberal.

A significant corroboration to this statement is found in the conduct of Comcomly, the chief of the native Chinooks, who upon the approach of a British sloop of war in December, 1814, offered to defend Astoria with his warriors, promising to inflict a sanguinary repulse upon the enemy. But unfortunately Mr Astor had erred for once in his judgment of human nature, and had entrusted Astoria with its fort, its magazines, and its accumulation of valuable furs to the renegade Scotchman, Duncan McDougall, who, for a bribe from the British Northwest company, bade Comcomly dismiss his braves, and hoisted the Union Jack almost before he could be summoned to surrender.

In this remarkable enterprise Mr Astor was actuated less by considerations of pecuniary profit than by the zest of a vast design which had gradually developed in his mind, and which aimed at the exploration and civilization of the Pacific coast, through the medium of commerce and colonization. The magnitude of his financial relations, and the vigor and breadth of his self-trained intellect, brought him into frequent correspondence upon the establishment and maintenance of Astoria with the leading American statesmen of the time, but the government gave no further encouragement or protection than its acquiescence in projects which were evidently to be so greatly to its advantage.

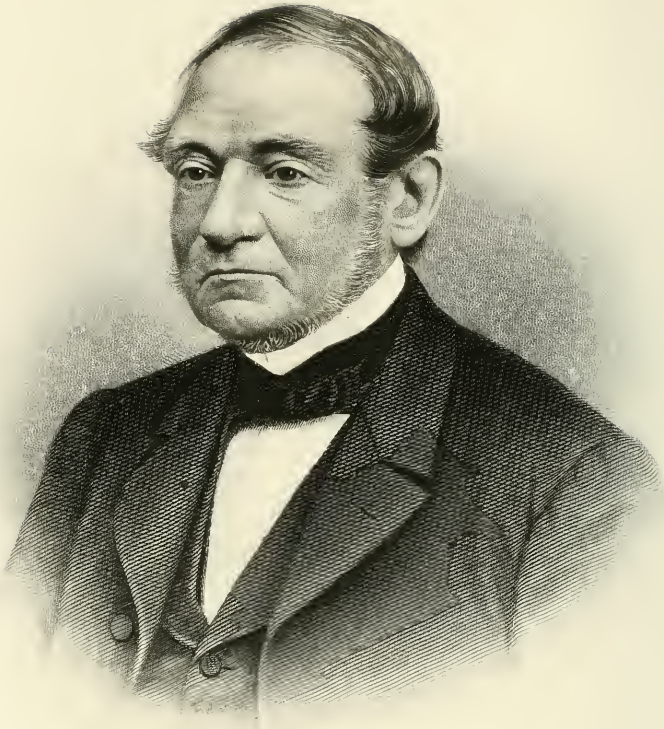
At the commencement of the present century Mr Astor began investing the profits of commercial ventures in real estate upon Manhattan island, whose immense future value he was one of the first to foresee. He bought meadows and farms in the track which the growth of the city would follow, trusting to time to multiply their worth. His rise to fortune was due to none of the curious windfalls and favoring chances which are popularly associated with his early years; the first half of his life was an arduous struggle in which adversity and disappointment only

stimulated him to further self-improvement and to a broader and profounder study of the world. The practical cast of his character, and the principles of frugality and labor which his experience had instilled, made him impatient of indolence and sham and mendicancy. But he knew the value of wise benefaction, and by his will established the library which bears his name, and which his son and grandson have augmented till their united gift to the city represents a million and a half of dollars.

Mr Astor was a self-educated man, and his desire for useful information was a constant habit of the mind and marked every period of life. He delighted in the society of men of letters and accomplishments. One of his most intimate friends, dating from the days of their service as directors of the bank of the United States, was Albert Gallatin, and his frequent companion, and one who at a later period lived with him for several years, was Washington Irving. Through business relations he was interested in the chief banking institutions of the city, and in 1834, when the New York Life Insurance and Trust company was robbed by its cashier of its entire surplus, amounting to a quarter of a million, Mr Astor saved the company from an inevitable suspension, which in those days meant disgrace, by the gratuitous loan of an amount sufficient to meet its immediate needs.

After his retirement from active business in 1822 he made several visits to Europe, residing on the continent in all nearly ten years. He acquired the French language, which he learned to speak and write fluently, was presented at the court of Charles the tenth, and devoted parts of two winters to the galleries and museums of Italy; the summers abroad were passed at a villa he owned on the lake of Geneva, which he afterward gave to his son-in-law, Vincent Rumpff, then minister of the Hanseatic league at Paris.

Mr Astor's last years were spent in repose and



Wm B Astor.

retirement, in the supervision of landed interests, and in the society of a small circle of men of attainments.

His strongest trait was integrity; his private life was blameless; his chief pleasure was in the simple recreations of his country home; by the force of his influence and example he helped to give character to the society of his time.

In old age, surrounded by every luxury and looking back across an eventful career, his thoughts reverted to the home of his boyhood in the humble little village of Waldorf; and by his will he made provision for the establishment there of an asylum for the sick and infirm, which, since its creation in 1854, has alleviated suffering, and stood as a memorial of the love its founder retained to the last for his German fatherland.

William B. Astor succeeded to his father's estate at the age of fifty-six years. Born on the 19th day of September, 1792, he completed his education at the university of Göttingen in 1812–13, and during that sojourn abroad saw the departure of Napoleon's army for the invasion of Russia, and witnessed the German uprising that followed the reverses of that campaign.

In 1818, he married Margaret Rebecca, daughter of General John Armstrong, author of the Newburg letters, minister from the United States at the court of the first French empire, United States senator and secretary of war.

At the age of twenty-eight he entered his father's counting-house, in which at that time was conducted a mercantile business that encircled the globe. Between the years 1820 and 1825 these commercial ventures were reduced, and replaced by simpler and less hazardous interests. At that period New York fronted the battery, and here Mr Astor lived, passing the summer months with his family at his father's country-seat at Hell Gate. In those early days life

was without the luxuries that wealth and travel and leisure have brought, and amid the simple habits of the time Mr Astor's character was shaped in abstemious, methodical, self-reliant ways. His youth was unspoiled by the world, and he knew neither affectation nor vanity. All his life he was regular in outdoor exercise, riding on horseback until the age of seventy-five, and walking several miles daily, whatever the weather. Those who knew him only in old age—a man of iron constitution and rugged health and inflexible purpose—could with difficulty have imagined him in early manhood fond of sport, an expert fencer, taking pleasure in dancing and in ladies' society.

From thirty to the age of fifty he was personally interested in various corporations, from which he withdrew as responsibilities increased. In common with all men of his position in New York, he held aloof from public affairs, regarding the city government and the ways of politicians with aversion. His days were passed according to a fixed routine, which continued almost unchanged to the last. He rose betimes, breakfasted frugally, and devoted six hours of the day to his affairs, supervising details, directing the work of the clerks, and visiting the office of his solicitor three or four times a week. In appearance he was large and tall, of grave countenance, and kind and courtly in manner to the humblest. Under the impulse of his meditative and forecasting mind, the management of the Astor estate was moulded to a precise and undeviating system. In 1824 the office was removed from Vesey street to Prince street, where a diminutive building was erected for its accommodation. This, in 1850, was converted to a vault or strong-room, and the counting-house was transferred to the adjoining premises, No. 85, where it remained for thirty years. Here business was conducted under Mr Astor's personal supervision and that of his eldest son, John Jacob, with simplicity and directness, and in almost unbroken still-

ness, father and son and book-keeper occupying the rear room, while in front sat a younger son, William, and two clerks. The Astors have never speculated, and the popular fancy which supposes them continually foreclosing mortgages and driving unfortunate beings to despair is groundless. Irrespective of a natural and humane indulgence for the mortgagor, to foreclose is a troublesome and costly procedure, and is resorted to only in rare and unavoidable cases. In all his affairs, which brought him in contact with many people, Mr Astor showed an invariably modest, reserved disposition, and none ever heard from him the slightest allusion to his wealth. The ruling principle of his life was a faithful discharge of every duty, and he followed it with a constancy that neither the weight of responsibility, nor the weariness of age, nor the thousand petty annoyances that attend the rich man's way, could alter.

With advancing years he withdrew from the world; his appearances in society became less frequent, and of the entertainments at his Lafayette place residence few remained but the formal New Year's day family dinner, to which all his children and grandchildren, and half a dozen particular friends, were bidden, and which were stately entertainments of an old-fashioned type.

After his wife's death, February 15, 1872, he removed to No. 372 Fifth avenue, passing the summers at his country-seat, Rokeby on the Hudson. His devotion to business continued, but otherwise he lived in great seclusion, receiving few visitors beyond an intimate circle, and devoting his leisure to the reading of French and English classical literature, which had always been his favorite relaxation. His long life ended peacefully on the 24th day of November, 1875.

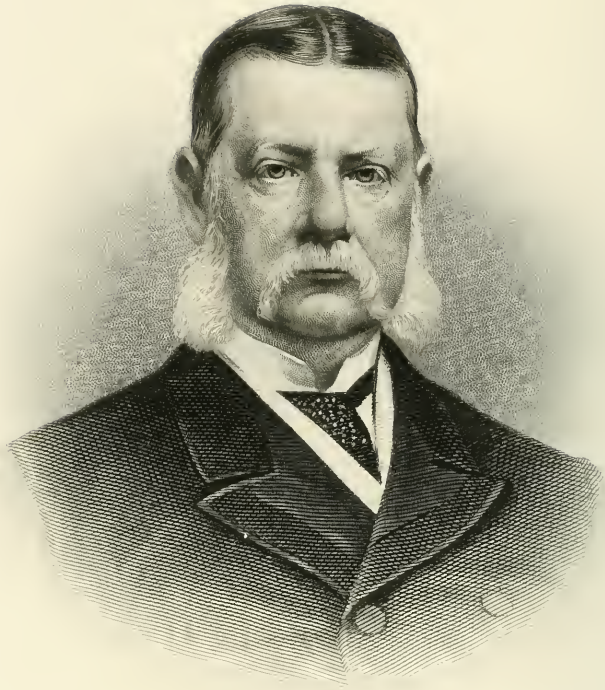
John Jacob Astor, the second of the name, was born in New York, June 10, 1822. His parents were

William B. Astor, son of the founder of the family, and Margaret Rebecca, daughter and granddaughter of the Armstrongs of revolutionary honor.

After graduating from Columbia college he was sent to the university of Göttingen, where, thirty years earlier, his father had studied and formed friendships with the men who were destined to prepare the mind of Germany for national unity. When to this had been added the diploma of Harvard law school, and a year's practice with a law firm, he passed, at the age of twenty-five, to the office of the estate of John Jacob Astor.

On the 9th of December 1846 he married Charlotte Augusta Gibbes, whose father had removed from South Carolina at an early age. Their acquaintance began as children, and was, for both, a first and lifelong and unwavering attachment. To his wife he owed the example of her own high ideals, and the habitual practice of a broad and generous sympathy with all classes. Her influence sprang from the daily self-sacrifice of her life, which was exemplified when, after the first federal reverses of the civil war, she accepted without murmur his determination to serve in the field in the cause of the nation.

At the beginning of this century, fortunes were easily made in New York, and in many cases were still more quickly lost. A spendthrift or incompetent son wrecked in a year what the skill of the father had achieved in a lifetime. Hence the elder Astor early associated his son with him in the care of his property, interesting him in its management by a large share of responsibility, and instructing him in those wise principles by which it was to be preserved. And similarly the subject of this sketch was trained by his father, not for sordid acquisition, but in recognition of the duty the heir owes to the ancestor to maintain and enhance the fortune from which all the honors and advantages and pleasures of life are directly or indirectly derived.



J. J. Astor

Mr Astor's natural qualities were such as made him responsive to every such appeal. An intuitive love of justice, an honest devotion to the right, a severe satisfaction in the faithful discharge of duty, underlay all the additions of reading and travel and experience. His tastes were simple, and with riper years the serious pleasures of his youth continued to delight him. In the prime of life he possessed great vigor, and his favorite relaxations were a walk through the woods, or an afternoon in his rowboat, or a long ride on horseback. This zest for outdoor exercise developed a vivid appreciation of the beauties of rural scenery. He delighted in the blossoming expansion of spring, and in the reveries that summer fields and fleeting clouds and lengthening shadows suggest. The tints of autumn, and the sparkling vista of the river, and the eloquent silence of starlight nights spoke to him in a language he grew to understand and to love.

Few rich men bear responsibility so wisely, or walk so far above the common temptations of wealth. Of a singularly modest and unselfish character, he applied to the tasks and duties imposed by association with benevolent institutions the thoughful earnestness that men usually give only to their personal affairs. His greatest delight—after the services of the church—was in personally assisting the very poor, and in the satisfaction of witnessing their instant relief. "Forasmuch," the Master says, "as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

Much of Mr Astor's career was passed in ways withdrawn from general notice, and from his predisposition to retirement, it might be inferred that he sought rather the association of familiar places than the companionship of men. The routine of methodical industry and fiduciary service was lightened by frequent visits to Europe, by the constant study of books, and by the social pleasures of a few cherished friendships. For forty years he served as a trustee

of the Astor library, and witnessed its growth from the inception of its founder's design to its successive enlargements by his father and by himself. Once only he felt tempted to enter the public service by an offer from President Hayes in December 1879 of the mission to England—a position for which his practical judgment and knowledge of society qualified him, but which his habitual modesty bade him decline.

Of all his memories of a long and active life, the one to which he reverted with the greatest satisfaction was his service in the field in 1862 with the army of the Potomac. The remembrance of the patriotic ardor of the troops, of their jubilant confidence in McClellan, of the privations of the bivouac, of the exposures and dangers of the seven days' battles, of the forlorn appearance and redoubtable qualities of the enemy—all these and many more he cherished with an interest akin to the attachment with which his thoughts ever after followed the officers who had been his companions in those stirring and memorable scenes.

Besides the respect of the community, which the example of his pure and useful life commanded, his kindly words, his cordial and unassuming manner, his keen sense of humor, his ready facility of expression, and his wide information, attached to him a group of friends who knew him well and loved him. But chiefly his loss fell upon his son, to whom, through long years of mutual confidence, he gave the teachings and experience of his life.

In his quiet library, surrounded by the volumes which, as years passed and other friends were taken, had become his favorite companions, death—swift and almost painless—touched him; and on the 22d day of February 1890, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, he left this world without regret, and with his last conscious thoughts fixed upon the better world to come.

W W Astor.

William Waldorf Astor, the fourth in line, and at present head of the Astor family, was born in New York, March 31, 1848. His parents were John Jacob Astor II. and Charlotte Augusta Gibbes.

His education was chiefly directed by tutors, and was completed at home by a professor of the German university of Marburg. This early preparation was, however, the least important part of his training, its more valuable portion resulting from the companionship and influences of his home life. From his father he acquired the example of integrity which has become synonymous with the name, and the conservative principles and industrious ways that marked the earlier generations. From his mother he received an ideal conveyed in many varied lessons, to derive the utmost good from life.

He entered the office at the age of twenty-three, earlier than either his father or grandfather, and was practically taught the duties of each clerical department. Feeling his want of legal information a serious deficiency, he passed two years at Columbia College law school, and upon being admitted to the bar, served an apprenticeship of one year with the firm of Lord, Day, & Lord. His grandfather named him one of his executors, and one of the trustees of a large portion of his property to be held in trust for his sons. Upon John Jacob Astor's succeeding to the estate, he gave his son a power of attorney, putting him in his own place, and giving him absolute authority over all his property.

With the view of acquiring a broader knowledge of men and affairs than the routine of the office promised, Mr Astor served three years in the New York state legislature, where he found a valuable opportunity for the study of human nature and public business. Appointed by President Arthur to the Italian mission, he resided for three winters in Rome, a city with which early travel had already made him familiar. His official duties being inconsiderable, he

busied himself with the examination of obscure passages in Italian mediæval annals. His stories, *Valentino* and *Sforza*, are in part the result of these researches.

Mr Astor is a man of strong physique, a great lover of nature, and devoted to outdoor exercise. He rides much on horseback, fences, and in his youth was a good boxer. He is industrious, tenacious of purpose, and methodical in his ways. In 1878, he married Mary Dahlgren Paul, a Philadelphia beauty, by whom he has three children,—Waldorf, born May 19, 1879; Pauline, born September 24, 1880; and John Jacob, born May 19, 1886.

As residuary legatee, Mr Astor recently succeeded to his father's property, in the management of which he has made but few changes, and these only with the purpose of simplifying the administration of the office, which he designates the Estate of John Jacob Astor, his great-grandfather.

After the acquisition of Fort Astoria, the Northwest company, now sole potentates on the Northwest coast, hastened to make good their possession before their only formidable rival, the Hudson's Bay company, should enter in force. One measure was to repress certain Indian tribes, particularly those along the Columbia, which had taken advantage of the late competition to commit robberies and other outrages. Stolen goods were recovered by the arrest of their leaders, and their turbulent spirit was overawed by discharges of cannon, while good behavior was rewarded with presents, and honorary appointments for influential chieftains, and misconduct met with certain punishment.

The company determined to direct its efforts to trade rather than to hunting, and more by means of active operations than the mere maintenance of stations. To this end the field was divided into an interior and a coast district, the latter intrusted to

swift vessels, which should also supply goods for California. This reorganization was effected by D. McTavish, one of the oldest partners, assisted by D. McKenzie, as manager of the interior, who subsequently became governor of the Red River colony. By 1817 the company had more than 300 Canadians in its service on this slope, and three ships for carrying supplies. Additional forts had also been established, and the plan for occupation so thoroughly systematized that there was little prospect for successful competition by the Hudson's Bay rival, although the latter had set aside a sinking-fund for carrying on the struggle in this quarter.

The Hudson's Bay company had sought to interpose a barrier in their path from the northwest by causing the establishment of the Red River colony, and so obliging them to make a wide and costly detour. But the Northwest company answered the challenge by raids with torch and sword, by cutting off supplies, and by a persistent molestation, which so exhausted and terrified the settlers as to cause their withdrawal. The justice demanded upon the aggressors was foiled by intrigue and bribery, but the investigation enforced upon the government led to mediation and compromise, by which the two companies were in 1821 united under one head, on equal terms, under the name of the older association. Each contributed £200,000 in stock, in one hundred shares, of which forty were held by active workers. The selection of twenty-five chief factors and twenty-eight chief traders was made from the servants of each, alternately.

On December 21, 1821, the government granted to the consolidation an exclusive trade license for twenty-one years over all parts of British North America not already conceded to the old company, the crown reserving the right to appoint magistrates, although the selection was naturally made among the fur-traders. Before the expiration of the term the

progress of exploration and settlements alarmed the monopoly, and it seized an opportune moment to surrender the license, in order to obtain in 1838 a renewal for another series of twenty-one years.

The Pacific slope had meanwhile entered upon a new political phase. By treaty of 1814, England offered to restore the captured forts to the United States, although it was not until four years later that the American flag was again raised over Astoria. By convention of 1818 it was further agreed that both nationalities should have unrestricted access to the Northwest coast for ten years, without prejudice to a later adjustment of title; yet it was well enough understood that the Americans intended to assert their rights as far as latitude 49°, or even 54° 40′, while the English aimed to secure the Columbia for their southern boundary.

Under these circumstances the British association resolved to concentrate its best resources and possessions on the northern side of the Columbia. It was also decided to select for an entrepôt a point combining agricultural and other advantages, tending in later times to assure its position as a metropolis. A more central and convenient point on the river was selected, near the head of ocean navigation, and almost opposite the great Willamette tributary. Here Fort Vancouver was founded, in 1825, and soon grew into a solid establishment, with warehouses, workshops, dwellings, and halls, enclosed within a fortified picket wall 750 feet long by 450 in width, surrounded by gardens, orchards, fields, and pastures, and supplemented in time by a village containing servants, natives, and half-breeds, the nucleus of the present flourishing town. It became the main depot for all the Pacific trading posts, sending supplies, partly by ships, but chiefly by boats, to the upper Columbia, and other points, where pack-trains made the necessary continuations.

In 1824 Fraser river, the second great canoe route of the coast, was explored from the sea, and here soon

afterward rose Fort Langley, which in time became an entrepôt even for the upper Columbia. The intercourse between this post and Vancouver, partly overland, led to the founding of Fort Nisqually, on Puget sound, which in the following decade was made the shipping-place, owing to the dangers of the Columbia bar, marked by more than one disastrous wreck.

Agriculture had thus far been neglected under the pressure of fur-gathering, but now farmers with seed and cattle were introduced from California and the east, and furnished staple necessaries, and even cargoes for export. To this end special farms were opened, notably on the Cowlitz prairie, and north of this the Puget Sound company's establishments, formed by the Hudson's Bay company's shareholders, although a distinct association.

The visit of inspection in 1828–9, repeated in 1841 by Governor Simpson, the resident American manager of the monopoly, gave rise to several additional measures. An agency was opened at the Hawaiian islands, to obtain an outlet for the surplus flour, fish, and lumber, and where might be obtained coffee, sugar, salt, and other articles. In the forties a similar branch was formed at San Francisco bay, where European goods might be exchanged for peltry, hides, tallow, and cattle, but it was closed shortly prior to the gold discovery, thus missing that rare opportunity for money-making.

Forts were gradually established along the Rocky mountains as far south as Fort Hall on Snake river, and as far north as Fort Connolly on Peace river, not counting the stations on the Mackenzie, which extended to the Arctic sea. Nearer the coast they had been carried through Oregon to Umpqua river in 1832, in the face of hostile Indians, and about the same time the Alaskan frontier was approached.

By treaty of 1825 England had agreed with Russia upon latitude 54° 40′ as the dividing line, which was recognized also by the United States, and upon a

shore line northward of ten leagues, and including all that lay west of longitude 141°, British traders being allowed free admission for a decade. In 1831 Fort Simpson was founded, on Naso river, and three years later an attempt was made to pass through Russian territory, and establish a post on the Stikeen; but the Muscovites objected, and incited the Indians against the proposed intruders. The Hudson's Bay company protested, and obtained not only damages, but a ten years' lease of the shore strip, including two stations, to which two others were immediately added. The primary object was to obtain colonial trade, but the fur business itself proved more profitable than under the less energetic and methodical Russians, so much so that a renewal of the lease was procured until the sixties. This traffic was facilitated by the introduction, in 1836, of a steamer, named the *Beaver*, the first to appear in North Pacific waters. Sixteen years later the enlarged traffic demanded another vessel, and the steamer *Otter* was placed in service.

The consolidation, together with the able administration of George Simpson as general manager, and of John McLoughlin on the Pacific slope, had proved beneficial no less to the company than to the country and its inhabitants, partly by insuring order, partly by elevating the moral tone among traders and Indians, as in the restriction on liquor traffic, and the promotion of harmonious intercourse, and again by improving the financial condition of all. During the period from 1690 to 1800, the Hudson's Bay company, for instance, had been paying between sixty and seventy per cent annually in dividends on its capital of about £100,000. Then, under bitter competition with the Northwest company, as also during the struggle with France, profits fell sometimes to nothing. After 1821, with a consolidated and watered capital of £400,000, and with shares selling at over two hundred per cent premium, the dividends ranged for the most part between ten and twenty per cent, while in

1863 the subscriptions, invited in order to issue the capital stock at par, raised the nominal amount to £2,000,000. In 1846 the lands and buildings around Vancouver alone were valued at nearly $1,000,000, and the balance sheet of the Pacific coast business showed a profit of from £25,000 to £35,000 per annum, that for the region south of the 49th parallel being only £7,000.

So far the Northwest coast had been used as a mere game preserve; but the reports of flourishing agricultural tracts from California northward, of stately forests, rich fisheries, fine harbors, and many other resources, together with a favorable climate, began to receive attention. The statements of returned trappers and captains were confirmed by such travellers and explorers as Kelley, Wyeth, Bonneville, Slacum, Farnham, and Belcher, in the thirties, and by Mofras, Wilkes, and Frémont early in the following decade. Hall J. Kelley especially had extolled the advantages of the Columbia region in the self-assumed character of its apostle, since 1827, with articles and pamphlets, lectures and congressional petitions, as well as with efforts during a period of fifteen years to establish a colony.

The government at Washington had early been impressed with the value of the fur trade, and the acquisition of Louisiana, with its undefined limits westward, had given a meaning to the vague wording of the treaty of independence concerning the northern boundary, which in 1806–7 was fixed at latitude 49 as far as the Rocky mountains. Henceforth the prolongation of this line to the Pacific, partly on the ground of contiguity, became a fixed project with the Americans. The only question was, whether it should be carried northward or at an angle. The result of the Nootka convention was to leave the coast open to foreigners. Citizens of the United States accordingly gained the privilege of first entering and

naming the Columbia river. They also made the first formal exploration of the interior of Oregon, under Lewis and Clarke, and the first settlements, under Winship and Astor. After the possession of Astoria was conceded to the United States, in 1818, England offered to accept the Columbia as a boundary; but, the former objecting, an arrangement similar to the Nootka treaty was agreed upon, namely, free admission for both to the entire coast. England gained by temporizing the profitable enjoyment of the entire game preserve, while the other hoped finally to obtain the advantage through the inevitable influx of her pioneers. In 1819 Spain transferred to the Washington authorities her title to the coast above latitude 42°, based upon an undisputed priority of discovery, and upon the formal and conceded occupation of Nootka, which was declared to surpass any claim by the British, founded on subsequent exploration and mere trading intercourse. The Nootka convention, while opening the region to the latter, left the Spanish claim intact. Now the United States vaguely extended her line to the parallel of 54° 40′, which Russia accepted as her Alaskan border. During the thirties United States missionaries and settlers entered this region, though somewhat tardily, and began to urge congress to take formal possession. In the following decade the agitation rose indeed to fever heat among both nationalities, and the government at Washington early in 1846 demanded a settlement of the question. Impressed by the war feeling in the states, with the popular cry of "54° 40′ or fight," England thought it best to yield the Columbia line and offer the prolongation of the eastern 49th parallel, yet with free navigation of the Columbia and possessory rights of estate held by British companies. The occupation of the country north of latitude 49°, by forts, traders, and explorers, was of a nature to secure for it a title equal to that under which the United States had been claiming Oregon. This was recog-

nized in congress, and as the straight line along the 49th parallel and the fine harbors of Puget sound were the main objects, the offer was accepted.

CHAPTER II.

CENTRALIZATION OF POWER.

Illustrations from History—Themistocles, Epaminondas, Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great—Servius Tullius, Coriolanus, Cicero, the Cæsars—Christianity—Constantine—Alaric and Odoacer—Charlemagne—Feudalism—Evolution of Kingship—The Crusades—Some Intellectual Kings—The Louis, Charleses, Henrys, Williams, Peters, and Georges—Napoleon—American Type of Individualized Power—Life of Frederick Billings—Career in California—Railway Building and Financiering—Benefactions.

We have seen that strength is with the cultured, among both individuals and nations. It is the intellect that finally dominates, not physical force. To this rule there may be exceptions arising from extraordinary strength of character, resulting in an intensity of ideas and action. Compact masses of men, coming swiftly upon nations enervated by luxury, may subjugate them, as in the case of the roaming Tartars, the marauding Goths, or the fanatic Moslems. In fighting qualities the Caucasian race occupies the front rank; in the march of material progress the practical Teuton steps in advance of the less methodical Latin race. Asia presents in its wide spaces of uniform climate favorable conditions for culture, for the restlessness and migration which constitute a primary incentive and means to progress.

It is but another illustration of the force which by motion evolves order out of chaos. Pastoral life implants a love for adventure, which finds a fostering element in the mastery and ownership of beasts of burden, and in animal food, so exciting as compared

with the sedative effect noticeable among rice-eating peoples.

East of China stretch vast plains held from time immemorial by the mercurial Tartars, who thence detached conquering hordes to assume sway over Cathay, or to swoop westward upon the occupants of Asia Minor and Europe. Near them, on the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, lies the assigned home of the Caucasian race, with its three linguistic branches of practical Aryans, who achieved the highest development; the meditative Semites, who, while less progressive, have stamped their influence on the three great monotheistic religions of the world; and the conservative Hamites, whilom tutors of the others.

Impelled by the encroachments of the nomad Tartars, they set out to seek another home. Some descended into India, about 3000 B. C., there to stagnate under an oppressive sky. As conquerors they imposed upon the people a system of castes, which entwined them in its meshes, thwarting progression. Others turned westward. The course was natural, less because the pathway of the revered sun and stars turned the eyes of devotees in this direction, as proverbs and poetic fancies teach, than because the dreaded foe and forbidding mountain ranges barred the way eastward.

Such was the beginning of the most portentous of migrations for empire. Tartar aggressiveness has been manifested not alone in such conquests as Jenghis Khan's, and Tamerlane's, which extended from the Chinese Sea into Russia, and forced peoples like the Turks to become invaders, but we behold their hordes under Attila ravage southern Europe, before they are beaten back to the confines of Hungary. Many were the refluxes of the tides. Pressed on the north and west by the Slavs, the Teutons begin to move south early in the Christian era, while the Goths erect empires in the east and west on the crumbling foundations of Rome. Suevi and others take possession of

Spain, Vandals penetrate into Africa and strike back upon Italy, repeating the blows inflicted by Carthage. The Semites swarm back from their corner in Arabia, under the fanatic leadership of Mohammed, spreading their crescents from Mecca to Delhi through Media, and from Córdova to Constantinople through Africa. The counter-movement of the crusaders, so costly in lives and treasure, proved useless, save in bringing back the seed for a revival of culture. Out of this intercourse sprang, especially in Iberia, that spirit of adventure which opened the way to new continents, and for a fresh hegira westward. Then another movement across the plains and ridges until we behold the full-taught Aryan, after a *wanderjahre* period of nearly fifty centuries, swarming back from the west and the east to the ancestral land. He appears no longer a barbaric fugitive, but as sovereign master and mighty magician; rivalling the thunder and lightening with his gunpowder and electricity; defying wind and wave with steam and machinery; reading the rocks with their geologic strata; wrenching fire from the sun and secrets from the stars with chemistry and lens, all laden with science and with lore.

The first fruitful halt of the white migration is exhibited in the region of the Euphrates, whose fertility encouraged dense settlement, and whose rivers and adjacent gulf facilitated intercourse with India. Khammu-Rabi rises as conqueror to lift the Chaldeans into prominence as a nation. He is also credited with introducing the system of irrigation which gave them prosperity, and fostering the pursuit of those sciences and arts wherein they excelled, such as astronomy, favored by the clear serenity of their sky. Rivals appropriate their methods and use them for their subjugation. Under Assyrian rule Babylon declines. She revives once more under the great Nebuchadnezzar, who extends her arms to the Medi-

terranean, promotes manufactures, and by virtue of her situation aids in making her the centre of trade for the circle stretching from Phœnicia to Arabia, India, and the distant mountains. The consequent accumulation of wealth breeds enervating luxury, and tempts greedy invaders to encompass her destruction.

In the Assyrians, who first absorbed Chaldea, we behold the effect of a varied environment, with mountains, plateaux, and valleys, to produce more manly traits, to rear a race of great muscular strength,—brave, enduring, and aggressive. Like the Goths they adopted the culture of these subjugated peoples, assisted by the women, who here occupied a relatively higher position. Nineveh presented this combination of culture in her fortified palaces, encircled by mud huts. The use of the arch illustrated the bold and less conventional type of the people. The practical prevailed. Military organization enabled them to acquire control over a region extending from the Mediterranean to Armenia, and beyond; and a certain proficiency in political science, sustained by innate craftiness, tended to develop civil institutions, and hold together for some time a number of loosely connected states. The central figure of their greatness was Sennacherib, the son of a usurper, whose reign constituted the golden age of this land. After him signs of dissolution appeared, to tempt Scythian and Median invasions.

The lever for supremacy in the Medes, who now step to the front, lay in their cavalry. As horsemen they surpassed all the ancients, and the spirit fostered by this mastery over the horse, with its exhilarating speed, was invigorated by mountain life, and the ruggedness of their comparatively sterile plateau. Their greatness is associated with Cyaxares, who, learning a lesson from defeat in the first invasion of Assyria, reorganized his hordes into trained troops, and achieved his aim to establish a wide empire. But the power to sustain it lay in him alone, and this became evident

as the barbaric energy of his followers, marked by cruelty and display, was sapped by luxury.

The virtues and defects of the Medes had not escaped the observant Cyrus, who as a prince of subordinate Persia was held by them in semi-captivity. His penetration and foresight perceived the opportunity not alone for liberating his country, but for supplanting them in domination by improving upon their methods. He raised Persia from a fief to a nationality, with a domain extending from the Indus to the Danube, and from the Sahara to Caucasia and Arabia. Aryans were lifted above the Semitic race. He marked an epoch by introducing the first rational system of government, and Persian statecraft is demonstrated by the consolidation and long control of so heterogeneous an empire. Darius, in reörganizing the administration, introduced satrapies, regulated taxes and established a military cordon. But the tall and agile Iranian was vivacious and witty rather than practical, and while attaining in the Orient the nearest approach to European high-type civilization, the interval remained conspicuous. The army was sustained less by organization than by the war spirit, fostered by the training of children for soldiers and horsemanship, with a precautionary majority of Persian and Median nationality. Cyrus stands preëminent among contemporary rulers for foresight and judgment, for energy and ability, for courage and humanity. He fell as he rose,—in battle. His innovations were perfected by successors like Cambyses and Darius, and the empire sustained itself in the main until Alexander came to expose its decay. Among the enervating causes were polygamy, and religious decline from monotheism to Zoroasterism, with fire-worship, attended by a degeneration of the early national frankness into servility and deceit.

Egypt was singularly endowed with a valley wherein the annual inundation of the Nile produced unfailing fertility, permitting irrigation and other

costly labor to be dispensed with, ensuring tranquil confidence in the harvests, and dispensing a refreshing coolness through evaporation. Such bounty favored wealth and leisure, which always promote civilization to a certain degree. This was a little in advance of the culture brought by Hamite immigrants from Chaldea; the influence of the river undermined vigorous self-reliance and salutary forethought, and stagnation ensued. The monotonous recurrence of natural phenomena impressed itself upon the people in listless, impassive, and saturnine traits. They fell into grooves, to which fault conquerors added the system of castes, and a rigid conventionalism assumed sway, circumscribing every effort, restricting class transition, stunting aspiration among the lowly, and shackling the free spirit and soaring imagination even in sculpture and exoteric writing—to the confusion of progress. Aided by priests and the soldiery the ruler held the people in serfdom by controlling the land which he shared with these two allies alone. The constant temptation presented in the valley resources to surrounding marauders sustained military influence. Ecclesiastic power rested upon the mysterious actions of nature,—notably the Nile inundation, which was attributed to the propitiated good-will of deities,—upon the shrewd reservation of all advanced knowledge, and upon a strict adherence to the traditional form taught by nature itself. To this observance of rule even the sovereign bends subserviently. The number and grandeur of architectural relics point to the predominance of religion, and the pyramids to confined ideas, illustrating also the serfdom without which they never could have risen. Slavish tasks deadened the recollection of lost liberty, while instilling awe for the commemorating object.

The period of pyramid building yields, under the sixth dynasty, to a spirit of conquest, during which the military rise to prominence, and emphasize it by shifting the seat of sovereignty from Memphis to

Thebes. Twenty-three centuries before the Christian era Usertesen III. appears as the earliest recorded name among really great rulers. The war spirit abates, religious supremacy revives, and Egypt is humbled under a barbaric invasion. Diplomacy steps in to regain the advantage. Ethiopia assists Theban princes to oust the usurpers. Then appears Rameses II., the greatest of Egypt's monarchs, to extend his sway to the Ganges, and to create a golden age of three centuries. Tyranny follows, marked by the exodus of the Hebrews, and dissension opens the door to foreign arms. She emerges for only brief periods from vassalage to shed under Ptolemaic rule a reflection of Greek culture, alike upon Aryans and Semites. Hamite influence is ended.

Compare with this abortiveness the effect upon near-lying Phœnicia, of a comparatively sterile soil and enforced recourse to the sea, which led to hardihood and enterprise, and to enriching trade, the best training in practical culture. Domination over the water inspired confidence for even wider expeditions,—beyond the pillars of Hercules to England and the Baltic, into the Indian ocean, even round the uttermost point of Africa, and this without compass or proper use of sails. Commerce was attended by the establishment of factories and colonies which, in order to flourish, were entrusted to competent persons who would conform to the existing institutions so as to promote harmonious intercourse, spreading by example and tempting offer of novelties the seeds of eastern culture to the advantage of all. Similar liberality of sentiment at home bound a number of petty independent states in a confederate league. Practical possession and enjoyment overshadowed political ambition and the growth of originality in the arts and sciences. Nevertheless, this uncongenial corner of Asia Minor, in pursuit of riches, did more for progress than any of the empires referred to; and foremost among its legacies ranks the invention of an alphabet.

Among its colonies need only be mentioned Carthage, which succeeded as the great maritime and commercial power, the dreaded rival of Rome. The weakness of the Quirites consisted then in lack of consolidation, yet by the simple tactics of Scipio, in carrying the war into Africa, the great advantages of Hannibal were swept away, and Carthage fell.

In the people adjoining Phœnicia we behold the effect of persecution in rousing dogged perseverance and wealth-creating energy. The priest-ridden Jews, hidden in an obscure corner of Asia Minor, without commercial prominence, oft conquered and afflicted, were finally scattered to the four quarters of the earth. Dispersion and contumely drove them to rely on wit and speculation, to stimulating intercourse which revealed to them the proscribed learning of the middle ages, and the key to trade and traffic wherein they became prominent.

In Greece a similar spirit was likewise fostered by her geographic position; sea-girt slopes and a connecting archipelago; hilly yet not sterile tracts, varied by peninsulas and bays; land and sea meeting in a struggle for supremacy, inviting man to enter and secure the advantage from both. But the multiplicity of isles and districts, separated by channels and mountains unfavorable to centralization, bred factions and local pride, fostered liberty, and led to numerous states, and to much dissension in politics. This diversity was intensified by the race distinctions of aborigines and immigrants of different periods, modified by environment, as exemplified in the fickle and vivacious Ionians, who lifted Athens to greatness in commerce and arts, and the Dorians, of severe simplicity, whose military genius raised Sparta to prominence. Here lay an emulating and inspiring variety of qualities, yet with sufficient homogeneity in language, literature and religion.

A proportionately strong individuality manifested

itself in enterprise and lofty thought. Environment fostered also courage, and an adventurous temperament which sought the expansive freedom of the sea, and turned to trade and colonization to find therein further training in self-reliance, and in the unfolding of the country's resources. An equable climate and excellent regimen produced clearness of mind. Commerce developed a subtlety and craft which in politics reached consummate intrigue; cunning was esteemed a virtue, and Greek perfidy, which made the end sanctify the means, passed into a proverb.

A blunted moral perception manifested itself in a variety of loose indulgences which, however, sprung rather from the vagaries of pampered genius than from innate debasement. Throughout all ran a jocular strain, with a happy grasp of the ridiculous, and a love of paradox and sarcasm, culminating in a display of keen wit.

Such was the race whose originality and grandeur of thought, whose elevated art and institutions, have impressed themselves as a dominating influence upon subsequent ages, by means of cherished relics, of the richest among ancient languages, and of a host of creative writers and thinkers. Oratory and philosophy found nurture in free thought and political conditions; tragedy rose out of the religious feeling, soon to yield to the natural bent for comedy; art reflected the varied beauty of its surroundings, in physique and soaring imagination, reaching here the highest ideal in plastic form. All this was based on a highly developed manhood, remarkable for symmetry of form, for agility and nervous vigor, mainly due to open air exercise. The stimulus for this and other development lay in the Olympic games, the national alma mater and bond of Hellenic unity.

Civilization here was a transplantation brought from the opposite coasts, and subsequently transmitted to a series of colonies, from the Euxine to Italy and beyond. These repaid the gift in turn with riches

and elevating intercourse, and by contributing to raise Greece by the sixth century to the foremost rank as a power. These reflex influences assisted to mould culture; but from the hitherto unsurpassed freedom of its environment was derived that special savor which gave it originality. No degrading polygamy or caste system fettered it; no grasping knowledge-monopolizing priesthood held control. Here began the first true democracy, in self-governing states, for and by the people, so that Greece formed the cradle of both intellectual and political liberty.

The first impulse to greatness may be attributed to the laws framed by Lycurgus and Solon. The former installed that soldier class, sustained by slavery and a middle caste, to which was due the greatness of Sparta as a military power. The consequent expeditions gave such prominence to the commanders as to lead here to a form of monarchy which proved an exception to the usual Greek oligarchy. At Athens all the four classes had a share in the government, yet with a preponderance in favor of the higher orders, which remained a rankling sore to the lowest and most numerous estate, despite their exemption from many imposts. The Persian invasions gave them special opportunity to press their demands, until every office being opened to them, aristocracy had to yield to a controlling democracy, stimulated by rivalry in all pursuits, and with the introduction of every imaginable artifice in politics. Pisistratus, for instance, gained popular favor and control by the trickery of wounding himself. To Themistocles is due the creation of Athens' fleet, which in the battle at Salamis saved Greece from the Iranians, and raised the state to the leadership which was sustained by the confederation of Delos. Themistocles tarnished his laurels by Persian intrigues, but his work remained to plead for him, and his policy as continued by Pericles brought Athens to the pinnacle of her glory, in her golden age, when art reached perfection, and numerous colo-

nies and conquests in Asia and Europe brought territorial importance and wealth.

Then came internal wars to undermine the states. Jealous of her maritime rival, Sparta stooped to a Persian alliance to humble her. While the two giants were thus struggling, little Thebes stepped to the front, and with the new military tactics of Epaminondas, of attacking in column instead of line, was enabled for a time to assume the mastery. Trained by this general, Philip of Macedon employed the method for his own and his country's advancement; and then, availing himself of Hellenic dissension, he turned it for acquiring supremacy also here. This called the Greeks to their only remaining bulwark, unity, and with the aid of different leagues, semi-independence was sustained a while, until mighty Rome dealt the final blow. Henceforth the peninsula figures only as a province, for about 2,000 years, ravaged by stern masters and marked by Slav immigration. Yet her soil remained the classic ground which nourished the teachers of Europe, which provided the models in literature, science, and art for the Roman culture, and subsequently for the revival of learning, and which still looms forth in her relics of fine arts and letters, in her history, as the type for ennobling aspirations.

Macedonia's career was but a rocket flight, due to the innovations of a great leader. The military phalanx of Alexander the Great, directed by a genius, burst upon the old-fashioned systems like an avalanche, shattering army after army, and bringing the world to his feet. It shook Asia from its lethargy, to receive the influence of Greek art and learning; and when the conquest crumbled, Hellenic ideas and language widely remained, a compensating relic, sustained by trade and intercourse. Alexander was not a mere soldier, as shown by the founding of his great shore city in Egypt, the natural centre for trade in this quarter, and whence the Ptolemies shed the lustre of a new Greek culture, marked by the Alexandrian li-

brary and by glorious scientific developments. With such energy as his, which successfully resisted an insidious Oriental luxury, other great enterprises might have been started in Asia, but for the premature death of the hero, and the consequent dissolution of his empire. One feature of Seleucus' portion of the spoils was the rise of Antioch to a sovereign city in southwestern Asia. The days of Babylon were numbered.

Pursuing the westward march of empire, we come to another sea-girt land, the Apennine boot, whose heel planted itself upon a conquered world. Rising midway in the Mediterranean, between the great east and the rising west, it lay guarded on three sides by water, and on the north by a bulwark of Alps. Tribal diversity added a leaven which was sustained by varied scenery and climate, from temperate to semitropic, with an intricate network of mountains enclosing numerous small valleys and plains. The inspiring beauty of the sky, subject to sudden spells of storms and heavy rains, seemed reflected in the paroxysmal character of the people. Yet theirs was not the fickle disposition of the Greek, but the passions of indomitable men, as depicted in their strongly marked features. They ate and drank with the fervor of a vigorous constitution, gluttony prevailing over delicacy. Their jest was loud and their sport bloody. They preferred farce to neatly woven comedy or stately tragedy. Art was copied, learning transplanted, and religion adopted, all subordinate to worldly considerations, which prompted, indeed, three phases of worship before paganism was replaced by christianity. The priest was an officer under the government, and prayer rose from groups in standing attitude. The Roman was a soldier, who scorned the artfulness bred by trade and subterfuge, and whose frankness appeared in the boastful vanity based on conscious strength and great achievements, and fed by limitless ambition. His morality partook of the same superior stamp, in

upholding honor and pledged faith in public and private life, exalting home and motherhood. His development was muscular rather than nervous. While lacking in the acute perception, wit, and ideality of the Athenian, he possessed originality and invention, and connected with the highest intellectual attainment the practical sense which could appreciate and adopt the best contrivances, and could foster and unfold resources, material and mental. Yet all must be subservient to the greatness of the state; and so he loved war, with Mars for his chief deity, and courage for a leading virtue. He conquered like a barbarian, but ruled like a statesman. He learned how to circumvent the phalanx and the camp, and he knew how to retain the advantage by able law-giving and administration. But the bent for authority brought, among other evils, slavery, a poison which in due time infected the nation and race, and hastened the decline of both. This deterioration became visible also in the land, where devastated forests, neglected drainage, and other causes have resulted in the depopulation of large tracts by aridity and inundation.

Rome sprang out of blood and robbery, but practical sense and a spirit of order soon produced reforms under laws adapted to changing conditions, and in this pliability lay the strength and stability of its government. Roman individuality was merged in the state, in which vested all prerogatives, not as under feudalism where personal rights and importance received the first consideration. Witness the stern abnegation of men like the elder Brutus, who condemned his children for conspiracy; the Horatius, who single-handed defended the bridge against an army; Coriolanus, who sacrificed success to filial devotion; Cincinnatus, the farmer-general, who so unselfishly wielded the dictatorship. Such were the noble leaders who impressed their qualities upon the nation. Allies and dependents were not irritated by pressure from existing institutions, but won by liberal concessions in self-govern-

ment. The Roman people, so long restricted to the tribes on the Tiber and to kindred races abroad, reserved for themselves certain sovereign rights, with the collection of taxes, which were farmed out by censors, and the supervision of which was intrusted to military governors and their staff from Rome. At home, this growing power and attendant wealth produced an ever-increasing strife for position and party control, with attendant sale of votes and other venality. Idleness and luxury led to effeminacy and social corruption. Conquest increased slavery, until long before the Christian era the slaves outnumbered by seven millions the five millions of free inhabitants in Italy. The stigma cast by their intrusion in most occupations drove out the peasant farmers and middle classes, which formed the national mainstay, separated society more widely into rich and poor, and changed the race itself by infusing into it their preponderating mixture of Asiatic and other foreign blood.

The preceding review indicates the struggle between the aristocracy and the people, which here acquired a greater virulence than in Greece. The former early gained the upper hand, but Servius Tullius yielded the plebeians a share in the government, ample enough to enable them to expel Tarquinius for his subsequent attempt at curtailment, and to gradually enforce additional concessions. The obnoxious enslavement under the debt law was modified; tribunes were ordained to guard plebeian rights; the assembly of the tribes was made equal with the other legislative body; all offices were opened to citizens; land holdings were reduced so as to allow of a large distribution among the lower classes.

Notwithstanding party struggles, all stood united for the interests of the state. A Gallic invasion showed the importance of consolidation. Italy was first brought under the sway of Rome, and toward the close of the third century, B. C., her arms crossed the Alps, then conquered Spain. The Punic wars

taught maritime methods. The prolonged invasion of Hannibal was favored by the still incompleted control over Italian allies, but Scipio's manœuvre in carrying the war into Africa compelled the Carthaginian leader to abandon his advantage, and follow to fight under less auspicious conditions. Carthage was humbled, and finally destroyed, after serving, by the lessons she taught, as a stepping stone for her rival. The fall of this great commercial and colonizing power checked the spread of civilization, and promoted thereby the extension of military sway by the Quirites. Now, with fleets and trained armies, their path of conquest extended eastward over the Greek peoples, into Asia, and westward into Gaul.

The diversion of the poorer citizens into these absorbing pursuits had given opportunity to the aristocratic elements to regain some of their lapsed privileges. The opposition was roused to counter-efforts. The Gracchi revived for them the land limitation; they succeeded in electing Marius to the consulship, and through him wider admission into the legions was obtained for the lower classes. Sulla endeavored to reverse this gain, only to evoke a civil struggle, whence emerged four parties, two aristocratic, one of military adventurers, and the Marian or popular faction. The military or Catiline clique was overthrown by Cicero; the rest coalesced into a triumvirate, through the manœuvres of Cæsar, who had won the support of the people. By skilfully ingratiating himself with the Gauls and Germans during his administration there, he was enabled to overrule his opponents, and make himself dictator at Rome. The efforts of Brutus and other stanch patriots to save the republic were in vain. Corruption had undermined the system of popular rule, and factions were daily becoming more numerous and reckless, threatening to embroil the provinces in perpetual civil war, productive of anarchy.

The time had come for the concentration of power

in one strong hand to avert disorders, perhaps dissolution. Although less fitted than the great Cæsar for this task, Octavius found the path prepared for him, and, favored by circumstances, his calculating prudence enabled him to erect an imperial throne. This was not accomplished without considerable bloodshed, which secured to him his inherited possessions; but the great body of the people recognized the value of restraint in so heterogeneous an empire. The result justified their belief: for under Augustus blossomed the golden age of Rome, embracing all the more glorious features of the adopted and transformed Greco-oriental culture. Yet among a hundred millions of subjects one half languished in slavery, while a vast standing army had to be maintained, to hold in check provinces extending from the Caspian sea and Arabia along northern Africa and Iberia into Great Britain and Germany.

The army now fell back from its former position as a means for conquest, to that of custodian and prop for the empire. With less duty and booty to occupy them, the soldiers found leisure to weigh their own power and importance; and this struck more forcibly that select body, the pretorian guard, to whose care Italy and Rome were entrusted. Their ascendency soon made them the power behind the throne, and the electors of its occupant. Plots, bribery, and favoritism predominated by turns, and infamous and weak rulers assumed the sceptre, to be deposed or braved at a distance by the usurpers proclaimed by different sections of the army. Rome lost her predominating voice, the more so as the provincial origin of most emperors induced them to reside abroad, and extend citizenship first over Italy and subsequently to all free inhabitants in the empire. This served in a measure to tighten the bond between the dependencies, to which conduced also the latinization of so large a proportion of them, notably the crescent region extending through Gaul into Spain, where blossomed the

Romance languages. But Romans, permeated by luxury and corruption, disappeared in the vortex of race mingling and provincial strife for the mastery.

A division of the government between two emperors, in the east and west, was followed by the transfer of the supreme seat, by Constantine, to the Bosphorus. Rome sank into subordination, although restored in some degree by becoming the capital of the western empire. The split favored the irruptions preparing in the north. The Goths had learnt the art of warfare in the Roman service, and acquired an insight into its weaker points, and into the allurements collected in and around the capitals. Pressed by the Tartars pouring in through Hungary, they were permitted to settle on the south side of the Danube. Broken agreements and maletreatment roused them against the empire. They overran Turkey, and finally under Alaric took Rome itself. Odoacer supplanted the last Roman emperor as first king of Italy.

The beginning of the millenary middle ages is marked by the assumption of preëminence on the part of the Teutonic races, commingling with the Celts, while the Greco-Latin mixture subsides to the second rank. In course of time an important element appears in the Slavs, bearing in their name the stamp of oppression. The Visigoths, who overthrew the western empire, are soon pressed aside by the Ostrogoths, entering from below the Danube, and confined to southern France and Spain, where they displaced the earlier invasion of Alanes, Suevi, and Vandals, the latter crossing into Africa to revive for a time in barbaric form the Carthaginian state. The Franks pour into Gaul, subduing the Burgundians who had preceded them; the Angles and Saxons spread from Denmark into England, and from the same region are traced also the Longobards, whose conquering advance southward stands commemorated in northern Italy.

The irruption of the Teutons and the attendant

wars and devastations, the overthrow of states and institutions, the check to agriculture and other industries, and to elevating intercourse, have a depressing and retrograde effect on culture; and this proves the more prolonged and blighting, owing to the barbaric condition of the invaders. Before finding opportunity to acquire learning and esteem its advantages, they become converts to christianity.

In its leading doctrine of redemption from sin, this religion advocated reform and humility, and upheld faith as the supreme and, indeed, only requirement for the realization of life's aim. It upheld asceticism, which in commending poverty and ignorance, raised a bar to progress. These teachings were impressed upon its adherents during long persecutions, and the antagonism to polytheists in whom centered all learning, partly as the base for their revised dogmas, served in itself to stamp classic knowledge as iniquitous and dangerous, at least to the masses. The simple-minded Teutons received these injunctions with ready grace, and even took pride in despising education. Add to this the engrafted superstitious rites and beliefs which enslaved the mind, and the generally accepted prophecy of the end of the world within a thousand years from the birth of Christ, a belief destructive to the desire for improvement and progress.

A formidable obstacle to education rose, moreover, in the corruption of the Latin into the several Romance languages, under the intermingling and inflection, especially of Gothic and Celtic dialects. In these languages few books were written; and although classic Latin was retained both by ecclesiastics and officials, yet the limitation of its readers to so narrow a circle tended of course to discourage literary effort even in them. The dearth of fresh material served in a measure to regain favor for the abjured classics, by obliging the few studiously inclined to seek recourse here. For the masses, however, this intel-

lectual storehouse remained closed by virtue of the linguistic transformation, and these hindrances which discouraged them from learning to write, were augmented by the cost and scarcity of writing material. Ignorance fostered superstition, as marked by the ordeal trials, belief in witchcraft, and practice of mummery. This era has therefore been called, not inappropriately, the dark age. It was a chrysalid period, for the maturing and merging of the Celtic, Latin, and Teutonic elements, preparatory to the material and intellectual revival to come in due time.

While christianity served to restrict knowledge, it must be credited with preserving it from destruction. The natural guardians should have been the towns, as the nuclei for culture; but the Teutons, little used to large, compact municipalities, discountenanced their formation—another cause for the dark age. This important charge devolved therefore on the clergy, whose professional instincts for oratory, display of learning, and fondness for argument prompted them to a certain range of reading. The storehouses of learning became the cloister, that improvement upon the ancient hermitage of St. Benedict, for the practice in association of the Christian virtues. The monks illustrated to perfection the import of the inculcated humility of their religion, in every feature of their life While lowly, they were nevertheless exalted, swaying prince and peasant, flock and nation, by sanctity or learning, wisdom or superstition. These knights of the peace were forced either by the dullness of isolation and leisure, or by the duty of preparing for their labors in the pulpit, the confessional, or the schoolroom, to dip into lore and accumulate books; and fortunately for their preservation the monasteries were sacred from the marauders who infected the middle ages, forming oases of peace and culture in the desert of ignorance and disorder. The eastern empire, hemmed in by rebellious Orientals and barbaric Ostrogoths, also cradled learning for the revival

which the fanatic Tartars were destined to awaken.

There were men even among the Teutons, who recognizing the abasement, sought, although in vain, to start the revival. Heroic in mind as in stature, Charlemagne had inherited the warlike traits of his grandfather, the Martel, who put a limit to Saracenic invasions in the west, and the dominating instincts of Pepin, who wrested the sceptre from the imbecile line of Clovis. He planned the restoration of the Roman empire, and achieved it with the aid of cohesive christianity and Teutonism. He placed a check on Scythic ingression, reduced pagan Germany, and sought to instil a thirst for instruction. With his death the fabric crumbled; for under his grandsons the empire was divided between France and Germany, the latter claiming the imperial title. The time for revival was not yet ripe.

The middle age had to pass through the ordeal of feudalism, its most characteristic phase, founded on causes common to both, on lack of unity and order, on neglect of education and advancement. The Teutons were barbarians, with little taste as yet for settled association; for the migratory habits revealed in the recent irruptions and conquest movements still lingered within them. They were strongly imbued with a sense of personal independence, and an inclination for tribal relations, centering in the military leaders. Subordination, even to the latter, had been forced upon them by incessant conflict and intercourse with adjoining nationalities, and their love for independence revolted at the additional restraint of imperial consolidation. They clustered therefore in sullen murmur round their tribal chiefs, now transformed into dukes, counts, barons, and other grades, and the feeble and ridiculous figures cut by so many of the rulers before and after Charlemagne, intensified this feeling while encouraging the ambitious aim of the lords. The prospective cosmic catastrophe tended further to dissolve common interests.

The feudal system rose out of barbaric conquest; out of the distribution of lands acquired by invasion and granted for the prosecution of war. Every free participant in a campaign received his *allodium*, or independent share, the chiefs and prelates securing for their influence large tracts; others received a *feudum*, or grant, conditional on services to be rendered; and in course of time both classes of holdings were parceled out in more or less small feudal lots to relations and to new generations, to retainers and immigrants, in return for tribute or service, usually military. The prevailing disorder made weaker independent owners glad to exchange their position for vassalage, in order to gain the protection of the stronger. Thus the land fell into comparatively few hands, the mightiest being usually the king, to whom most lords tendered a certain homage, including such men as William the Conquerer, of Normandy, vassal of the French king. The lords demanded obedience from their lordlings or village magnates, and these from farmer tenants, who in their turn controlled directly the great mass of landless serfs, bound to the land, to till and toil, or to render obedience as servants or soldiers. Circles within circles of gradually ascending hereditary domination formed a cluster of confederate powers. The king, while upheld by the jealousy and rivalry among the lords as a medium for maintaining a balance of power, could effect little against any combination among them, particularly as even the feudal holders of his own terrain controlled the soldiers upon whom he must rely. It was a system well suited to the lawless disposition of the still undisciplined Teutons.

The dissolution of Charlemagne's empire illustrated the strength of feudalism, and the frailty of the throne was marked by the title of electors, arrogated to themselves by the dukes, who claimed power to install one of their choice. In Gaul, Capet, duke of Francia, cut short the Carlovignian dynasty, and in assuming the sceptre the name of his duchy was applied to the

kingdom. The weakness of disunion had encouraged the inroads of Norsemen, the later influx of Teutonic conquest migration. They had to be appeased with the concession of Normandy, subject to the king. The subsequent conquest by the Norman duke of England, which became his seat, subordinating Normandy to a province, brought about the long conflict and animosity between the two powers. In Spain, the lack of consolidation had also favored the invasion of the Mohammedans. These, splitting in their turn into petty sovereignties, gave the opportunity for the Christians to regain the lost ground. The German control over Italy, as part of the western empire, led here to the additional evil of bitter party strife between the Ghibellines, or imperialists, and the Guelphs, or nationalists, who sought liberation from foreign rule.

The reaction from this state of affairs gradually acquired strength. The power centralized in the sovereign naturally sought to assert and extend itself, endeavoring to win for this purpose the support of the people and church, as opposed, like itself, to the grasping ambition and insolence of the nobles. For this came opportunities, as in the alliance of family and other interests, in popular revolts and foreign wars, in all of which the principles of Machiavelli were frequently applied with success. The church was concerned in sustaining centralized power; partly for religious and humane reasons, in the brotherhood of man, and the prevention of schisms; partly for political purposes, to secure its own control, and to keep in due subordination the numerous fiefs pertaining to prelates and orders.

The struggle between the people and the barons was marked by confiscation, and more or less systematic robbery. The towns, as the centre of industries and trade, long suffered the most glaring exactions, despite the fostering auspices of lords interested in their success. Finally, they resolved upon self-protection, by combining forces, as instanced notably in

the Lombard and Hanseatic leagues, the former embracing powerful city republics, like Venice, Florence, and Genoa, the other controlling especially the Baltic and North Sea shores, and embracing some four score of towns. They were the asylums of freedom, the cradle of the middle class, which soon grew strong enough to check feudalism, and then to restrain autocrats. Their prosperity and power assisted in themselves to elevate hitherto despised castes, while in their trade and intercourse, with attendant enterprise and colonization, lay the germs of education, and of material and intellectual advancement.

One more factor for the undermining of feudalism appeared in the crusades. For their origin we must revert to the Semitic movements in Asia, and their influence upon the Aryans. The former stand credited with originating the loftiest and greatest religious ideas, but the Aryans are not without their share in these conceptions, since in Brahmanism, and especially in Buddhism, lies the most exalted of creeds, which, soaring beyond the mere personal deity adopted by less speculative minds, expands into a grand pantheism. This faith found no time to take root among the restless, practical peoples that moved beyond India westward, to be moulded in different environments. Adhering to the primitive Aryan sabeism, they allowed it to unfold under varying natural phenomena, Euhemerism and other influences, into the polytheism which christianity undertook to supplant. It was left to the contemplative Semitic race to lift itself above this corrupt diffusion, if not to the highest philosophic realms, to the noble simplicity of personal monotheism, and to infuse it into the gradually awakening reflections of the Aryans.

Christianity fitly issued from a monotheistic people. Polytheism had been gradually undermined by philosophic discussion, and through the politic concessions and adoptions by Rome, to gain favor at first for her early weakness, and subsequently for her empire. This

led to periodic modifications, which could not fail to shake the faith even of the multitude. While Rome was tolerant with the conquered, the respect imposed upon them for its own belief and its sovereignty, and the semi-worship exacted for its emperors, served to weaken inherited piety and regard for native traditions, and to sanction inquiry into sacred things. In the east, Buddhism greatly extended the influence of its lofty teachings through caravan intercourse to the confines of Europe. The sublime idea of divine revelation, as proclaimed by the apostles, fitly supplemented the many expectations growing out of the old Hebrew prophecies pointing to a Messiah. The simplicity of the Christian creed, together with the beautiful doctrine of creation, the rumor of miracles, the inflexible zeal of its adherents, fostered by the discipline and unity of the early church, and enhanced by the impressive purity and charity of life and thought, especially among women, under the impulse of perpetual struggles against inherited sin—all these were among the causes for its success. Not the least was the brotherhood in the church and of nations, and equality before God, and prospective social elevation, to be followed by future blissful rewards, dependent not on costly offerings, but on faith and conduct; doctrines which attracted especially the great compassless masses, the poor and oppressed, the enslaved and unhappy, who suffered under the innumerable iniquities of the powerful, the glaring ostentation of the rich, and the corruption of the rulers.

The peaceful golden age inaugurated by Augustus in a consolidated empire, with the attendant tolerance, freedom of intercourse, and spread of culture, favored the incipient propagation of religion, as did the subsequent persecution, due to the fears roused by the inconsiderate abuse of idolatry and corrupt administrators, and by talk of a prospective Christian kingdom. Maletreatment was sanctioned by the growing dislike to the Hebrews, and by the sporadic character of the

new faith, devoid of national standing. But christianity soon became strong enough to exact concessions, to win the rulers by desirability of alliance, and to become the state religion under Constantine, when one twentieth of his subjects professed it. Thenceforth its spread was rapid, being aided by soldiers as well as missionaries, for conquerors found it a good pretext for invasion; and a valuable means for securing submission.

The doctrines and successes of christianity did not escape the observation of reflective men even beyond its actual reach. In distant Arabia another Semitic people had nursed the worship of one supreme being. In course of time their system became engrafted with a number of sub-deities more approachable by mortals as mediators with the sovereign of all. This corruption had penetrated into social life, and by its abnormities roused reformers. The most conspicuous were the Hanífs, notably at Medina, who practised purified rites directed to Allah alone, confiding in a final judgment to reward their devotion. It required merely another step to improve upon these tenets with the suggestions presented in their midst, and near the border by Jews, by Sabians, and particularly by the anchorites of Syria. Mohammed's travels as a trader had afforded him the necessary insight and means to prepare himself for the new rôle of reformer. Revelations and other appeals to superstition did their share. Nearly all the intrinsic virtues favoring christianity, as miracles, purity of life, simplicity of doctrines, zeal, brotherhood, future rewards, were introduced, to attract without the obstructing mediation of redeemer or priest. Compromises with hostile sects opened additional avenues. Soon religion became chiefly the auxiliary of a commonwealth; the mosque a drilling ground for soldiers; charity turned into tithes and then into taxes; fanaticism readily ignited the fiery cavaliers of nomadic Arabia, and every campaign added followers and subjects. Suc-

cess bred success. Yet the elevating features of the creed, as manifested in its early Saracenic career, reached a certain altitude, especially after the blighting ascendancy of the Osmanli; while christianity, similarly overshadowed from infancy, in time cast off its shackles to attain the loftiest culture. Race triumphed over both religions.

Within a century the Saracens had overrun Asia from the Mediterranean to India, and were penetrating beyond Constantinople into Europe, seeking to join the link of conquest by advancing through northern Africa into Spain. The Arabs were not illiberal, despite their fanaticism, and tribute was accepted, as for instance in India. Subsequently, with the intermingling of Turks, pressing westward from central Asia, a less tolerant spirit obtained. Deep as well as fashionable piety had intensified the desire to worship at the tomb of the Savior, and Christian pilgrims poured gold into Mohammedan purses; but fanaticism soon overcame prudence and exposed them to persecution.

This state of affairs was hinted abroad in Europe to the indignation of devotees, hot with the youth of conversion. It needed but a spark to fire them, and that was struck by Peter the Hermit, from whose fervent zeal sprang the inspiration that he was destined to rescue the holy sepulchre. The pope sustained the zealot, and sanctified enlistment by conferring the badge of the red cross, bright with the hope of salvation from being engaged in so laudable an enterprise. The unsettled and warlike condition of Europe, under the then prevailing feudalism, was favorable to any migratory movement or campaign, so that no trouble was experienced in mustering fanatics for the first crusade in 1096. The advance body was a mere blinded rabble, including women and children, so unprovided as to be obliged to ravage friendly territories for food, and so undisciplined and badly armed as to allow themselves to be mowed down like grass by

exasperated Christians and hostile Turks. The main body of feudal chiefs with mailed chivalry was fought by the astute foe with the aid of nature in devastated lands. Only a fragment under Godfrey escaped hunger, thirst, and scimitars, to found a feeble kingdom in Palestine. The second crusade was headed by a king and an emperor, and the third by three crowned heads, without achieving even so much as the first. After this, corruption permeated the good cause. The fourth expedition overthrew the Greek empire to establish a Latin kingdom. The fifth obtained a temporary recession of Jerusalem, and in the seventh and eighth St Louis sacrificed himself in the vain effort to sustain the compact.

The direct aim of the crusades was practically a failure, but the incidental and collateral benefits proved inestimable. The fanaticism which had prompted them worked itself out during foreign intercourse and experience, to be further reduced at home by the germs of culture, brought back from the so-called barbaric Saracens, who shamed the Christian knights by their superior chivalry and their patronage of letters and arts. The preparations and traffic attendant on these vast movements served to give an invigorating impulse to manufactures and other industries; to call forth merchant fleets in the seaboard states for carrying troops and supplies; to develop commerce and elevating intercourse, and to make European nations acquainted with the luxuries and treasures of the Orient; to promote great harmony and communication between the western nations, and to strengthen the church and state at the expense of feudalism.

The increase of sovereign power for curbing lawlessness, and promoting order and security, was indispensable to industrial and intellectual development. The protection which the Lombard league of cities assured for itself served to build up here alone a number of opulent centres, notably the republic of Venice, which rose to a great maritime power and

colonizer, and of Florence, wherein the Medici opened a glorious era as patrons of art and literature. In the north the Hanseatic cities contented themselves with more practical gains, which nevertheless served to diffuse an elevating refinement.

Silk culture was introduced into Italy in the middle of the twelfth century, serving to encourage many another enterprise. Chimneys and window glass began to appear soon after, to render houses more attractive, and thereby to exert a vast influence for improving the character, habits, and social condition in general of the race. By infusing a growing taste for wider comforts, energy was stimulated to the greater production of wealth, and thus were fostered trade, industries, and education. Luxury spread so fast, indeed, as to call forth restrictive sumptuary laws.

The enervation of luxury applies in many directions, as in sapping the vigor of warlike races, like the Medes, in the oppression of lower classes and the spread of slavery, which reduces the middle class and creates a dangerous under-stratum as in Rome ; and in several of the causes leading to the decline of the once mighty Spain. On the other hand luxury stimulates the energy to procure it, and fosters material comfort and the highest phases of civilization. France led in luxurious habits during the reign of Louis XIV., yet she held all Europe at bay. These indulgences brought about the terrible revolution under Louis XVI., yet during its throes she sprang to the height of her ambition. In England the luxury attending the great accumulation of riches has not prevented her from attaining rank among the first military powers. Luxury, therefore, is objectionable only when it becomes predominant.

A marked effect of intercourse with the Saracens was observed in education. Córdova, and other seats of Arabic learning attracted pilgrims, and gave impulse to the founding of universities in different parts of Europe. The rise here of scholastic philosophy,

while tending to develop acuteness, retarded the expansion of thought and studies, and overshadowed even the experiments of such men as Bacon and Albertus. The crusades produced the troubadours and mime-singers, who stirred the people with their recital of noble deeds and brilliant exploits, and promoted the publication of works in their vernacular, thus opening the way for the instruction of the masses, from whom learning had hitherto been locked up by the exclusive Latin race. Moorish architecture, with its minarets, arches, and tracery, gave suggestions for the Gothic style, the most sublime expression of religious aspiration. It was the first inspiring step toward a revival of arts and free and lofty thought.

Declining feudalism presented a relieving feature in the institution of chivalry, which during the crusades unfolded into ennobling proportions. Rising out of the innate Teutonic gallantry to women, it was elevated by the predilection of leading men for the profession of arms. Their training as sons of vassals, at the castle of the lords, embraced the management of weapons and the steed, the practice of etiquette as pages to the ladies, while intercourse with knights inculcated lofty ideas of honor, of justice, of commiseration for the oppressed. The tendency was to sustain the prevalent war spirit, with ideas too exalted and fictitious, but also to soften its harsh features, and to infuse a tone of refinement into the approaching revival.

Such were the dominating influences during the middle ages which had to yield before the modern era. This dates from the introduction of several important inventions, notably gunpowder, the compass, and printing-press, which revolutionized political and social conditions, and promoted the revival of enterprise and learning, its germs being traced to the crusades, with their stirring intercourse. It was also signalized by the overthrow of the remnant of ancient European

greatness, in the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, with the aid of cannon, then becoming known, and by the discovery of a new continent, the stimulus and field for colossal undertakings, for trade and colonization.

Gunpowder revolutionized military tactics, sweeping away the advantages of mailed knights and walled castles, at a single blow, reducing the power of the nobility and feudal barons, and transferring it to the people and the sovereign, thus promoting centralization. This was an indispensable retrogression, a temporary fettering of freedom in order to secure among the masses the education, self-reliance, and self-government necessary for a later rational enjoyment of liberty. True, rulers sought to retain the control longer than necessary, using standing armies for their own aggrandizement, and sturdy efforts were required to effect the change.

The Mohammedan element in Spain had by its hostility stirred among the mountaineers a warlike and adventurous disposition, which under the flush of success, in the fifteenth century, broke beyond the narrow confines of the peninsula, and sought upon the sea a wider field. Prince Henry of Portugal led the Iberians in this new enterprise. By perfecting the use of the compass for navigation, he opened the hitherto fearful highways of the ocean, and enabled Columbus to discover America, Magellan to circumnavigate the globe, and Vasco da Gama to penetrate by way of Cape Good Hope to the Indies, and to transfer their rich trade from Venice and other Mediterranean entrepôts to Portugal, from which the more enterprising Holland, and subsequently England, wrested the prize. Navies multiplied under the consequent encouragement to migration, colonization, and trade; manufactures responded to the growth of fresh and wider resources; the middle classes made a stride to the front for domination, sustaining their position by the energy and prosperity which enriched their states.

A still greater medium for general advancement and the uplifting of the masses appeared in the printing-press. While repelled by France in the west, the Mohammedans continued their advance from the east under the more barbaric Ottoman leadership, and bore the crescent from Greece to Constantinople. Thus fell the last relic of the eastern empire, and the revived Roman sister state might also have succumbed but for the stanch rescue of Vienna by Sobieski. The invasion drove Greek savants and artists westward, there to influence the revival of arts and learning, and the invention of printing. The main feature herein being the movable types of Gutenberg, he must be recognized as the one who struck the great blow at ignorance, presenting at the same time the incentive and means for the entire liberation of learning.

One important phase of the intellectual emancipation appeared in the Reformation. The fall of the western empire had lifted into prominence the bishop of the state church, as the only one who possessed influence alike over the natives and the conquering Goths. Religion was the bond which held together the shattered elements of old nationality, and the fermenting admixture of new races. The Franks were induced to aid in granting temporal power to the popes, and the subsequent rallying round them of the anti-Germanic party in Italy increased their influence. Gregory VII. added still more to it by reserving for the church the investiture of ecclesiastical officers, and by compelling Emperor Henry to humble himself to the dust for venturing to dissent. Excommunication was the power which swayed the sceptre henceforth raised above every catholic monarch by the king of kings at Rome. He worked upon the superstition of the masses by means of the confessional, and other rites, wielded by priests and friars, who were attached to the church more closely than ever by enforced celibacy and other renunciations of worldly ties, and by exemption from civil jurisdiction. He maintained an

additional and deeper espionage by means of the Jesuit order, and held a terrifying weapon in the Inquisition to check free thought and crush dissent. The seclusion of learning within the Latin language, and its universality, widened the field for the church, as did the spreading conversion north and west, and in the new world, while the rival Greek body was curtailed by Mohammedan encroachments. Every fresh accession meant also increased legacies, particularly in land, for enrichment and power; and Rome herself reaped a rich harvest from the pilgrimage, which turned from the long journey to Jerusalem to confirm the ancient pagan city as the sacred Christian capital. The dissensions created by feudalism helped to win the weakened sovereigns to an alliance with the church, which like themselves favored a gradual centralization of control, as less favorable to sectarianism. The crusades served to strengthen it by intensifying religious zeal, although their final effect was largely reactionary.

With fanaticism cooled came reflection. Through the clearing mist of superstition could be seen the errors and corruption of the church, accumulated since its rise from purifying privations to affluence and power, and exposed by the more or less loud demonstrations of Albigenses, Wycliffites, and Hussites, during unseemly quarrels between priests and rulers or between rival popes, and by the merciless harshness of Christian prelates. Inquiry was hushed, but not suppressed. Erasmus desired neither rash revolution nor coercion of the mind. He appealed to reason, and advocated enlightenment for reaching a loftier level of morality and faith. The new-born press helped to spread his views, and to rouse thought and raise leaders for the movement to be started by the igniting spark, the sale of indulgences, to which the Austin friars, notably Luther, took exceptions. Many princes favored the outcry against an institution which drained their states of much-needed money, and sought to meddle in their administration. Even Charles V. was at first luke-

warm on this account; but, as the tendency of the age inclined to brute force, or arms, and the princes formed a league for defence, the emperor was moved by policy to crush it. Political reasons likewise induced France to rise and prevent a schism, and secure tolerance. Chagrined by repulse, Charles retired to a convent to mourn over the failure of his hopes, as the champion of an already faded middle age.

The church was obliged to yield to the tempest, in the shape of certain reforms, and in stirring to renewed zeal its adherents, such as the Jesuits with their stealthy prying, their subtle intrigue, their striving, as the hidden power behind the throne, to rule the king as well as his subjects. Thus it moulded to its ends the fanatical Ferdinand of Austria, and induced him to attempt, a century later, to win back the lost ground in Germany. Wallenstein and Tilly, indeed, carried all before them; but one greater than they stepped forward to turn the scale once more, and bring into momentary fame a peninsula which had lain in obscurity since the Viking era. Inspired by religious zeal and French money, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden enforced a favorable treaty in behalf of German protestants at the price of his life. Flushed with success his generals protracted the struggle in conjunction with France, and closed the thirty years' war only after exacting heavy territorial compensation, notably Pomerania on one side and Alsace on the other, both to become the source of future strife. The people paid dearly for thus heedlessly inviting foreign champions, and the emperor suffered for his folly by receiving back his realm in the shape of an impoverished and lax confederacy.

The disunion gave opportunity for the rise of a rival destined soon to eclipse Austria. Prussia was built up by the Great Elector; and in the army and treasure gathered by a prudent father, Frederick the Great found a means for his ambition to lift the state to the front rank of European powers. The achieve-

ment was costly, the seven years' war alone involving the loss of a million men, though securing military and territorial aggrandizement. Frederick gained the fame not merely of a great captain, but of a wise ruler, who repaired the ravages of war by fostering measures beneficial to industries.

The struggle for free thought extended through the north and west of Europe, where proximity to the sea stimulated enterprise and love of liberty. The Netherlands held the lead as a manufacturing region, and were fast wresting the rich India trade from Portugal. The attendant energy and enlightenment gave ready access to protestant ideas, to the alarm of Philip II., who cherished this section as his special patrimony, and abhorred a schism which might lead it away from his beloved church and from Spain. The stanch little people rallied round William of Orange, and sustained themselves for thirty-seven years against the onslaught of the armies of Spain, fanatical and cruel as their master, and established the free Dutch Republic, richer than ever, with greater colonies and the finest of navies. In these two lay the chief source of their endurance as well as of their recuperation.

In England, Phœnician intercourse and Roman occupation had left many a promising germ. Then came the mingling of races, of Britons with Anglo-Saxons, who assumed the predominance in thought and language, and were leavened with the more pronounced Scandinavian blood of Danish conquerors, and with Gallicized Norsemen, who sought to impose on them their Norman officials and their language. Out of this medley emerged the English nation, wherein the hardihood and self-reliance of the islander were combined with the prudence and conservatism which distinguish the race. She asserted her right to freedom in the thirteenth century, by forcing from the king the magna charta, and establishing popular representation and a house of commons. In such a soil protestantism

could not fail to win adherents, yet its rapid advance was indebted rather to the wounded vanity and caprice of the profligate but vigorous and able Henry VIII. He turned the tables so far upon the unyielding pope as to persecute the church and confiscate its wealth; and in order to obtain a strong servant for his plans, he invested parliament with powers which it subsequently learned to wield to better advantage.

Thus trained and endowed, England unfolded in the Elizabethan age into a first class nation, a leader in daring achievements and enterprise, in industrial and intellectual might. By quibbling at Elizabeth's claim to the throne, the pope converted a ready friend into a foe, who gave the finishing blow to his influence in Britian. The same policy in Spain led to the armada expedition against England, which in its disastrous ending engulfed the greatness of Iberia, and helped to liberate Holland and lift Albion into prominence. Catholicism obtained a certain satisfaction in the sectarian disruptions which led to the persecution of the Puritans, and finally to the liberation of the United States.

The tact and talent of the Tudors made endurable a despotism which the people, imbued by them with their own vigorous spirit, resented in the succeeding line of the Stuarts, opened by James I., "the wisest fool in Europe." Blindly intent on the divine right of kings, Charles I. paid with his life the penalty for resisting the spirit of the age, which demanded constitutional government. The people displayed their daring and self-reliance alike during the Commonwealth, by victorious campaigns in Ireland and Scotland, against the Dutch and the Spaniards, and during the reign of the frivolous Charles II. by developing arts and industries. The obstinacy of James II. in seeking to restore the catholic religion exhausted their patience, and the Stuarts lost the throne. They desired self-rule, under the emulative and progressive

management of popular parties, each bidding for fame and favor by wise and prudent measures and reforms, or by brilliant military and political undertakings. The sovereign must here be content to act merely as a figure-head, as a medium for balancing political elements, and obviating dangerous aspirations. In this aspect the licentious, foolish, and incompetent Georges were not only endurable but useful, despite their nonentity. England advanced to greatness under the leadership of statesmen like Walpole, Pitt, and Palmerston, Beaconsfield and Gladstone, the first aiming for political aggrandizement, the last for internal prosperity and popular rights, such as the disestablishment of an obnoxious state church in Ireland, the extension of the franchise and more liberal land laws. Abolition of slavery and adoption of the ballot figure among the progressive enactments of this the greatest of trading nations, and one unsurpassed for wealth and territorial possessions.

The union of Germany and Spain under Charles V. led to an aggressive policy on the part of France for preserving the balance of power, and to an alliance with protestant princes, while native Huguenots were freely persecuted. The latter rose several times to arms during the sixteenth century, but were finally relieved by the edict of Nantes. The fostering measures of Henry IV. and Sully secured the material development which permitted Richelieu to lift France to the first place in Europe, especially by the military achievements of the thirty years' war which humbled her great rival. His patronage of arts and letters bore fruit during the brilliant age of Louis XIV., the type of a monarch if not of a good ruler; a man who knew how to choose ministers like Mazarin and Colbert, but whose imprudent ambition frittered away in useless wars most of the results of their beneficent plans for advancing industries, trade, and colonization. Another rash proceeding was the renewed persecution of the Huguenots, which forced half a million of them

to emigrate, and carry their arts and industries to rival nations. This despotism gave, moreover, a servile stamp to manners, language, literary style and thought, wherein France now became the accepted standard for the world.

Her supremacy was sustained by the long array of great names headed by Descartes, Pascal, and Montaigne; Corneille, Molière, and Racine; Rabelais, La Fontaine, Boileau, Fénelon, and Bossuet, by the side of which adjoining nations have placed Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton; Bacon, Hobbes, Spinoza, and Liebnitz; Shakespeare, Cervantes, Ariosto, Tasso, Camoens, and Milton. This list in the eighteenth century was made imposing by the names of Kant, Adams, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Lessing, Gibbon, and Schiller; Linnœus, Buffon, Priestley, Galvani, Herschel, Lavoisier, and Laplace; Watt, Fulton, Brindley, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Jacquard, all of whom exercise a wide influence upon intellectual and material development.

The increase of manufactures, and other industries, commerce and colonization, the spread of education, the liberation of thought by such means as the victorious reformation, the opening of new fields in America and elsewhere, for enterprise and enjoyment of freedom, and the multiplication of inventions, were phases of progress which benefited especially the middle and lower classes, bringing ever nearer to their reach the escape from oppression, poverty, and ignorance, and the opportunity for acquiring wealth and knowledge. With growing self-reliance came the sense of their own real importance, collectively at least, as measured by the number and the theoretic rather than practical ability of the clique surrounding the throne, which absorbed all the offices and secured all control. In order to assure their own ambitious purposes against the formidable feudalism, monarchs had purchased the support of the masses by exemptions and privileges, and the devotion of stand-

ing armies and body-guards by liberal treatment; but once secure from fear, natural sympathy and common interests inclined them again toward a bridled nobility, whose aid was now sought to restrain the increased aspirations of the people. With similar interests for suppressing the masses, the church made cause with royalty, hedging it with divine sanction, while the nobles supported themselves with primogeniture and entail.

The consequent antagonism between the people and the throne, with its adherents, was fostered especially in France by socialistic and infidel writers like Rousseau and Voltaire, and their host of followers and imitators. Their utterances found emphasis in the distress caused by the long and useless wars of Louis XIV., the chief burden of which fell upon the masses, who possessed only one third of the soil while the nobility and clergy, owning the two thirds, were exempt from taxes and other exactions. The iniquity became the more glaring in consequence of the profligacy and extravagance of the court, and the ignorance and dissolute conduct of the clergy itself.

These lessons, however, did not take effect here until the example had been set in a far distant region. America had been settled by a selection of hardy adventurers from all quarters, and by religious and political refugees of Teutonic blood, chiefly of the independent English stock, who bore with them a hatred of tyranny. Freedom, energy, and self-reliance were fostered by life in the backwoods, struggling with nature and the hostile aborigines, and self-government of a republican type was forced upon them, to be intensified by the arrogance of the king's officials, and the ridicule cast upon royalty by the character of the Georges. As the free-spoken colonists revealed the bent of their thought, the alarmed administration had recourse to repressive measures, which served only to embitter the people and hasten the outburst. Eager to weaken her powerful neighbor,

France fed the flame, and tendered assistance toward the liberation of the colony, and the formation of the United States republic, an inspiring model for numerous imitators, a beacon light for democratic ideas.

Now the lesson came home to France, and the opportunity to practise it quickly arrived. Financial distress compelled an appeal to the long ignored people, whose representatives formed half of the summoned states-general meeting. Aware of their importance in this emergency, they assumed a tone of independence, whereat the nobles and clergy caviled, sustained by the king. The commons resolutely proceeded to open a national assembly, and to prepare a constitution which should remove the existing inequality and injustice. Encouraged by a large secession from the opposite ranks, they proclaimed not alone equalization of taxes, together with a consolidation of the debt, but freedom of the press and religion, and the abolition of political privileges derived from birth. The government was evidently impotent to enforce any objection; yet the mere rumor of troops approaching roused the triumphant populace to arms. The fall of the Bastile, and the raising of the democratic tricolor at Paris, became the signal for a general revolution. The nobles fled, shorn of class distinction and possessions, and the still recalcitrant monarch was made a captive.

The controlling element was still inclined to moderation, and in favor of a constitutional monarchy; but the proposed interference of the German powers in behalf of imperilled royalty, ignited the popular fury. The red republican element in the assembly gained the upper hand, and the reign of terror inaugurated a republic, which was baptized in the royal blood of France. The excesses of the Saturnalia roused the fears which led to reaction resulting in a new constitution. And now, purified through the excitement, the people turned their strength and courage to uphold the honor of the regenerated nation. Ap-

prehensive of the effect of the revolution abroad, more rulers joined the coalition against the republic; but with the additional stimulus of freedom and unrestricted promotion for bravery and skill, the French armies triumphed, and achieved a profitable peace.

Here was the opportunity for genius to assert itself, and there was matchless genius present. Napoleon had given a signal proof of military ability as commander of the third army corps in Italy, which secured the chief glories of 1797, and his subsequent victories in Egypt exalted him into a popular idol. Aware of this, and confident of himself, he perceived that by boldly joining in the scramble for power then taking place among aspiring directors at Paris, his chances for success looked promising. To this conclusion, moreover, he was driven by the final turn of his Egyptian operations. He must seek a new field wherein to retrieve himself before his laurels faded, and there was none so attractive as Paris. The control of the armies was at once given to the returning hero, and thus armed he undertook to reörganize the constitution and government, assuming dictatorial powers. After dazzling the people with further achievements, he availed himself of a critical moment to lift himself to an imperial throne.

The chief cause of his extraordinary success may be ascribed to that feature in his brilliant military tactics which, in its improvement upon Macedonian and Roman methods, aimed to concentrate the strength of the army against some particular point of the enemy's line, and by breaking it, to create confusion. To this he added an unusual rapidity of movement. In his first campaign as consul he shrewdly detached Russia from the alliance with England and Austria, and disconcerting the latter by his tactics won an easy victory. After parading at Vienna, he crushed the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz, broke up the German empire, and sought to ensure its dismemberment by erecting the confederacy of the Rhine,

and by flattering Bavaria and Würtemberg with the regal dignity also bestowed upon his brothers. Prussia was likewise laid in the dust. England escaped, owing to her insular position and to her navy, which destroyed the French fleet intended to carry across the invaders. For one more effort to cast off the yoke, the Austrian emperor had to do penance with the hand of his daughter.

At the opening of the second decade of the century, Napoleon stood at the summit of his grandeur, his imperial dignity consecrated by marriage with an ancient imperial family, and with the world at his feet. Unrivalled as a military leader, he had given evidence also of statesmanship. Out of the disorders of the revolution he had reared an efficient government, marked by admirable reforms, and fostering measures which gave impulse to industries and trade, education and arts. The Code Napoleon still serves as a model for rising nations; the bank of France stands a monument to his ministration; the legion of honor yet stirs the nation on to glorious deeds. His assumption of despotic power was a step backward for the nation, but a salutary lesson in some respects, as it gave time for the necessary reforms and institutions to take root, and better prepare the people for self-government under the republic. His was a brilliant rule for France, which, however, like himself, had to pay dearly for overreaching ambition and excess. Even the turmoil, devastation, and slaughter inflicted upon Europe were not without their benefit, rousing the land as they did from lethargy to activity and progress.

As in the case of Charles XII. of Sweden, Russia invoked the elements to turn his victories into disasters, to dim the lustre of his star. The allies had learned some of his military methods, and at Leipzig and Waterloo they used against him his own tactics. Their success confirmed for a time the enslavement of the people, but the wave of progress closes round them.

The dawning spirit of democracy in France asserted itself by deposing Charles X. for attempting to play the autocrat. The subsequent administration was practically republican, and it was chiefly the cherished prestige enfolding the Napoleonic name that made the nation once more accept, under the illusive synonym of peace, an empire, which was by no means so inglorious as its ending, for the country gained honors in the Crimean and Italian campaigns, and flourished internally, but the source of its great prosperity must be traced to the revolution.

In Russia, the beneficence of a firm, despotic rulership was signally illustrated under Peter the Great, the imperial genius who raised his country from barbarism and insignificance to a first-class power. Himself thirsting for knowledge, he impressed upon his people, by force, the lessons acquired in social, administrative, and military reforms. He gave them a fleet and a capital, fostered manufactures and trade, reduced the nobles, raised the masses, favored tolerance, and encouraged enterprise. Hemmed in by the Tartars, Poles, and Swedes, he opened a way to the Black sea, extended his domains westward, and plucking victory from the defeats inflicted by Charles XII., partly by shrewd recourse to natural elements, he gained a foothold along the Baltic. It was left to women to successfully carry on the work begun by this true father of his country, and in particular to perpetuate his policy of territorial aggrandizement, until Russia became the greatest of compact empires. Her military and colonial bonds are stretching wider, despite all the efforts of her apprehensive neighbors. They forget not that she extinguished a nation in the partition of Poland, and aims to quench the lingering flame of Ottoman power. The elevation of her people has lately been marked by such acts as the liberation of the serfs, and now they are struggling for a share in a government absorbed by hereditary autocracy.

The war of 1854–5, undertaken in behalf of that

political principle, balance of power, served as a lever for Italian unification, promoted also by the selfish policy of France. The ideas implanted since the time of Napoleon, and agitated by Victor Emmanuel, found a vigorous exponent in Garibaldi, who joined anew the fragments of Apennine nationality shattered by the fall of the western empire. A judicious alliance with Prussia in 1866, and a seizure of opportunity during the Franco-Prussian war, perfected the consolidation.

The humiliation of Austria by Napoleon, and the consequent lapse of her Teutonic empire into a confederation, was a reconstruction by which the people managed to obtain an increased share of the political rights brought before them by the revolutions in America and France. The gradual efforts of the princes to regain the ceded privileges led to the outbreak of 1848, which obliged them to retract in many directions. The declining influence of Austria encouraged Prussia to intrigue for the leadership in Germany, and under the astute guidance of Bismarck, supplemented by the military genius of Moltke, she succeeded in vanquishing her rival. The Zollverein and other measures, and the war with France, served to bind closer the confederacy, and to permit the revival of the German empire, although in a more liberal federal form, and without its old Roman adjunct. The success centred once more in new military tactics, sustained by the discipline and firmness of a highly-educated soldiery.

Coming to our own time and country for a personal embodiment of national power and progress, we shall rarely find a more perfect type than Frederick Billings, in whom were united, in a remarkable degree, the three primary principles of progressive force, underlying all the highest and purest forms of civilization, namely: intellectual power, moral power, and the power of wealth. As society is organized, and

Francis A. Billings

social development sustained and encouraged, we find the example here presented the highest type of manhood—the moral and intellectual force each springing from and aiding the other; and the financial, following under a just and proper subordination to the others, as the reward of well-doing. An ideal and standard of this kind is refreshing indeed, both to the biographer and to the reader: that of a man in whom integrity is the most conspicuous characteristic; who, while endowed with the highest intellectual ability, has ever been foremost in moral and religious influence, in philanthropy, in pure citizenship and pure statesmanship, and an apostle no less of literature and art than of education and religion.

"Measured by every standard, he was a great man, and in the years that are to come, no brighter name will adorn the roll of this society than that of Frederick Billings." Such was the tribute paid by the society of California pioneers to one who, though for many years a non-resident, ever cherished the fondest recollections for the state in which first he won repute, and by whose citizens he was held in most affectionate remembrance.

Commencing life without other advantages than a good education, a sound constitution, and the noble qualities inherited from his parents, almost from the day when he landed as one of the argonauts, one of the youngest of the argonauts, on these western shores, he was recognized as among the foremost of legal practitioners, the trusted counsellor of those whom the people trusted, on whom they looked as the leaders of men and as the head of their affairs.

Returning in early manhood to his New England home, he ranked among the railroad princes of the land, with the Vanderbilts, with Ames, with Huntington, and Villard. But it is as a man, rather than as a lawyer and railroad artificer, and above all as a Christian man, that the name of Frederick Billings has become a household word, not only in the land

of his nativity, not only in what he had once resolved was to be the land of his adoption, but throughout the wide realm that reaches from the new world metropolis westward to the city of the Golden Gate.

Far back in the days of the Plantagenets, when the third Henry sat on the throne of England, was entered in the Domesday book the name of Bellinge, or as originally written, Billing, a word meaning in the Saxon vernacular "a place by the meadows." From the family estate was derived its name, and a goodly estate it was—one of the fairest spots in the fair county of Northampton, but a few miles distant from its county-seat, and from time almost immemorial of historic interest.

Thus are the family records related by a skilled genealogist, whose time was occupied for more than a year in tracing the descent of this ancient and time-honored race.

In the sixth year of Henry III—that is in 1221—was levied between Sarah, the daughter of Warine Falconer, demandant, and Henry de Billing and Wimar his wife, deforciants, a fine of a moiety of three virgates of land in Rushden, Northamptonshire, where also Henry held from William, earl of Ferrars, a sixth of one knight's fee. And now for more than two centuries there is a gap in the family annals, until, about 1460, we find that one John Billing was also the owner of lands in Rushden, and a patron of the church of Colly-Weston. About the same date his eldest son, Sir Thomas, was knighted for true and loyal service rendered the Lancastrian party in the wars of the roses, appearing in 1466 at the bar of the house of lords as leading council for Henry VI. Later he was law adviser in chief to Edward IV, and in 1465 was appointed lord chief justice of the king's bench. His death in 1481 was caused by apoplexy; and to this day may be seen at Wappenham church the marble slab on which his figure was graven, transferred to this Northamp-

tonshire parish from the abbey of Bittlesden, where his remains were laid at rest. Still also in Wappenham parish stands his ancient manor house, now occupied by a thrifty yeoman of the shire. To this manor, with its surrounding estates, succeeded his eldest son Thomas, who, dying in 1508, left his four daughters as co-heiresses, by whose marriage the land passed into other families.

Six more generations, and we come to William Billing, the first one of the race who came to the western world, disposing of his lands at Taunton about the middle of the seventeenth century, and removing thence to Massachusetts, where he was one of the original owners of the site on which was built the town of Lancaster. In 1658 we find him at Dorchester, where he married, becoming later one of the largest landed proprietors in Stonington, Connecticut, and several neighboring towns. In New London his grandson Samuel purchased and laid out as a separate town a certain tract of land belonging to the Mohegans. In 1781, when New London was burned by the British, under command of the traitor Benedict Arnold, Samuel was one of those who came to its defense, and who perished in the massacre that followed, their names being inscribed on a marble slab in the monument by which the event was commemorated. His youngest son, John, was in early life a seafaring man, voyaging from New London to the West Indies; and in 1775 joined the continental army, settling later in Vermont, where, at Royalton, he ended his days in August 1832. Oel, the eighth of his eleven children, was a merchant of Royalton, where also was the birthplace of Frederick Billings, and the day the 27th of September 1823. His wife, Sophia Weatherbe, was the daughter of Jason Weatherbe, of Charleston, New Hampshire, whose father served with distinction as a captain in the revolutionary war; her mother being the daughter of Captain Farwell, one of the heroes of Bunker

hill. Among her ancestors was John Weatherbe, one of the earliest settlers of Marlborough, Massachusetts, and a soldier in King Philip's war.

In the order of their birth the names of Oel's children were Edward Horatio, a lawyer and law partner of Oliver P. Chandler, of Woodstock, Vermont; Laura, who died in San Francisco a few days after her arrival, of Panamá fever, contracted while detained at the Isthmus; Charles Jason, a banker of Fitchburg, Massachusetts; Frederick, the subject of our biography; Sophia Farwell, who married a Massachusetts representative in congress; Franklin Noble, a Woodstock merchant; Richard Oel, a civil engineer who met his death from an accident in 1852; Elizabeth Sprague; and Oliver Phelps Chandler, a lawyer and a graduate of the university of Vermont.

At the age of twelve Frederick removed with the family to Woodstock, where, in 1871, his father passed to his rest. Here he commenced his education at the public school, completing it at the Kimball academy in Meriden, and at the university of Vermont, where he graduated in the class of 1844. Among his fellow-students were many who afterwards became prominent in professional and political circles: such men as Bishop Howe of South Carolina, and Senator William Collamer of Woodstock. An apt and brilliant scholar, he was a favorite alike with classmates and professors, for he was a kindly hearted youth, ready of wit, with an exuberant flow of animal spirits, and a sunny and buoyant temperament, making for himself a host of friends, not only in the school of his boyhood's days, but in the greater school of life.

Said the president of the university, in rendering his tribute of respect, when all too soon his fellow-graduate exchanged his college robes for the robe of immortality: "He was not only largely gifted. but most happily gifted with those diverse and related gifts which at once enhance and supplement each

him that he would be a leading advocate, or an eminent statesman, a preacher of commanding influence, a literary celebrity, or what he actually became, a magnate in the world of business; but that somewhere, in whatever field he might occupy himself, he would be a king of men everyone foreknew."

His course at college ended, Mr Billings began to prepare for his chosen profession of the law, entering the office of O. P. Chandler at Woodstock, and in 1848 was admitted to the bar. Meanwhile he had been appointed civil and military secretary to Governor Horace Eaton, serving in that capacity during his two years' term of office.

But it was not in Vermont that he was destined to make his mark as a lawyer, though doubtless he would have made it, had he selected his native state as the sphere of his professional labors. California was the land in which his lot was to be cast, and in the bar of that state he became one of the ablest members.

It was in the spring of 1849 that Mr Billings landed in California. At that time wealth and preferment awaited the successful lawyer in San Francisco, and Mr Billings was one of those men who could not fail of success. Immediately on his arrival he opened an office in Portsmouth square, and after practising for a time alone formed a partnership with Archibald C. Peachy, under the firm name of Peachy and Billings. From the first Mr Billings ranked foremost among the practitioners of the metropolis, not as a court lawyer, nor indeed as an office lawyer, for he avoided all the drudgery of his profession, but as the legal adviser of men of business where important interests were involved. Of the estimation in which he was held no better proof can be given than his appointment as counsellor to General Riley, and as attorney-general to the department of which he was in charge. Captain Henry W. Halleck, who in later years, as commander-in-chief

of the union forces, played so prominent a part in the drama of the rebellion, was then the military secretary of California, and with him Mr Billings also formed a partnership, and what proved to be a life-long friendship. Soon afterward Trenor W. Park was admitted, and for many years Halleck, Peachy, Billings, and Park were recognized as the leading firm in San Francisco. When I add that this combination was further strengthened by the services of Oscar L. Shaffer, it is no wonder that their business assumed enormous proportions, was by far the largest and most lucrative in a city famous for its legal talent no less than for its costly and protracted litigation.

The necessity of a substantial and fire-proof building for offices was now imperative, and determined the firm to build, at a cost of $400,000, Montgomery block, which was for years one of the finest, and certainly the most famous structure west of the Mississippi. Here, as to-day, were the chambers of many a leader of the bar, and of more who aspired to be leaders; here were afterward the headquarters of the San Francisco Stock exchange; and here, on the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets, yet stands the well-known Bank exchange of historic fame.

Of the many leading cases in which Mr Billings' firm were engaged I will mention only one, famous in the legal annals of California, involving as it did the title to the Almaden quicksilver mine, with two square leagues of adjoining land. After the cession of California to the United States, a commission was appointed to adjust unsettled land claims, whereupon the discoverer of the mine filed a petition asking that his claim be confirmed. The property was valued at several million dollars; and that it was not overvalued was sufficiently proved by the output of the mine, exceeding for a number of years that of any quicksilver deposit in the world. Through the efforts

of Mr Billings and his associates, who appeared as counsel for the petitioners, the title to the mine was confirmed by the commission, but denied to the land. With this decision neither party was satisfied, and an appeal being taken to the United States district court, one of those legal contests ensued which have since become historic. But with the further history of the case we are not concerned. Rather let us hear the opinion of others as to Mr Billings' professional career, and the standing of his firm in the community. From the report of the society of California pioneers, already mentioned, I extract the following:

"In his profession as an advisor and counsellor he stood among the first. He was as thoroughly read as any young lawyer ever admitted to the bar of the state; but the drudgery of the profession is not learned from text books, and the business that crowded upon him as counsellor, almost from the day he put out his modest sign, prevented him from becoming a lawyer especially skilled in the minor details of his calling. The times were flush and fees were large. One client, a company, paid the firm $30,000 a year as a retainer. On the other hand, personal expenses reached from $1,500 to $2,000 a month. These were truly the days of old, the days of gold, the days of '49."

In connection with the Almaden case it may here be mentioned that Mr Billings himself secured in Mexico the evidence of a number of statesmen whose testimony would be of value. For their accommodation he specially chartered steamers to Mazatlan, and thence to San Francisco, entertaining them for months in princely fashion, and sending them home at a cost of more than $200,000.

From the firm of which Mr Billings was the founder, Park was the first one to withdraw, and this he did to form a partnership with Shafter and Heydenfeldt. The remaining members continued to practise together until 1861, when by mutual consent

the nrm was dissolved. Early in that year Mr Billings was selected by General Frémont, on account of his rare diplomatic ability, to accompany him to England, with a view to dispose to a British syndicate of the general's Mariposa estate, one of the largest and most valuable in California. But when the sale was all but consummated, the civil war broke out, and without apparent reason, except for the proverbial timidity of capitalists, the syndicate withdrew from further negotiations.

Returning to the states in 1862, the following year again saw Mr Billings in California, accompanied by his bride, Miss Julia Parmly, of New York city, of whom further mention will be made elsewhere in this biography. But, his health becoming impaired, he returned to New York for rest and change.

In March 1865, we find him once more en route for California, voyaging by way of the straits of Magellan, in a steamer sent forth to take her place on the Panamá route. Among his fellow-passengers was Professor Agassiz, and with the great scientist he formed one of those sincere and lasting friendships which death alone can sever. After a few months passed in San Francisco, he made an overland tour of the north-west, passing through Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, up the Columbia river and through Puget sound. It needed not a man of his quick perception to appreciate the vast resources of this virgin and almost unpeopled region, its soil and situation, its forests, its rivers, and harbors; nor could he fail to notice its lack of facilities for communication, and especially of direct comunication with the east. Here we have the key to his later connection, as will presently be related, with the Northern Pacific railroad.

But still his health did not improve, and acting under medical advice, in 1866 he returned to New York, soon afterward making his home at Woodstock, where, except for the time required by his duties in

the metropolis, were passed the remainder of his days, though with occasional visits to the Pacific coast.

It was with the greatest reluctance and with profound regret that Mr Billings severed his connection with California. Apart from his profession, of which he was one of the oldest and most respected members, he had been identified with the earlier history of the state, had been closely connected with her leading institutions, civil, social, and religious. In the stirring events which marked the formative period of her career, there was no more active and influential citizen, none more earnest in promoting measures for the common good, in establishing law and order, and in fostering all worthy enterprises that tended to give stability to a new and ambitious commonwealth.

Especially was his influence felt in combating those who, at the outbreak of the war, would have established here a Pacific coast republic. For this purpose he labored in connection with Thomas Starr King. Many were the addresses which he delivered, and never did he fail to impress his audiences with the power of his convictions, to kindle their patriotism by his earnest and eloquent appeals. Says one who knew him well: "As an orator, it is difficult to speak of him without overstepping the bounds of eulogy. He was contemporary with Baker, Tracy, Stanley, Foote, and a host of other brilliant rhetoricians. He was not a frequent speaker. His California life was so full that it gave him no time to study and practise the graces of oratory; nor had he the ambition to shine as an orator, and it was only when the occasion arose that seemed to demand his appearance, that he reluctantly mounted the rostrum. When he did so he was always full of his subject, and pouring it forth in fervid diction until the storm of his eloquence inspired his audience, from which moment he played upon them at will. He spoke during the war from the same platform with Starr King, and had no more

enthusiastic auditor than Mr King himself. Had he given himself to oratory, and made it the profession of his life, his friends believe that no orator of modern times would have ranked as his superior."

That the reader may judge for himself as to Mr Billings' oratorical powers, I will give here an extract from the speech in which he nominated George F. Edmunds for the presidency, at the republican convention of 1880:

"Mr President and Gentlemen of the Convention: That quiet state in New England, earliest born into the union after the old thirteen, whose people have always been loyal to liberty, enthusiastically urges the name of her most distinguished son as the fittest man to be inscribed in the presidential banner. Her delegates bring that message here with joy and pride alike, supreme because they know no state has a better right to name a republican candidate, and that no state can make a better man. For the first time in her history, although always in the advance guard of the republican hosts, Vermont thus comes to the front in a national convention. She thus comes, not seeking a reward for the loyalty which has never faltered in years gone by, not making a condition of the loyalty which is never to falter in the years to come. Her republicanism is not born of selfishness—it is bred in her bone, and it runs in her blood. Nor does she thus come because the man she names for the presidency sprang from her loins. He is no longer hers. He is the possession and the pride of the nation. Still more, Vermont would call on her everlasting mountains to fall on her and hide her before she would thrust any local pride or selfish ambition into the councils of this critical epoch. Vermont rises to the height of the occasion. She looks backward through the years; she looks forward through the years; and she feels the infinite peril, the ignominy and the crime of turning over the government to the administration of a revolutionary democracy. She longs for victory—the victory of patriotism at the polls and the victory of statesmanship after the polls. And she implores this convention to let no unnecessary issues, to let no discords born in hot rivalries, to let no personal ambition, to let no dissensions, to let no anythings put the victory in peril. She prays you to make that victory secure by going straight to the conscience and intelligence of the people, not only by your platform ringing with honor and honesty, but by putting on that platform a candidate far better than the platform, because known everywhere through the length and breadth of the land as its very incarnation, long tried and never found wanting. A candidate weak nowhere, strong everywhere, who will compact the party, bring every independent into line, and win recruits even from the enemy. That is victory here and now, victory for years to come. Any other course forebodes disaster and courts defeat for years to come. Such a candidate, healing all dissensions, of wondrous ability, of aggressive integrity, of the largest experience in public affairs, of the highest statesmanship, is that brave, clean, vigilant man, on whom rests no shadow of reproach, to whom in every crisis in the councils of the nation we turn with joy and confidence, the central figure and leader of the senate—the foremost type and defender of all that is best in the republican faith, the ideal candidate, seeking not the office, worthy of the best days of this republic, having the promise and the potency of victory, is George F. Edmunds."

By his friends he was repeatedly urged to accept preferment, and especially the nomination for congress;

but without avail. All such requests he firmly but courteously refused, for to mingle in the muddy stream of politics, to use such wiles and artifices as were needed to insure success in the early days of California, and indeed are needed to a far greater degree at the present time, was utterly foreign to his nature. Perhaps it was for this very reason that he was held in such repute by both houses of the legislature, and that when Lincoln was reconstructing the cabinet for his second term, a joint resolution was passed recommending Mr Billings for a place. That he would have been appointed, had the president lived, is beyond doubt, for only two days before his assassination he promised a member of the California delegation that the request should be granted. During Johnson's régime a similar resolution was passed, and again during that of general Grant, with whom, in his later years, he lived as a neighbor in New York city, and on terms of cordial intimacy.

But if, during his sojourn in California, the state had cause to regret his absence from her halls of legislature, in other respects there were none to whom she has become so deeply indebted. To social, religious, and educational institutions he extended a helping hand, for such he esteemed as the greatest factors of civilization. Of the first presbyterian church of San Francisco, organized in 1850 in a tent on Stockton street, he was one of the founders, and from his purse came most of the money with which that body afterward erected one of the most attractive structures in the city. He was one of the earliest members of the board of education, and largely through his thoughtful efforts in their behalf, the public schools were brought to a state of efficiency. At the dedication, in September 1854, of the schoolhouse at North beach, he delivered an address, which was published at the request of the mayor and other promiient citizens before whom it was spoken. A few extracts will here be given:

"It is most fit that the day which witnesses the dedication of this fine structure to the purpose of its building should be marked with ceremony. Were it the tenth or twentieth, instead of the second, substantial edifice complete and ready for the education of the children of our city, still should the event be the occasion of rejoicing. The first step, the second step, and all steps, in the beginning and progress of the work, to celebrate whose efficient prosecution we come together to-day, will be remembered to the praise of our city in her history—and what is worthy of history may well redeem an hour from the present.

"To be sure, our building is no crystal palace, to inaugurate whose opening the president puts off the cares of government, and the queen descends from her throne; no such multitude is here as gathers to witness the laying of the corner-stone or capstone of the great monument; and, perhaps, the clipper ship, gay with flags, glides into her element amid the cheers of a larger assemblage than is present here. But neither event, however more imposing in its outward circumstance, is half so great in its intrinsic worth and significance as this event of to-day. Give us the spirit and the intelligence of which this building is both a sign and a promise, and we are sure to have the ship, the monument, and even the palace; but take away the schoolhouse—tell us that it is not in the land—and never will there be occasion for a gathering to behold the great work finished or the great deed done. The character that underlies them is certain to be wanting.

"Humble may be the schoolhouse—rudely constructed, of logs, perhaps—as in the early days of new settlements; with crevices so large and so numerous that, in a New England winter, even the mammoth fire-place, blazing with its back logs and fore logs and split wood above and chips beneath, can hardly keep the cold without. And far apart may these rude structures be: placed on the side or summit of a bleak hill difficult of access—honestly and impartially placed there because the spot is the centre of the district or township,—and thither through the deep snows the big sled drawn by the big oxen may take the little children in the morning who come not home until night. Or, advancing a step further in the progress of the settlements—when, with the children grown up and new settlers arrived, the means and the population of the township have multiplied, and the districts are increased in number and diminished in size, and here and there a village is seen—we may behold more pretending schoolhouses; not so far apart; built of framed timber, painfully square in shape; having small windows of not large panes of glass, high up from the ground; some of them aristocratic enough to be clapboarded and painted cheap red; with the honest old fire-place generally on the right of the door as you entered, closed up to give way to the stove—a change that is not an improvement. Or, taking a long stride and coming down to our own day, we may find schoolhouses everywhere: in the country dotting the hill-sides, and making cheerful the valleys; in our cities, along shaded streets, and in prominent places, and wherever needed; attracting attention by their number and architectural beauty; surrounded with grounds tastefully arranged, where grounds can be had; built of the best material, without regard to expense, and every consideration of health, and comfort, and beauty consulted. But whether built of logs, or framed timber, or brick, or stone; whether far apart or near, painted or unpainted; good, bad or indifferent, the schoolhouse marks the spirit, intelligence, and character of the people. It comes in point of time, save the house in which we were born, before all other structures, and is at the beginning of all that is good and great in any community.

"I am saying no new thing. I am glad that I am not. Our fathers acted on this principle. They hardly provided shelter for their heads before their axes resounded in the forests, felling the trees for the schoolhouse; and their precepts and examples have not been lost on their children. Our country has been called a country of schoolhouses. In old states and new states, individuals, associations, and legislatures contribute to the cause of popular education. It is a leading feature in the policy of our government; our people cheerfully are taxed for it; our great men have enforced it, and

nothing new is to be said of it. Everybody knows that the common school is to society and the state what the rich quartz is to the placers—the matrix, the great original source of wealth; that they are the lighthouses of intelligence; the fortresses, the strongholds of virtue; that the children educated there are the great standing army of our country, the army that makes the other army that achieves the victories of war, and the still other and greater army that achieves the gentler and better victories of peace.

"But the very commonness of these schools prevents, in a great measure, our realizing their vast worth and significance; their intimate connection with, and control over, the character of a people; the necessity of their creation, and the wisdom of their perpetuation. It is because the sun rises every morning that we fail to hail his coming with acclamation. It is because the air we breathe is so free that we think so little of its presence and necessity. It is the rare thing, the thing that occurs at long intervals, that arrests our attention. Men watch and wait for the yearly eclipse, and almost forget the every-day sun, 'the unhasting still unresting sun.'

"Thankful should we be to Providence that great blessings are so multiplied to us that we have no room for a holiday, a day of rejoicing for each; thankful that great events are not so rare that each in its coming can be welcomed with banks closed, and the tide of business stayed, and gay processions in our streets. It speaks infinitely for the healthful industry and prosperity of a people, if they yield not much to excitement and display. The top spins the fastest when its motion can hardly be seen; the machinery works best when it makes the least noise.

"But sometimes it is well to stop and rejoice. Such an occasion is this that assembles us to-day. No need is there of a great gathering or much ado; no grand demonstration is called for. But it is well that some should assemble to hail the completion of this structure; to welcome it to the present and commend it to the future. Not simply on account of the building, however well adapted to its purposes, and however much an ornament to the city. Yet the building is a most praiseworthy structure; right royal, contrasted with those of the early days of our country, and comparing most favorably with the best of our own day—those of the city of Boston, so munificent in her provisions for common-school education, and so noted for her common-school buildings. To one who remembers the confined air, the uncomfortable seats, the high desks, and the distracting noise of the single room of the schoolhouse of old, it is a relief to look at this building, combining all the conveniences, and comforts, and improvements of modern times. To enjoy the luxury of going to school in such a schoolhouse would be a sufficient inducement for me, if I could sing, to strike up the song,

"O, would I were a boy again,"

in which doubtless all present would join, save, perhaps, the ladies and the children.

"But the building is to be rejoiced over, not so much for what it is, as for what it indicates; not so much for what it speaks for itself, as for the city that built it, and not only the city, but the state in which the city is, and not only the state, but the vast region over which the state is to exercise a controlling influence.

"To one who goes to the Atlantic states various are the questions put about California. The old story of the discovery of gold in the mill race is to be gone over; the fantastic scenes of the early working of her mines are to be recounted; the extent of her placers, the size of her trees, the character of her soil, the peculiarities of her climate, the growth of her cities, the amount of her population, the prospects for railroads, the chances for business—these, and a thousand other matters, are all to be discussed. And, when, in all these respects, curiosity is satisfied, and inquiry ceases, and the consideration that she deserves is given to our state, then, and properly too, as if all other matters were of no value unless there is something more, the questions come thick and fast—but what is your social life? What is society doing for itself and that to come? How about homes and children there,

and what about common schools? And that last question about schools covers all. For where there are children to be educated, and they are educated, there must be hearthstones and homes; and where there are homes have no fear for society; and where society can be trusted, all is well, in spite of all vicissitudes, whether the soil is deep and rich or thin and poor—whether the climate be soft and sunny or rough and stern—whether the rain comes in one season or in all seasons, or never comes—whether there is an abundance of gold in the mountains or none at all.

"A year ago, when away from California, I was proud to speak of what the state, and particularly of what San Francisco had done thus early for common-school education. I hardly waited for questions. I knew something of what had been accomplished, of what was in progress, and what was aimed at in that particular, and I was anxious to make it known. For, among all the attractive features of our golden state, this was sure to be the most gratifying and the most satisfying; this, more than all things else, would plant her firmly in the faith of those who, though never having seen her, loved her and wished her well. The eyes of mothers grew brighter and the hopes of fathers stronger as they were told the story. As they heard of the children here—of the positive legislation for their education by the city and state—and of the hearty interest and business-like manner with which the people had gone to work to establish a system of common schools, not to be surpassed by the far-famed schools of New England, they began to believe that the distant land to which their sons and daughters had gone was not the wild, turbulent, chaotic, ever-to-be-dreaded California which they had fancied it; without law, without conscience; reckless, abandoned, corrupting; where there was nothing worth the seeking save the gold, and he who found that lost himself. They began to believe there was order and domestic comfort here; that there was an energizing, quickening spirit at work, laying broad and deep the foundations of society and the state; that the sense of religious obligation and the authority of conscience were not strangers to us; that, while there was an unparalleled activity and progressiveness in all our doings, there was likewise a durability and a healthy growth; that even so early, and amid and in spite of all its excitements, our land was budding and blossoming forth with rich luxuriance in the refined and pure affections of social life, and in the nobler enterprises of benevolence.

"And let it not be forgotten that the talismanic words which call up far away these visions of hope and beauty for California are—'Behold her schools and her churches!' Her schools and her churches, I say; for where one is, the other will be. Not that her churches and schools are everything, or that there is nothing worth regarding beside them. We are not in schoolhouses all our lives; nor is every day a Sunday calling us to church. Schoolhouses cannot go to sea, nor carry on commerce, nor guide the plow, nor build the railroad, nor make laws. They are not a substitute for commerce, or agriculture, or enterprise, or law, or government. They are not a substitute for anything that man can do. Nor do they go above man. They cannot give us the gentle rain, or the softly-falling dew, or the whispering breeze, or the sunlight, or the moonlight, or the starlight; nor can they enable us to do without them. They are simply places where children are taught; not taught everything, nor every one taught something. They do not profess to make philosophers, or poets, or painters; politicians, doctors, farmers, or lawyers, or fit anybody for this particular thing, or that particular thing, or the other particular thing. After all we say about them, they are the most modest, unassuming places in the world.

"But this they do. They lay the groundwork of the man—and that is everything, because it amounts to everything. The productive energy that in this our day all over the world is doing such great, and brave, and wonderful things, received its first impulse there. And if it is not the province, as it is not, of the common school alone, of itself to compass all education and impart all the knowledge for which the mind has capacity,

yet it is the beginning and condition of all education and educational systems, and without which there could be no education and no system. The higher school presupposes and involves the common school, and the university presupposes and involves them both. The common school can exist and get along without the other two, but not in its highest efficiency; for to suppose the common school best taught is to presuppose the university to educate and furnish the best teachers. Rightly viewed, the true path of education lies in a great circle—and this great circle is as much more important than the great circle of Lieutenant Maury as the voyage of a soul through life is more important than the voyage of a ship around the world.

"And it is because the common school is the starting point in this great circle, if a circle can be said to have a starting point—it is because of this great system which grows out of the common school, and because of the intelligence and high purpose in a people which the existence of this system indicates, that the common school is so significant.

"Here lies the secret of the great faith which the schoolhouse imparts. Here lies the explanation of the talismanic effect of the words, 'behold her schools and her churches.' It is thus that the structure, whether simple or more pretending, has become a sign and a monument—a monument seen from afar, and wherever seen, giving assurance of the general diffusion of intelligence—of the education of the great mass of the people in their moral and intellectual character—of a population intelligent, virtuous, skilled in the arts of life, capable of advancement and striving to attain it. It is thus that the knowledge of the schoolhouse, standing, as it does, close to the church, delivers us always from the slavery of fear and makes us rejoice in the promptings of hope. It is thus that to the far-off real well-wishers of our state the news of such scenes, however unpretending, as we are engaged in to-day, will speak more for us than the largest shipments of gold and the most hopeful letters of trade. It will speak the more for us, because of their great fear for us—and their fear was reasonable. Great were our elements of danger. In the feverish excitement of our population—in the anxious, bustling, jostling, eager haste to get gold—and with the prevailing impression that this was to be no abiding place—whence was to come the inclination, and if the inclination, whence the leisure to conceive and carry out broad schemes for the public good. Even if many an individual act was to be performed with no reward except the consciousness of duty alone, whence was to come the united action that slowly, diligently, in all patience, spite of all discouragements, should begin, carry on, and perfect great systems of general improvement? Systems making no noise in their operation, whose fruits were in the future, and those fruits, virtue, refinement, intelligence.

"But mark this building! It is my text; and as often the text of the pulpit is better than the discourse, so this text is more eloquent for our city than any words of mine. Here it stands, at the North beach; for so recently was this locality a beach—a solitary beach, and nothing more—that still the name clings to it, though thick now with buildings and busy with life. It is outside, beyond the old graveyard, which a few years since was thought to be so far away from the business of the place that has grown up into our present great city, as to insure to those buried there perpetual security from all encroachments. It stands where it will be almost the first object to attract the eye of the new-comer as our city begins to open to his view; and what first impressions such an introduction will produce, I leave to you to conceive.

"As I stand here within its walls to-day, my thoughts go back to the early days of our city, when there were no schoolhouses, and there was no occasion for them, because there were no children to fill them; when our population could be counted by hundreds, and consisted of men who were dwellers in tents, or in wooden buildings that were not buildings, but only caricatures. And I see how vast and rapid has been our growth, in moral, social, and general greatness. I thought then that San Francisco would never be great and good until the advent of bricks and children—of bricks,

as the accompaniment and exponent of permanence, regularity, confidence, security, and sound basis of what may be called the business and the external of society; of children, as the accompaniment and exponent of gentleness, goodness, truthfulness, and integrity of what may be called the spirit and the internal of society. The city built up of wood and cloth is not more easy or certain to be consumed by fire, than society made up of men alone is to be destroyed by vice. That the bricks and children have both come, again I say, mark this building.

"Is is not a most significant building—significant in manner of construction, in purpose, in position, but more than all, significant in prophetic revelation? It ought to be lithographed; and in every city, in every village, and in every house, where are heard lamentations over the desolations of our city, there should the picture be hung—underneath, the simple words—A San Francisco schoolhouse; and above, the familiar, but significent motto, *E pluribus unum*. The horseshoe, that some years ago might have been seen so solemnly nailed over the door of many a house in New England, had not such charm and power to drive away the witches as this picture would have to dispel the gloomy doubts and fears which in many minds rise up with the name of San Francisco, and brood over her future. And what power that horseshoe had, it is more befitting that our new mayor, so soon to be the president of the board of education, should tell, for he comes from the good town of Salem, where the witches had their headquarters and the horseshoe was most in vogue.

"Rightly have we assembled to rejoice over this building. And though the great ground of our rejoicing is in the spirit, and union, and energy of our people, from whom really the building comes, let us not forget those who have been instrumental in its erection. The system to which the building belongs, the worthy superintendent who particularly watches over the system, the board of education on which the superintendent relies, the ordinance that created the board, and the authorities that made the ordinance; shall not honorable mention be made of them all to-day? For the encouragement of the superintendent, and the present board, and the present authorities of our city; and the superintendent, and the board, and the authorities to come; and of all who, in any way, at any time, may be connected mediately or immediately with the great trust of carrying out the will of our people, with reference to common schools and common-school education; let us recognize and hold up to praise the zeal, and energy, and faithfulness to duty, of which this well-proportioned, well-constructed, and wisely adapted building is more ample proof. Let us ever stay up the hands of those who seek out the children of the city, who make intelligent their wants, and give form and shape to the legislation of our municipality for the interests of education. Their duty may lie in a noiseless path, but that fact, in this noisy part of our noisy world, makes those who are faithful worthy of the more praise.

"And now we dedicate this building to its purpose. We set it apart by no formal ceremony. We proclaim it finished; we throw wide open its doors; we invite the children to come to it; and we leave it to the future; not altogether leave it, for our hopes cluster around it, and our good wishes will ever attend it. Long may it stand to accomplish its work. May those who come to it for instruction, come to it as a pleasant home. In after years may they remember it with pleasant recollections; and, above all, be able to say that to it they are debtors. And scattered, as perhaps they will be, widely through the world, that debt may they discharge, by doing for the children of their day what here has been done for them. So shall this building help to vindicate and establish everywhere the policy so characteristic of our country, of making the institution of schools for the general diffusion of knowledge, a cherished and leading object in the business of government. And while doing this, it will speak better things for the city of San Francisco, in her early days, than anything else in her history. Fruitful will this building be in the present, I trust, but far more so, I know,

in the future. It is simply a schoolhouse, but the good it will do will live long after its walls may have crumbled with age; when we who dedicate it to-day, and even the children whose voices so soon will be heard within it, shall have ceased to live. Rightly do we rejoice over its completion, and hopefully do we give it to its work."

Nor was it alone as an orator, or judge of oratory, that Mr Billings excelled. In literature and art his taste was perfect, and as keen as it was discriminating. No one enjoyed with keener relish the works of genius in whatever department, for he was a man of universal sympathies, and whatever was good in human life became in a measure assimilated with his broad and catholic nature. While his standard was of the highest, he was the most generous of men in his estimation of others, never inclining to severity and hypercriticism, or if so, it was only toward himself, as one who set before him the mark of his high calling and judged himself thereby. Of all the traits of character which stamped him as a great man, perhaps the strongest was the greatness of his humility.

Among those to whom the university of California is indebted for its existence is Frederick Billings, who came to the assistance of Durant and Brayton, when struggling to maintain at Oakland what was then the only institution in the state devoted to the higher branches of education. Of his connection with that institution, later known as the college and afterward the university of California, his friend and colleague, Willey, thus writes to the committee:

"Mr Billings was one of those who did the preliminary work of founding the college of California, commencing in 1849 and continuing till 1855, when the college was incorporated according to law, and he was one of the first trustees. He was always ready to give his time to plan and consult for the upbuilding of the college, to attend the frequent meetings of trustees, and when necessary to give his professional services in the transaction of its business. At the same time he gave his constant influence in favor of

the college in social life, as well as in public. He was enthusiastic in his behalf. All this time he was under the heaviest kind of business pressure, and with him time was more even than money.

"Thus he continued on until his own health gave way, and he was obliged to leave the state. Before he left, however, he was elected by the trustees president of the college, and was urged to accept the office. He did not see his way clear to do this at the time, but years after, in 1884, he wrote me thus in regard to it: 'I have never been reconciled to the turning of the college over to the university. I have sometimes wished that I had accepted the presidency of the college when it was tendered me, for though it would have given me a life of hard work, there would have been great satisfaction if I could have succeeded in putting the institution upon a firm and prosperous foundation.'"

Such was the modest ambition of one who then ranked among the railroad magnates of the east, one to whom was due the resuscitation of the Northern Pacific Railroad company after the collapse of 1873. It was in 1869 that Mr Billings first became connected with the Northern Pacific, purchasing in that year from Hiram Walbridge a one-twelfth interest in the property. In 1870 he was appointed to the directorate, which office he held until the year before his death, and in 1879 was elected to the presidency, resigning that position in 1881, when a controlling interest passed into the hands of Villard. As chairman of the land committee he organized the land department, of which he was managing director until the reorganization of the company in 1875. In 1871, together with President Smith and certain of the directors, he located the crossing of Red river, and in the following year the terminus on Puget sound. In 1873 he was one of a committee, of which the remaining members were R. D. Rice, the vice-president, and W. G. Moorhead, a director, organ-

ized for the purpose of enlisting new capital in San Francisco, and making arrangements for beginning the construction of the road on the Pacific side. With them went William Milnor Roberts, the engineer-in-chief.

For several years after its organization the Northern Pacific company was regarded as one of the most promising railroad enterprises of the age. While receiving from the government no subsidy in bonds, its land grant was far more valuable than that of the Central or Union Pacific. Along its route were no deserts, no lack of water, timber, or building-stone. Whether for agriculture or stock-raising, there was no parallel zone that surpassed and few that equalled its resources. Mineral lands were included in its grant, and in minerals, especially coal and iron, not a few of its sections abounded. In much of it forest and prairie alternated, making easy and inexpensive the opening and cultivation of farms. The climate was excellent, free from drought, from extremes of moisture, heat or cold, and from all malarial influences. The route passed through some of the finest scenery on which human eye can rest, through fertile valleys and undulating plains, across rolling prairies and foothills, flanked by mountain ranges, by mountain spurs, and solitary peaks, among which nestled innumerable lakes, with waters of clearest crystal. It was, moreover, a central route, and the shortest from the great lakes to the Pacific coast, which here bends inland toward the east. It was also the most practicable, for here were no such obstacles as had been encountered on the Central-Union, and were later encountered on the Southern Pacific.

All these and other advantages Mr Billings had not failed to observe during his sojourn in the northwest, and it is only justice to himself to state that his liberal investments in the company's stock, and what is more, the aid which he rendered in giving so freely the benefit of his financial and executive ability dur-

ing the darkest period of its history, were more in the interests of the people than for his own.

In 1873, and for some time afterward, even the preferred stock of the Northern Pacific was regarded as anything but a safe or profitable investment. After the failure of Jay Cooke and company, the affairs of the association sank into an almost hopeless condition. Its bonds had become unsalable, and money for immediate wants could only be borrowed in small amounts by pledging $2,000 or $3,000 of its securities for every $1,000 advanced. Its best friends had turned against it, and by the newspapers it was derided as "a scheme to build a railroad from nowhere, through no man's land, to no place." It was with the utmost difficulty that the company retained a hold on its main line of road, by cutting down all expenses and largely reducing its operating force. From Lake Superior the line had been completed westward to the Missouri, a distance of some 450 miles, and though running through a fertile region, there was little as yet to furnish traffic, for farms were few and far between, and such towns as had been located existed only on paper. Moreover, the crash of 1873 had not only put a stop to railroad building, but had checked immigration from Europe, and what was more, had checked the westward migration of native-born Americans. On the Pacific side a small section had been completed, from a point on the Columbia river to New Tacoma, on Puget sound, then but an embryo town, carved out of the woods, and with no promise of its future greatness. On both sides running expenses could barely be earned, a single daily train of freight and passenger cars serving for the entire traffic of the northwestern section.

Meanwhile the interest on its bonds, at the rate of seven and three tenths per cent, funded and compounded semi-annually, was adding more than $2,000,000 a year to the company's indebtedness. As there was no surplus, it was impossible otherwise to

make even a pretence of satisfying the claims of bondholders, whose patience was sorely taxed while thus witnessing the gradual annihilation of their investments. In a word, the company was on the verge of insolvency, and this, the route prepared by nature as the highway to the Pacific, must as it seemed be abandoned, at least for many a year to come.

It was at this juncture that Mr Billings came to the rescue, and as chairman of the executive committee suggested his plan of reorganization, a financial measure whose soundness won for him the admiration of the most perfect masters of finance. As to the details of that plan, and of its execution, they can be best explained in the language afterward used by Mr Billings himself, before the committee of congress:

"When the crash came there were three parties to be considered—those who had bought the bonds, the holders of the stock, and the owners of what is called 'the proprietary interest.' The bondholders were scattered from Maine to Texas, and at that time numbered about 11,000. There was also a considerable floating debt, and the road was but little more than paying its expenses. The enterprise had reached no objective point, and it was necessary to carry it further to make what had been invested in it valuable. But in its then condition no additional funds could be raised, and so, early in the spring of 1875, it was thought best to foreclose the mortgage, to rid the road of its debt, and to place it in condition for further development. All the parties interested were brought together, and in order that there might be no prolonged litigation, all interests were harmonized, and in a few months the property was sold under a plan of reorganization, which was made part of the decree of foreclosure, and thus speedily taken out of court.

"The agreement which harmonized all parties was this: the capital stock, which by the charter was authorized to be $100,000,000, was divided into $51,000,000 of preferred stock, and $49,000,000 of common stock. The bondholders were to have $30,000,000 of preferred stock for their $30,000,000 of bonds, and as these bonds drew seven and three tenths per cent in gold, the interest was called eight per cent in currency. Two years' interest had already accrued, and it was decided to give to the preferred stockholders not only this two years' interest, but three years' interest in advance —five years' interest at eight per cent, making forty per cent, so that each holder of a bond of $1,000 received $1,400 of preferred stock. This absorbed, say, $42,000,000 of the preferred stock, and the remaining $9,000,000 was to be in the treasury for the general purposes of the company. The stockholders were to receive common stock, share for share; were not to be allowed to vote for several years, and were to receive no dividends until, in each year, eight per cent had been paid on the preferred stock. The remainder of the capital stock, after deducting the $51,000,000 of preferred stock, and also the common stock, was to be distributed among the owners of the proprietary interest."

At first there was no little opposition to Mr Billings' project. Among other objections it was urged

that while a foreclosure of the mortgage would include not only the roadway so far as constructed, but the land grant so far as earned, together with all equipments and personal property, to proceed with the work of construction additional legislation must be had, together with new congressional subsidy. But by Mr Billings' and the company's counsel, the ground was taken that since congress had authorized the corporation to execute a mortgage including everything, even to its franchise, all rights under the charter would pass, together with the property, to the purchasers under the foreclosure, who would thus become virtually the Northern Pacific company itself. If this purchase could be made on equitable terms, with a view to the interests of the parties concerned —the holders of the bonds and stock and proprietary interest—then the entire property would be saved for the benefit of those to whom of right it belonged, and the company, rid of its enormous debt, could borrow the money wherewith to push its road to completion.

On the 16th of April, 1875, proceedings in bankruptcy were commenced in the United States circuit court of New York, George W. Cass, then president of the company, being appointed receiver. A few weeks later a decree of foreclosure was signed. Then the plan of reorganization was carried into effect by a committee appointed by the bondholders, in whose interest the entire property was purchased, together with all the company's rights and privileges. Thus did the bondholders, represented by their committee, among whom was Mr Billings, become themselves the body corporate styled the Northern Pacific railroad company.

Before the end of the year more than eighty per cent of the bonds had been converted into preferred stock; the debt had been extinguished, and the corporation thus reorganized was in the possession of at least 550 miles of roadway, completed and equipped,

with a land grant already earned of 10,000,000 acres, and with the right to earn, by the completion of its line, some 30,000,000 additional acres. The cost of the proceedings was but trifling, for with such skill and judgment, and also with such perfect harmony had they been conducted, that the army of freebooters who hang on the skirts of fallen corporations was entirely baffled. Through the efforts of Mr Billings and his associates the company had now been relieved from its difficulties, and with the dawn of better days the confidence of the public, and what was more, of capitalists, gradually returned.

Mr Billings' services in framing and carrying into effect his plan of reorganization met with the recognition due to one of the most brilliant financial achievements of the age. At a meeting of the board of directors, held on the 16th of December, 1875, the following tribute was offered by the chairman of the purchasing committee:

"The associates of Mr Frederick Billings on the purchasing committee, in the course of its arduous labors to reorganize the Northern Pacific railroad company, became acquainted with his many and uncommon qualifications for the difficult work entrusted to us by the bondholders, and required of us by the stockholders. In a close intercourse of eight months, in which numerous questions of law, finance, and policy were discussed, in which doubtful jurisdiction of courts, and novel proceedings in foreclosure were debated, in which the rights of a receiver already in the possession of the property had to be considered and respected, in which the conflicting interests of bondholders and stockholders had to be harmonized, and the holders of a large floating debt provided for; in which the future success of this corporated enterprise had to be kept constantly in view; in which the title paper of the property of one hundred millions of dollars had to be prepared and scrutinized, and the corporate life of the Northern Pacific railroad company passed unbroken and without a flaw through the purchasing committee to the preferred stockholders of the reorganized corporation, we became familiar with Mr Billings' devoted industry, rare intelligence, perfect candor, disinterestedness, and courage. His services in the reorganization were extraordinarily valuable. He was familiar with the principles of law, and quick and clear in applying them. He was fertile and practical in suggestion. In discussion he went to the bottom. He did not hesitate to disagree when his judgment was not satisfied. He tested everything. He forecast the future constantly; rejected temporary expedients, and insisted on building solidly and enduringly; and daily he brought to the work of the committee a courage, faith, and enthusiasm which strengthened us all. Eight weeks ago, having nearly reached the close of our trust, Mr Stark, Mr Moorhead, Mr Denison, Mr Hutchinson and I thought that some marked recognition of Mr Billings' services, and some acknowledgment of our regard for him, should properly be made. We determined that we would pay him the compliment of having his photographed likeness engraved on a steel

plate, and this board of directors consenting that it should be printed as a vignette on the certificates of stock of the Northern Pacific railroad company, which he had so well and faithfully served."

It need hardly be said that the action of the committee was approved by the board; and a request was then forwarded to Mr Billings, asking permission to use his likeness for the purpose mentioned. To this he replied in a characteristic letter, accepting the compliment as a token of esteem, and with his usual modesty stating as the only drawback that it gave to himself too much prominence in an undertaking where all had worked with a will and most effectively.

In Mr Billings' Woodstock home are many choice works of art, many choice gems of literature, but in none perhaps did he take such pride as in this fitting testimonial of his associates, a copy of which, handsomely framed and engrossed, occupied the place of honor until the day of his death.

But the Northern Pacific was not yet out of its difficulties. Long after the reorganization plan was carried into effect, even its preferred stock was difficult of sale at from 25 to 30 cents on the dollar. Throughout the land there was a scarcity of money, or rather there was a scarcity of confidence, and in common with other enterprises the company suffered from the business depression which followed the panic of 1873. At such a time there were few who cared to invest their surplus funds in a railroad built through an uninhabited region, far into the wilderness of the northwest.

It was not until the close of 1878, and after vain appeals for congressional aid, that financial measures were devised for the construction of the Missouri division. On this occasion Mr Billings again appears on the scene as the savior of the company, the success of which was still a matter of doubt. At his recommendation, and largely through his efforts, bonds were placed to the amount of $2,500,000, secured by a

mortgage on the section lying between the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, together with its share of the land grant, at the rate of 25,600 acres for each mile of completed road. Thus at length the line was pushed westward from the Missouri.

It was in 1879, as I have said, that Mr Billings was appointed to the presidency of the Northern Pacific, and then came the most active period in the history of its construction. Under his advice the directors decided to resume work on the Pacific coast, from the junction of the Snake and Columbia rivers, eastward to Lake Pend d'Oreille. As in the case of the Missouri division, bonds were issued, secured by a mortgage on the road and land grant, in this instance at the rate of $20,000 a mile, or $4,500,000 in all. In the following year, while work on both divisions was still in progress, construction was begun westward from the Yellowstone, and preparations made for building along the entire line.

Thus by his system of division mortgages did Mr Billings carry the Northern Pacific through the crisis of its history. To him is especially due the credit of foreseeing that, in the then condition of affairs, a general mortgage, including the entire property, would find no favor with the public, fearful, as they were, that new disaster would befall so vast a project. Only by making the several portions of the line responsible for the debt entailed by their construction, and even then by the offer of a bonus, could subscriptions be procured. It is, indeed, only too probable that, save for the financial skill of Mr Billings, and for his persistent efforts, the Northern Pacific would have shared the disastrous fate of many another railroad enterprise, would, after an expenditure of many millions, have fallen into utter ruin, and then been purchased for a trifle and carried forward to completion by one of those capitalists or syndicates of capitalists who are ever on the watch for such opportunities. But the masterpiece of his career was the

plan of reconstruction, which, as a financial measure, will compare favorably with any of the great operations of the day.

The time was near at hand, however, when the Northern Pacific was to be relieved from its strait. In the autumn of 1880 its president was invited to call at the New York banking-house of Winslow, Lanier, and company, who for years had been watching the progress of affairs. After some consultation on the subject of a general mortgage loan, the firm decided to investigate the matter, and without entering into details it may simply be stated that their decision being favorable, they were afterward joined by Drexel Morgan and company and A. Belmont and company. By the syndicate thus formed a loan was negotiated, and by the company a mortgage executed providing for the issue of $40,000,000 in bonds, bearing interest at six per cent and redeemable in 1921. The entire issue was taken by the syndicate, at prices ranging from 90 to 92½, a bonus being allowed of five per cent in preferred stock as a part of the consideration. At the time there were many who regarded the investment as a doubtful one; but that it was not so is proved by the fact that before the road was completed these bonds were selling, and are still selling, at a premium.

All this, and more, Mr Billings accomplished during his two years' term of office. In June 1881, a controlling interest having passed into the hands of Villard and his associates, he was only too glad to resign the presidency. His health was seriously impaired by overwork; arrived at the age of fifty-seven, he desired a season of rest, a rest long needed, and now indeed enjoined by his physician. But this was not yet to be. Tendering his resignation as a director, it was declined, for he was one whose name and services could not be spared. While to others has been accorded the fame of carrying to a successful issue a project long regarded as hopeless, to him is

none the less due the credit of its accomplishment. Here was the true master spirit of the enterprise, the architect of its fortunes, the man who, wresting victory from defeat, redeemed the company from a condition of hopeless insolvency, and placed it on a sound financial basis.

Before withdrawing from the presidency, his plan of reorganization had received the approval of the government, and passed the ordeal of the courts. Each class of stockholders had received the stock provided for it. The preferred stock had risen from $10 a share to $80, and the common stock from $2 to $50, the latter almost the highest price that it ever reached, and higher than that for which were selling, ten years later, the ordinary shares in any of our transcontinental lines. Thanks to Mr Billings, the company had passed through the darker period of its history, and was now emerging into the sunlight of prosperity and success.

Long before the building of the Northern Pacific, or indeed, of any of our overland lines, Mr Billings had been a firm supporter of the project for an interoceanic canal by way of Lake Nicaragua. Though for a time his attention had been diverted from this enterprise, he had never ceased to regard it as of the utmost importance to the interests of the Pacific coast. Largely through his efforts the concessions were secured and the canal company formed, of which he was one of the incorporators and directors, and also chairman of the executive committee. With many other corporations he was also connected as president, director, or trustee, including banks and trust companies, insurance companies, railroad and canal companies, whose operations extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Among them were the American Exchange national bank, the Farmers' loan and trust company, the Manhattan savings institution, the Woodstock national bank, the Manhattan life insurance company, the Atlantic and Pacific railroad,

the Overland stage company, the Delaware and Hudson canal company, the Connecticut river, Vermont valley, Connecticut and Passumpsic, and Rutland railroad companies.

Thus fled along his busy life; and to his associates it was ever a cause of wonder how he found time to dispose of the enormous load of work entailed by his manifold duties. And yet he not only found the time, but his services were ever ready at the call of humanity or of charity. To reading he devoted no small portion of his scanty leisure, and while never a bookworm was always in touch with the current literature of the day.

There is perhaps no act or incident of his career that will cause his name to be held in more lasting esteem than the gift which he made to his alma mater, the university of Vermont. On the death, in 1882, of George P. Marsh, United States minister to Italy, his library was regarded by scholars and philologists as one of the finest collections extant. This Mr Billings purchased and presented to the university, at the same time expressing his intention to erect a suitable building for its accommodation, and engaging for that purpose the services of H. H. Richardson, then the foremost of American architects. The result was a donation worthy of the giver, a fitting token of his munificence, and the pride of the city of Burlington, which, apart from the metropolis, now contains perhaps the choicest library in all the New England states. A few months before his death he gave an additional sum of $50,000 to be invested as an endowment fund, and the income to be devoted to the current expenses of the institution which bears his name. To Amherst college he also presented $50,000 for the founding of a professorship in memory of his son Parmly, who graduated in the class of 1884, and to the Mount Hermon school, in memory of his son Ehrick, a similar amount.

But to relate all the benefactions with which Mr

Billings is accredited would occupy many times the space allotted to his biography; and yet they are not a tithe of those which he actually bestowed. One or two further instances will here suffice.

To the town of Billings, the seat of the county of Yellowstone, in the state of Montana, named after himself, he presented a beautiful church edifice, built at his own expense, and at a cost of many thousands of dollars. So little progress had then been made in settlement, that from its site the bones and horns of buffalo were cleared away before the foundation was laid. In Woodstock he built a memorial chapel to his father and mother, and a few weeks before his death, finished at an outlay of more than $40,000 the reconstruction of "the old white meeting house," where in his boyhood days he worshipped. In the character of Mr Billings was ever a deep religious element, one inherited largely from his mother, and fostered by her influence and training. It was indeed at one time his intention to devote his life to the ministry, and a minister in truth he was, if not in name, in heart and deed: one in whom the highest qualities of Christian stewardship were nobly exemplified.

Of the churches which he attended he was a most helpful member, and whether with his purse, his counsel, or his services, there were none more ready to render aid. Especially was this the case with the first presbyterian church in San Francisco, of which, indeed, he may be termed the founder, placing himself in all things at its disposal from the time when, with five others, he collected its first congregation. All that man could do for it he did, even to acting as its janitor, with his own hands sweeping it out and dusting it in order to save expense. Young as he was, the congregation looked up to him, leaned on him, depended on him in all things, including too often the payment of the minister's salary, or at least an undue share of it.

On the 31st of March, 1862, Mr Billings was married to Julia, the daughter of Eleazar Parmly, of New York city. Miss Parmly's ancestors belonged to the oldest of New England stock, and like those of her husband, were residents of Vermont. Her father, a dentist, began his professional career in London, but the damp and murky atmosphere of that city proving injurious to his health, he removed to New York, where for some thirty years he was among the leading practitioners, realizing from his practice and investments a fortune of more than a million and a half. He was a man of strong purpose, of high social and intellectual aims, and of earnest Christian character. In his tastes, no less than in his manners and habits, he displayed the most perfect refinement, and especially in his taste for literature. In this department, had he so inclined, he would doubtless himself have won distinction, as was shown by the ode which he penned for the occasion of the golden wedding of Mr Billings' parents in 1867. His domestic life was an ideal one; in the family circle no angry word ever fell from his lips, and to each member of that family their home was the happiest spot on earth. For the poor he had always a helping hand, and especially for poor relatives; for while catholic in his charity, he believed in the good old maxim that charity begins at home. Mrs Billings' mother was a native of Charleston, South Carolina, and having the misfortune to lose her own mother in infancy, was reared in the family of friends, to whom she was as a daughter, requiting their care with filial duty and affection.

Of Mrs Billings herself it will only be said that while her culture and refinement were in thorough keeping with her husband's character, she was one to whom all other cares gave way to the cares of her family and household. With her husband also she shared deep religious sentiments, his devotion to the cause he loved so well, his broad and unobtrusive charity. Of their seven children two have already

passed away, the eldest son, Parmly, a native of San Francisco, in 1888, and the third, Ehrick, in the following year. The latter was a young man of seventeen, one possessed of a philosophical temperament, and of rare maturity of thought. It was on account of his failing health that, in 1887, the family made a trip to California, but without avail. Between him and his father there existed a most beautiful and touching affection, and there can be little doubt that the loss of his two sons, within so brief an interval, hastened his own end. In the order of their birth, Laura, Frederick, Mary, Elizabeth, and Richard are the names of those who remain.

In less than two years after his marriage Mr Billings closed up his affairs in San Francisco, and in 1864 settled himself in the picturesque village of Woodstock. In 1869 he purchased the homestead of Charles Marsh, the father of George P. Marsh, together with its adjoining estate, one of the most beautiful in the state of Vermont. The residence he twice rebuilt, and, says the historian of Woodstock, "he went on making additions and improvements, till at length in the extent of territory, in the variety and orderly arrangements of the various parts of this wide domain, and in the convenience and elegance of the buildings erected thereon, his home resembled one of the baronial estates of the old world, and was not surpassed in these respects, and in beauty of situation, by any similar establishment in New England."

To this home, whenever the cares of business permitted, he returned on each occasion with a greater relish, and perhaps among all the titles which he held, as president or trustee of some of the most powerful corporations in the world, there were none that pleased him so much as that of Frederick Billings of Woodstock. Here was everthing needed for the entertainment of his guests, as welcome as they were numerous, and nowhere else could be witnessed greater

hospitality. And yet it was in the company of his wife and children that his heart found most content. Never was there a more affectionate husband and father; never a more devoted son, nor one more careful to provide for his parents every comfort that thought could devise. Especially between himself and his mother there was a bond of attachment such as is seldom witnessed in this relationship. She was a woman of noble characteristics, partaking indeed of the heroic, one of those strong, energetic women who have given to New England so many of the great ones of the earth. While an admirable manager, keeping in perfect order, from cellar to attic, everything that her household contained, she was yet a woman of culture, well read, and a brilliant conversationalist. To her influence Mr Billings was ever loyal, and from her he inherited his strength of purpose, his promptness of action, and above all his religious faith. It was, as I have said, at one time his intention to prepare himself for the ministry, and from this he was only prevented by the death of his eldest brother, thus leaving him to provide in part for the support of the family. With his first savings he purchased for them a pleasant home in Woodstock, and thenceforth left nothing undone that would insure their comfort. "Mother," he said, when about to set forth for California, "you shall hear from me constantly unless my right hand becomes paralyzed."

It was a peaceful and happy life which Mr Billings led in his Woodstock home, one in which the only fault was, that in his earnest desire for the happiness of others, he assumed too many cares and responsibilities.

On his estate he might be seen working side by side with his men, in the spring planting the hills with trees, which he set out by the hundred. Forestry he studied from the writings of George P. Marsh, especially as to the climatic changes caused by the devastation of forests. By his example the neighboring

farmers were induced to preserve their woodlands, and themselves to plant with trees their barren hillsides. In the management of his farm he brought to bear the same faculty of organization that he had displayed in the control of railroads, or in the conduct of lawsuits. In everything he was a thorough man, an exact man, and whatsoever his hand found to do he did with all his might, never resting satisfied with anything short of the best. Even when his task was so accomplished as to satisfy his own critical judgment, if any improvement suggested itself, he spared neither time nor expense in carrying it out.

A man of such intensity of nature could not be otherwise than a leader of men; nor, while utterly free from all self-conceit, did he fail to be conscious of his own powers, to hold them in just appreciation, and to entertain for himself that self-respect without which no one can gain the respect of others. Above all things he detested shams of whatever kind, and when he saw men living a fictitious life, appearing before the world, or attempting to appear, other than they were, he did not hesitate, when occasion required, to give reproof as keen as the surgeon's blade. And yet there were none more ready to apologize for a hasty expression, even though well deserved, and to make amends to the person aggrieved. Kindness of heart was one of the distinguishing traits of his character, and even during his last illness, whenever he heard of a case of distress, he would forget his own sufferings while instructing wife or daughter to send relief. To supply the needs of others was to him a privilege rather than a burden, and while esteemed for the number and magnitude of his charities, he was none the less esteemed for the spirit in which they were bestowed.

To the few survivors among our California pioneers the face and figure of Mr Billings are already familiar. Some five feet ten inches in stature, in youth he was of slender build, though becoming somewhat portly

as he advanced in years. His features were massive, but well proportioned, and regular in contour, with broad expansive brow, and the head, upward from the ears, of unusual width, its formation indicating power, stability of character, and intellectuality. His expression was pleasing, attractive, and magnetic. His nature was the reverse of combative, and of all things he dreaded a controversy, though once drawn into it he would never fail to hold his own. From political conflicts he always withdrew, even where his friends were involved. Thus when his law partner, A. C. Peachy, was a candidate for Congress, causing no little derangement in the business of his office, he took refuge in the country until the election was over.

But with all his zeal and earnestness of character, Mr Billings was by no means given to austerity. On the contrary, he was somewhat luxurious in his habits, and by no means averse to a rational enjoyment of the good things of life. When a bachelor—and he did not marry until his thirty-ninth year—he was fond of his club and of club life, of its comforts and sociability, and was accustomed to entertain with hearty and lavish hospitality. His cordiality, ready wit, and brilliant conversation made him a delightful host.

And now we must take our leave of one, over the simple record of whose life his biographer fain would linger. Coming to these shores with the argonauts, and leaving them with the deepest regret, for more than a quarter of a century he was a prominent figure in several of the national enterprises for which the age is memorable. During all these years he labored incessantly, and never could he find relief from the grievous load of his responsibilities; for such men are rare and their place cannot readily be filled, men who, with the faculty to organize, combine also the ability to execute. But while directing some of the greatest financial and railroad enterprises of the age, his time and thoughts were required also for other purposes,

as for the control of church committees, for affairs relating to education, to charity, to science and art, to politics, and to many other matters, in all of which he was as much at home as in the conduct of his own business. No wonder that he died younger than might have been expected of a man of his vigorous constitution. There are men who in their lifetime can accomplish the work of several lives; and such a man was Frederick Billings.

For many years Mr Billings had been suffering from heart disease, and from other ailments caused by the strain on his nervous system, and by the stress of overwork. At length, so infirm became his health that only by careful dieting, by retiring early, and avoiding all social gatherings, could he preserve such a measure of strength as would enable him to perform his daily task. Thus for a time he remained at his post, until on Christmas eve of 1889 he was stricken with paralysis. Still for many months he lingered, and early in the following summer there were even faint hopes of his recovery. But as the summer faded into autumn his vital powers declined, and he suffered intensely from angina pectoris. At length, on the evening of September 30, 1890, he quietly passed away, with the resignation and fortitude of a Christian.

In "the old white meeting house," or rather in the structure which Mr Billings had erected in its place, the funeral obsequies were held, in the presence of such an audience as had never before been assembled in the quiet village of Woodstock. Among them were the president and several of the trustees and faculty of the university of Vermont; leading officials of the Northern Pacific and other railroads, and a number of prominent men, not only from Vermont, but from every section of the eastern states. After the opening hymn, an invocation was delivered by the Reverend Moses Kidder, followed by a second hymn and reading of scripture by the pastor of the church.

Then came an eloquent and touching address from Doctor Buckham, president of the university, who selected as his text the passage from the second book of Samuel: "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

"Standing here to-day," he said, "by the coffin of Mr Billings, not to perform the duties of pastor to people, but rather to speak among friends of a friend whom we have all loved, I shall not restrict myself to the forms of funeral discourse, but shall give free voice to those feelings of affection and grief of which all our hearts are full. Let friendship have her first, natural, impulsive outburst; with calmness, reflection, and sober reminiscence, let religion afterwards bring her solemn teachings. Do not think that these scripture words herald an elaborate eulogy. Nothing is farther from my intention, as nothing could be farther from his wishes, or from the quiet and simple ordering of this service. Eulogy will have a fitting place on some other occasion. And rarely has eulogy a worthier theme than that occasion will furnish. Many voices will mingle in it. Commerce, enterprise, art, learning, charity, patriotism, religion, all will claim the right to be heard, and to add their several notes to the full harmony of the strain. But ours to-day is a humbler and yet a tenderer and more sacred office. We, his friends, you, his neighbors and townsmen, the men and women who have grown up with him, who knew him in days of youth and hardship, and whom with growing affection he has loved in his days of prosperity and ripened manhood, we have gathered here in this church which he built in loving memory of the fathers and mothers, his and yours, whose piety was dear to him and to you, we have gathered here, not to speak and to hear such stately words of well-deserved praise as of others none could speak so well as he, but to talk to one another in homely, heartfelt praise of the friend we have lost; to solace our grief by recounting the virtues which endeared him to us; to give utterance to those feelings of admiration, of gratitude, of love, which both nature and religion encourage in us; and then as Christians, with Christian submission, and faith, and hope, to lay his body by the bodies of his parents, and his children, and his townsmen of many generations, in that beautiful spot where many of you will also in due time be gathered to him and to his fathers and yours. Thus I know, and you know, he would have bid me speak. And though, as one of old, it is hard to set limits to our feelings for such a man, I shall hope not to offend that gentle and modest spirit whose presence is all about us to-day.

"I trust now, that it is strictly in keeping with all this, to say that this verse of scripture not only describes him most aptly as I conceive of him, but will commend itself to you all as well-chosen and appropriate. How many times has it already been said of him, in his lifetime, he was a princely man, a man of royal character, and kingly actions. It is not necessary to describe what we mean by these expressions. There is a type of character, large, magnanimous, not free from faults but free from petty faults, Abraham not Isaac, Job not the three friends, Luther not Erasmus, to whom we all with one consent award the sceptre, and to whose sceptre we willingly bow. The coming of these men where and when they do, is the mystery of providence. Happy the people to whom they come. Happy and proud the city, or more likely the little country town, in which they spring up, and which they render forever memorable. Mr Billings belonged to this type of men. Without claiming for him comparison with the men alluded to, we may confidently say of him that he was of their mould. Like his own house on the hill overtopping with unpretentious and benignant superiority all the other houses of the village, so he towers above the rest of us in native magnitude and force of character. And one very interesting thing about this eminence is that while nobody ever questioned it, I believe

nobody ever resented it. I doubt if the man lives who ever grudged Mr Billings his natural superiority—mark that it was real and not a fictitious superiority, that God has set his own seal on him to give the world assurance of a man.

"I note this princely character first in his endowments. In his intellectual, his emotional, his moral, his executive qualities, he was a gifted man, and his gifts were of the large and royal kind. One of the baffling problems of God's moral government is the diversity in human endowments. The psalmist was perplexed with the difference in men's circumstances; much more perplexing, because seemingly more unequal and arbitrary, is the difference in their gifts. It is so easy for one man and so very hard for another to do and to be what all men like to do and to be. But however hard it may be to reconcile ourselves to this fact, it is open to us to make this good use of it: we can dwell with generous gratitude upon the existence of these wonderful gifts. If we are not gifted, somebody else is, and his gifts greaten and glorify the whole humanity of which we are a part. And this is comparatively easy when the gifts in question are made gracious by being enveloped in a winning moral character, when they do not issue in mere intellectual cleverness, but in the large-mindedness and large-heartedness of the man who is gifted on all sides of his nature.

"You will all agree with me that Mr Billings had great emotional gifts. He was richly endowed in the region of the affections. He had the capacity for deep and strong love for kindred, for friends, for good men and women, for home, and country, and God. His susceptibilities were quick and tender. He was easily stirred to enthusiasm by the sight or the thought of anything noble or lovely; and correspondingly intense was his power of indignation against anything unworthy or wrong. Herein lay the secret of his marvellous oratory.

"Probably no man that our state has ever produced, and few men of our time, had such power to arouse and move and sway the hearts of an audience as Mr Billings had. It may have been that this part of his nature was in excess—that his vehement and passionate affections urged him into utterances and activities that were too great a strain upon his physical powers. But it was no more possible for him to restrain and silence those ardent sympathies and antipathies, and to be calm and impassive, than it is for another man to call into exercise emotions which he has not, and to glow and burn with affection when he ought. I can imagine that with a less fervid temperament he might have lived ten years longer; but I cannot imagine that he would have consented to live a day longer by being untrue to that warm, loving, affectionate nature which God had given him, and which was as vital a part of him as the blood in his veins.

"Mr Billings was great and princely also in his activities and enterprises. Most men soon come to the limit of their abilities. Up to a certain point they grow with their occupation and succeed in it. But sooner or later there comes a time when the event, the complication of business, the case in court, the monetary crisis, is too large for the man, and ruins him. Then it is that the great man shows himself. He grows with events and always outgrows them. By dint of struggling with a great enterprise he becomes great in capacity and power. Numerous and towering obstacles which daunt other men rouse and hearten him. Continental enterprises can be carried through only by men who have, so to speak, continental abilities. Such abilities, without room for question, Mr Billings possessed. Of the great projects in the business world with which he was connected, and in which his part was always that of the daring and masterful executive head and will, it is not in place now to speak. But it is very significant that having signalized his business career by carrying to completion a great transcontinental railway he should in his last years have become deeply interested in the latest project for an interoceanic canal, and have sighed because he was not still in his 40th or 50th year, that he might have pushed that also to a successful result. What such a man might have accomplished in some of the innumerable pos-

sibilities which still await the man of power to conceive and execute, if he could have had twenty years more of physical vigor, the vigor which other men of the same age will have to spend upon trivialities, it almost takes away one's breath to imagine.

"Again, Mr Billings was princely, yes, royal, in his munificence. This also has been said of him a thousand times, and is for that reason the more impressive when we say it here to-day. And though many and many others may say and do say this of him, none have a better reason for saying it than you and I—than I, who say it daily with gratitude to God whose special grace it is that makes one the liberal and cheerful giver whom the Lord loveth, and whom all men love. A nobler gift, a gift more benign and beautiful in every feature and aspect of it, than that which Mr Billings has made to his alma mater, no most affectionate and devoted son ever made or could make. And you, in order to be reminded of his munificence, you have only to look around you. This church and the adjoining chapel, his spontaneous and unsolicited gift to this church, his offering rather to filial piety and the worship of God, and the saving gospel of Jesus Christ, this tells you better than any words can tell, in language through which he being dead yet speaketh and will long speak to you, what a joy he had in giving and spending that others may be helped and lifted up and saved. But his was not only the munificence that poured out its bounty in splendid largesses here and there; his also was the hand that scattered benefits every day like the gentle rain upon the place beneath. Not the fewest in number, nor the least sincere of those who mourn to-day, will be those whose prayers for daily bread have been answered through Mr Billings' thoughtful and watchful kindness.

"And now it only remains to say that Mr Billings was a prince in his faith. It is characteristic of a large-minded and large-hearted man to have full faith in truth, in goodness, in good men, and most of all in God. A timid, distrustful, suspicious spirit, which challenges every appeal to its confidence, and guards every concession with minute and elaborate and subtile reservations, such a temper belongs to feeble souls and small natures. A true man is faithful to his own trusts, and that makes it easy for him to believe that other men are faithful, and that God is supremely faithful. For what is religious faith but believing that God is faithful, and committing one's soul to him in well doing as unto a faithful creator? I am not sure that Mr Billings' faith in God was not uninterrupted and serene. Indeed, I believe that God's discipline does not attain its highest beneficence without bringing one's faith sometimes to that point of tension at which doubt begins. But I am sure that out of every such trial his faith became stronger and purer and simpler. He must have often remembered his own question to his dear Ehrick, as to what he thought about during his lonely and sleepless hours, and the heroic reply of the little philosopher, that he thought 'about the problems of life,' and the cheerful faith which prompted him to write on the margin of a magazine which had been left with him, 'the future is all right,' and have prayed that he might have the child's faith. And we believe that he did have it; that this long period of bodily disability and mental clearness helped him to attain to a higher degree of it; that suffering instead of obscuring served to brighten and refine it; and that in his last days, as never before, he humbled himself and became as a little child, and entered into the kingdom of Heaven with a child's unquestioning, unreserved, contented faith. And so this energetic, untiring spirit, which esteemed 'nothing done if aught remained to do,' which was inclined to blame itself first, if there was failure anywhere, settled calmly down into that confiding acquiescence which knows whom it believes, and that he is able to keep that which is committed to him, and rests itself and all dear to it, lovingly in the arms of God."

On its conclusion, a prayer was offered by Doctor Van Dyke, who afterward remarked of the deceased:

"While his was a full, strong, successful life, the best thing about it and the greatest was that he had the grace of God in his heart." A third hymn was sung, commencing with the line, "O, holy Savior, friend unseen"; the benediction was pronounced by the Reverend J. F. Brodie, and then, in the quiet churchyard of Woodstock, overshadowed by the eternal hills, whose autumnal glories were radiant with the beams of the noon-day sun, the remains of Frederick Billings were laid at rest.

In truth, a great man and a prince had fallen in Israel, few better or purer have passed from the scene of their earthly labors to enter on their reward. In the record of his life will be found an example that cannot fail to reproduce itself, and to make better the lives of others by its beauty, its graces, and its inspiration. Not for his wealth, not for his worldly success, or for the exalted rank which he held among those whom the world delights to honor, but for his noble, Christian manliness; for his devotion to the cause of his country, to the cause of God, to the benefits he has conferred on mankind, will the name of Frederick Billings be held in lasting esteem.

CHAPTER III.

DOMINATING INFLUENCES IN AMERICA.

Dawn of the Later Age—Spain and her History—Potentates and Popes—Extension of Discovery—A New World Found—Hot and Cold Climates as Civilizers—Indigenous American Culture—Spaniards in the New World—Kingcraft and Priestcraft—The Middle Ages in Central America—Three Centuries of Dead Activities—Mediæval Mexico—Life of Benito Juarez—Revolutionary Period of Mexico and Subsequently—The Indian Boy of Oajaca—Lawyer, Governor, Chief Justice, and President of the Republic—Struggle for Intellectual Liberty—Pronunciamientos and Principles—French Intervention—Firmness of Juarez under Trials—Failure and Death of Maximilian—Later Measures—Close of a Glorious Career.

Thus far we have considered the elements of domination throughout the world of matter and of mind, glancing first at the forces inherent in nature, then following the pathway of human development from the earliest historic record to the exaltation of western Europe prior to the period of trans-Atlantic discovery. We will now cross this Sea of Darkness, and continue the same line of thought as we enter upon the somewhat more specific illustrations demanded by the subject in relation to America, and particularly to the latest developed portions of the continent.

At the dawn of the modern era of development, when saltpetre, movable types, and the magnetic needle appeared to aid man in casting off the mediæval fetters, the Iberian peninsula stood foremost in enterprising achievements, particularly in starting anew the soul-stirring migrations of the Aryan race. For this it was well adapted, both by political supremacy

and geographic position. Its people possessed the ambition, hardihood, and energy instilled by long and victorious campaigns, which had left in them a thirst for fresh conquests, and for adventure beyond the narrow limits of their horizon, while far to the west and south was an unswept sea, challenging investigation.

They were a strong race, these Spaniards, before degeneration set in, even though their vigor was less enduring than susceptible of a momentary but extreme tension of will and nerve; their origin a mixture of probably aboriginal Turanians with different Aryan races leavened with Phœnician and Carthaginian colonists, and especially with Roman conquerors, who left the impress of their language and customs upon the people. Then poured in the Teuton hordes to check incipient culture and corrupt the language. An upland region, broken by mountains, kept apart the native tribes, and fostered a diversity of traits, and a heterogeneity which opened the way for invasion and subjugation by the Mohammedans. In the northwestern Pyrenees, liberty and a remnant of the old nationality were nursed by heroes like Pelayo, and gradually, with dismemberment, and a flagging warrior spirit among the Moors, they pressed outward to regain the lost ground, breaking the strength of the foe at Tolosa early in the thirteenth century, and finally by the capture of Granada terminating a contest of eight centuries.

It was an anomalous race, a medley of Christian, Moslem, and Jew, of infidel and believer; the Christian with his sombre garb and proselyting tendencies, the Mohammedan with his fanaticism and his seclusion of women, and the Jew with his ancient faith and customs, and his eager enterprise. Pastoral life, so widely prevalent, imparted a tendency to roaming and adventure; the long fight for liberty had fostered a sense of equality, as well as obstinacy and cruelty, the latter being kept alive by the inquisition, bull-baiting, and other bloody entertainments. Successful

reconquests had brought forth a large class of nobles, with the attendant pride of rank and chivalry, the former restrained within the bounds of a punctiliousness enforced by the wide claim to hidalgoship. In course of time, the Castilian stepped to the front as the leader in arms, his preëminence being also displayed in more refined speech and manners.

Such was the nation which during the sixteenth century extended its sway over half the world, but only to decline through the enervation of wealth and indolence, aided by ignorance and superstition.

Portugal lay nearest the ocean, into which adjacent Africa and its isles lured her mariners, under the leadership of Prince Henry, a noble embodiment of the dawning revival in lofty speculation, and love for science and adventure. Notwithstanding the timidity of dimly-lighted intelligence, manifested here by the slow advance of navigation, ships were surely approaching that turning point round Africa which, before the close of the sixteenth century, was to lead the Portuguese to golden fields.

With less practical enterprise, and absorbed by campaigns against the Moors and the consolidation of her empire, Spain might have remained far behind her neighbor, but for the ripeness of time pressing to the front a great instrument to guide her people into fresh paths. In the aspiring nature of Columbus, strengthened by studies and struggles in knowledge, the budding idea of the spherity of the earth found an active champion. This idea grew, and became intensified under the morbid broodings of genius, and a belief in divine instrumentality, exciting a fervid desire to find a sea route to the Indies by sailing westward. After many rebuffs, jealousy and avarice at length induced Ferdinand and Isabella to grant him a hearing. Their coöperation gained, Columbus had yet to overcome the obstacles raised by the superstitious dread of unknown dangers. But the enthusiast triumphed. A new continent was dis-

closed, which afforded fresh pastures for Europe's surplus population. The pope presumed, indeed, to divide it between Spain and Portugal, but England and others chose to help themselves to portions, therein to plant the germ of ennobling liberty.

The desire to colonize was with the Spaniards secondary to the appetite for gold and lands, with dominion over the natives. Gold, with the watchwords glory and godliness, was the incentive which led to enterprise, to fresh discoveries of isles and continental shores, and to the attendant pacifications, as conquest was called. Colonization, nevertheless, found encouragement in connection with the traffic which sprang up with the aborigines. The docility and feebleness of the natives led to their oppression, with enforced labor upon their own soil. The collection of taxes authorized by the government, and the mandate to convert and civilize them, were the legal excuse for planting encomiendas, under which the Indians were reduced to serfdom. As the slaves thus made cost nothing, the taskmasters hesitated not upon the slightest provocation freely to shed the blood of beings to whom a soul was conceded chiefly through the influence of religion and lust; for if the savages had not souls, they were beasts, and outside the pale both of piety and prostitution.

Las Casas signalized himself as the apostle of the Indies, but in his pity for the savages, he blindly lent himself to the introduction of the hardier negro slaves. The less favorable prospects of Africa as a missionary field, where the Mohammedans held the advantage, withdrew from the black man Christian sympathy. This and other selfish measures of Spain bore bitter fruit in the ultimate loss of nearly all of her American provinces.

The Spaniards in their discoveries first encountered land in tropical America, and their possessions and operations were for the most part round that centre,

though extending over both continents far to the south and to the north. But however favorable a hot climate may be as a cradle for infant civilization, temperate climates develop a more vigorous race, both in body and mind. The south basks in prolific sunshine, but the north rules. Nevertheless, such conditions partake more or less of the artificial and temporary, rather than of the natural and stable. Transplantation can be successful only within certain limits. The highest culture, modern as well as ancient, develops best in the open air; witness the most remarkable of all migrations, that to southern California to-day,—a migration, not of poor adventurers for land, or gold, or furs, but of the wealthy and refined, for a warm, dry climate, with healthful surroundings. Avarice no longer rules supreme in America, but other influences are at work, with promises of a higher and purer culture. There are three causes why Canada is so slow to develop: the climate is cold, the people do not kill off their savages, and nobody can be a man until he lets loose his hold on his mother's apron-strings.

A country yielding in abundance and variety the staples of life must become the seat of a large population, unless there are present counteracting causes. That the table-lands of Central America and Mexico are suited to the wants of civilization has already been demonstrated. There lived the Mayas and the Nahuas, each with an indigenous culture far above any other upon the continent of North America. That the level of humanity is so low in these sections at the present time is owing to several causes. First, the mongrel race; the Indians were not killed off as in the United States, but were allowed to mix their blood with that of the rapidly deteriorating Spaniards, who to this day have held the mastery, grinding into the dust the weak and powerless, and preventing the rise of a sturdy and intelligent middle class, which must ever be the bulwark of a nation. Add to this

the withering effect of a religion whose tenets were all opposed to free thought and intellectual advancement, and we have cause enough why the people are debased, mentally and morally. That as a nation they are no more enterprising, commercially and industrially, is due in a measure to the miasmatic border, which checks maritime enterprise, and renders life and industry on the seaboard to a great extent impossible.

Mexico, situated under the tropics, though at such elevation in her vast interior as to be outside of the miasmatic levels, and to be blessed with light and pure airs, has a climate at once uniform and diversified. The temperature of any locality is almost always the same; but several localities present a large number of different temperatures. Comparatively speaking, there is but little difference between winter and summer, except that one is dry and the other wet. On the border are always found the tierras calientes, hot, damp, insalubrious, with their fertile soil impregnated with a superabundance of decayed vegetable matter, and with the air soft, voluptuous, febrile, tempting to indolence and repose. Up upon the cold levels may be found every possible degree of temperature. Rain is common in the eastern slope throughout the year, though more abundant in winter. In regard to Central America, the climate on the Atlantic coast is mostly insalubrious; that of the Pacific coast much better in every respect, the heat being less oppressive, because the atmosphere is drier and purer. Hence the latter is lined with towns and settlements, while the former is almost uninhabited. The average temperature of Guatemala city is 72°, Vera Paz being 10° warmer. In the highlands, there is a lower temperature than in any other part of Central America, and the people are noted for their energy. Salvador has a higher temperature than Guatemala and Honduras, but the heat is oppressive only in some portions of the coast. Honduras has a fine climate, except on the Atlantic coast. Nicaragua, apart from

Segovia, which borders on Honduras, has an average temperature in the lake regions of 80°. In Costa Rica there is almost every degree of temperature desired, from the intense heat of Punta Arenas to the constant spring of San José, or the perpetual autumn of the belt above Cartago. Properly speaking, there is no dry season on the Atlantic coast of Central America. From June to December, the Pacific slope has its season of brief rains. No portion of the earth presents a greater diversity of contour, on an equal extent of surface, or a greater variety of climate. An unbroken chain of mountains, at least to Nicaragua lake, covered with diversified vegetation, connects the Andes and the Rocky mountains. On the slopes and summits are fine table-lands, some of them very extensive, and all exceedingly fertile. Most of the highest summits are volcanoes.

We see that generous nature provides in these countries not only the staples for food and raiment, but likewise the means of recreation and unlimited instruction. There is hardly any occupation out of which an energetic and intelligent man with some capital may not derive profit. Take agriculture, for instance; throw away the old sticks the natives have used from pre-conquest times to scratch the ground with, bring modern ploughs into play, and the difference will soon be apparent in increased production. The same may be said of every other industry in the lines of manufacture and trade. The natives are industrious, well disposed, and possess facility to learn. But they must be taught the better methods.

It was predestined that America should be conquered by European monarchies, and held in dependency by them. The Latin races of southern Europe took Central and South America. Those of northern Europe came a century later for their share of New World territory, and appropriated to themselves the northern regions. It was equally predestined that this America should not remain forever harnessed to

those monarchies. The Spanish-American colonies were ruled upon somewhat contradictory principles and blind traditions; with selfish preferences for the mother country and those born therein; but in the early part of the present century seeds were sown of political and ecclesiastical reform, which were to bear good fruit. The division of the people into castes is an obstacle to progress. In the empires of the world this is the corner-stone of despotism.

With the independence of colonies came republican institutions, recognizing personal liberty, freedom of thought, no less than national independence. These principles were proclaimed long before the people could appreciate them, but in course of time they will better understand them. American institutions are therefore no longer in danger from abroad. Nor have they stopped here; they have been felt by the people of Europe, who are fast throwing off their effete ideas, and enforcing their rights as freemen. The danger to be most apprehended lies at home, in excessive prosperity, overweening pride, and too much confidence in our own powers to detect and ward off dangers. Much can be done to counteract conceit and ignorance, but they will continue to be the foes of our new civilization.

In studying causes and effects in Mexico and Central America, we must not lose sight of the difficulties which have beset their people in the task of consolidating their political institutions, and developing their material interests. In strong contrast with the immigrants who settled in the regions now embraced in the United States of America, and who were wont to work with their own hands, thus becoming producers, the Spanish settlers compelled the aborigines to work for them, and were therefore consumers without being producers. Prior to the war of secession from the mother country, much more than at the present time, there were only two classes, masters and serfs, the former ruling over and living by the

labor of the latter. This state of things continued for years after the independence, leaving the impress of ignorant servility, in which the masses had been held for centuries, vividly stamped on the character of the poorer classes. Nevertheless, a change for the better is seen in later years, and is constantly gaining ground, as a result of the diffusion of light through the common schools. Hence a greater degree of contentment and a consequent greater difficulty in arousing public disturbances. Anything like perfection in the administration of government has not been reached, but rulers now acknowledge themselves, in pretence at least, to be the servants of the people, and appreciate the fullness of their responsibilities; while, on the other hand, the masses, having availed themselves to some extent of the facilities afforded for acquiring instruction, manifest a greater interest in public affairs, from those of the municipality to the administration of the supreme executive government. Better men are called to the front, and there is hardly a chance left for Santa Annas, Carreras, or other dictators or despots.

The church from the old colonial times had been clothed with privileges, owing to the exemplary labors in some respects, of its founders, and the missionaries retained until recent times a great influence with the masses. Had it used its power for good, the blessings it might have conferred are incalculable; but unfortunately, like all human powers, in time the clergy degenerated, became worldly, caring more for their privileges and rights than for the good of souls. Religion in Mexico was chiefly external ceremonies, adoration of images, processions, and other spectacles. The old pagan and idolatrous practices were not wholly done away with, and new ones had been introduced which brought shekels to the clergy. Hence an indifference toward religion prevailed in the educated, and even in the semi-educated, classes. The church being leagued with the state, the

priests controlled temporal as well as spiritual affairs, using the government as a tool; in which pretension they were generally upheld by despots of the Santa Anna type, and by the ignorant and fanatical masses. The people at last opened their eyes to the fact that the true interests of religion and good government demanded that the ministers of the former should no longer interfere in secular affairs. The struggle was long, and costly, both in blood and treasure, but the good cause triumphed, and church and state were separated, to the improvement of both, religion being better preserved from vicious practices, the church being purer, while the state is showing how judicious was its action in that direction by paying due attention to sanitary laws, asylums, hospitals, etc.

The impulse given to industries and trade, especially by the facilities of transportation, telegraphic lines, and other material improvements, has tended to render labor honorable, affording a greater variety of occupations, suited to individual taste and fitness, and increasing compensation, thus heightening ambition to excel, and bringing within the reach of the intelligent and industrious comforts of which they were formerly deprived.

Mining is still one of the great industries of Mexico, and to a limited extent of Central America. During the Spanish domination, immense quantities of precious metals were taken out, the industry being the life of the country. It afforded labor, though poorly requited, for many thousands of natives; it was the supporter of agriculture in the vicinity of the mines, of some manufacturing, and of transportation of supplies to the mining camps, and of the metal to the ports of exportation. Most of the products of the mines went to Spain, the real benefit to Mexico being small, and to Spain not much more. Before she began to receive the enormous products of the American mines, Spain was a manufacturing country, but with

the influx of precious metals, labor and every kind of industry grew vexatious; men became indolent, proud, and foolish. Foreigners had to be permitted to bring in their manufactured goods, to pay for which Spain and her colonies were drained of their specie. However, it is generally expected that some of the benefits of mining when carried on by the people of the country, will remain at home, in the form of better developed agriculture and commerce, of dwellings, gardens, and orchards; the establishment of manufactories and foundries, and of everything conducive to progress and wealth, all providing comforts of life for those who industriously employ their brains and hands.

A large portion of the poorer classes of Mexico and Central America occupy a peculiar position; they are not slaves, nor are they free; they are neither positively progressive, nor absolutely stationary. Still they are now more free and progressive than they have ever before been since the coming of the Spaniards, and their development is more healthful than it was for a time immediately succeeding the war of independence. During the three centuries of Spanish domination, the government and clergy kept the masses in ignorance and inaction. Now they have more light and more liberty. In the education of the masses lies their brightest prospects, but their development, intellectually and politically must necessarily be slow. Education means elevation; it is the strength of a nation, which alone will save it from internecine wars, foreign invasions, and other destructive dangers. To climate are attributed many of the drawbacks experienced by these countries; but climate has not been the only factor. Civil wars have been often fomented by the mestizo element. This shows, however, that the people have vivacity and energy, which should be guided in the right direction and to better purposes. The mestizos have existed as an element of population so many centuries,

that they may rightly be considered as practically indigenous. The Indians are patient, laborious, and rather intelligent. Their capabilities are revealed in many ways, and especially in the talented men emerging from their ranks. The white creoles, while they live comparatively isolated from the outward world, entertain the conceit of their own excellence and superiority, but even these are of late improving.

The general conclusion to be drawn from a study of the Mexicans and Central Americans under the influence of their institutions, and of their frequent contact with other nationalities resulting from education and facilities of communication, is that they have reached a point where progress is a necessity. With the natural increase of an industrious native population, and a judicious encouragement of the immigration of a desirable class, the vast resources of these countries will in the near future be utilized for their own advantage, and the advantage of the world.

Spanish occupation of the northern portions of Mexico was not attended with that rapid growth of a civilized population which marked the possession by the white race of the territories in the south. Two causes operated against the possibility of these regions being thickly inhabited, namely, the nature of the country, and the obstinate hostility of the natives. Arid wastes, and streamless deserts intersected by systems of bare and rugged mountains seamed with dark ravines, were not inviting features of nature; and had it not been for the Spaniards' ceaseless search for the precious metals, their occupancy of this land would probably have been confined to a few missions and military posts. But in the bowels of these stern sierras, gold and silver lay hidden in marvellous abundance, and could not escape the scrutiny of the explorers. Settlement followed discovery, and sparsely scattered towns sprang up in the neighborhood of rich mines, Durango being the gateway.

Nor must it be understood that there were no localities favorable to colonization in this vast region; on the contrary, there were well-watered, fertile valleys, where agriculture could be carried on with success, and rich grazing lands of vast extent, on which, in time, herds of cattle were pastured. Mining and agriculture advanced together, the latter being a consequence of the former. Thus these provinces acquired in time such importance, that toward the close of the eighteenth century their government was made independent of the viceroy, and Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya—now Chihuahua and Durango—New Mexico, Coahuila, and Texas were formed into the Provincias Internas under the separate government of a comandante-general responsible to the king of Spain alone.

During the colonial period the savages made no great headway against the intruders on their domains, and though many bloody encounters took place, they were compelled to retire before the steady advance of the whites, who came mostly from Biscay, Navarre, and Catalonia, and their Mexican followers. But after Mexico had gained her independence, and became distracted by civil war, the North Mexican States were left, to some extent, to take care of themselves. Then the savages sallied from their homes in unexplored regions and became the assailants. Favored by the long distances intervening between the populated settlements, and the weakness of the country ranchos, they desolated extensive districts in Chihuahua and northern Sonora, killing, destroying, and driving off cattle. Their depredations were continued for decades, and were even carried into Durango and Zacatecas. During this struggle for supremacy, the vicinities of large towns were raided, mines and settlements were abandoned, haciendas devastated, and whole regions depopulated, as the whites were thrust back from point to point. But when Mexico emerged from her chronic condition of

civil strife, under the able administration of her late rulers, the murderous Apaches were swept from the land, and the lost ground was recovered.

While Sonora was harassed by the natives in the north, repeated trouble was caused in the south by the nominally subjugated Yaquis, who frequently broke out in revolt. Their most prominent leader was Juan Ignacio Juzucanca, better known by the name of Banderas, from a banner borne by him, and which he represented as having belonged to Montezuma. This chief, though small in stature and of unprepossessing countenance, was gifted with rare eloquence and great administrative ability, which made him the most influential leader in his nation. Led by this chieftain, the Yaquis during 1825–7 waged war against the whites, practically gaining their independence. Banderas' ambition now urged him to prosecute a scheme, the failure of which entailed upon him the penalty of death. It was to form a confederation of the native nations in Sonora with himself as king. Envoys were sent to the different chieftains, and support being promised him he took the field toward the close of 1832. His allies, however, failed him, and he was defeated at Soyopa by Leonardo Escalante after an obstinate battle. Banderas was captured, quickly tried, and shot at Arizpe early in the following year. After this frequent wars were waged with this obdurate nation.

In 1837 Manual M. Gándara became governor of Sonora, and during his administration and afterward, in the political strife which was maintained for years between centralists and federalists, did not hesitate to rouse the Yaquis again and again in his efforts against his liberal opponents. Encouraged by this unscrupulous man, they took part in almost every military movement with which Sonora was agitated during a series of decades, maintaining their local independence, until finally they were subdued during the second administration of Diaz, after several years

of warfare. Their chief, Cajeme, who had made himself celebrated by his daring valor, strategy, and political and military abilities, was captured and put to death before the eyes of his people in April 1887.

Though vast regions of the North Mexican States are still awaiting the advent of settlers to unfold their native wealth, the conquest of its numerous physical difficulties has already begun. The same allurement is as attractive to the people of to-day as it was to the Spaniards of old; the abandoned mines, and still undiscovered but well recognized riches of the sierras, are drawing attention to them, as the magnet draws the steel, and companies are already at work at the labor of redevelopment. These countries will again become inhabited, but with a denser population, and with a permanent occupancy.

Among the privileges of the biographer is the opportunity of presenting an important episode, or illustrating a great principle, by the history of a single life. Such an opportunity offers in the case of Benito Juarez, and the progressional phenomena illustrated are the events evolved in the emancipation of intellect and secularization of society in Mexico.

For the greatest achievement of the Mexican people was not their independence from Spain, nor the evolution out of chaos of constitutional government, nor anything which war, rapine, or political jugglery could accomplish; it was the declaration of intellectual independence, self-deliverance of mind, raising themselves out of the realm of darkness by their own inherent strength and volition. He that hath eyes may see; but how shall the blind from the enfolding darkness perceive the distant light? To his people God sent angels in time past; priests have had visions in Mexico; but we seldom hear of a miracle performed for the advancement of civilization. Yet if ever there was a miracle, it was in bringing out of the wilderness an ignorant Indian boy, a shock-headed

American aboriginal of the pure blood, of blood uncontaminated by any European intermixture, and so steeped in illiteracy that, at the age of eleven years he could not speak the Spanish language, to say nothing of reading or writing—the bringing out of the wilderness a being like this to perform the wonder of the age, of any age; for Benito Juarez was not only a political revolutionist, but a reformer, whose great aim was the improvement of his race, both morally and materially, and who contributed his life to the deliverance of his people from the infamy of ignorance, from a subordination of soul, of which, to a great extent, they were stupidly indifferent, or even unconscious.

Society during the viceregal period was a strange conglomeration of European, African, and American, the intermixture being no less distinctly marked and separated one from the other than the three original races. Out of all these crystallized, or is crystallizing, a new race, to-day called the Mexican, or the Spanish-American. Of the original stocks and endless intermixtures, Spaniards born in Spain stood first; next, those born of Spanish parents in America; after these, men in whose veins was the largest admixture of Spanish blood were held in most esteem; the pure-blooded American ranking superior to the pure-blooded African, but not to the European and American intermixture.

These class distinctions were based purely on accidents of birth, and not on merit, wealth, or mental or moral qualifications. Color was more a criterion of caste than of inherent quality, white being the standard of respectability; for if the skin of the native Spaniard happened to be darker than the skin of the native American, the fact did not affect public estimation, aside from the superiority of birth. Europeans have ever claimed a mental superiority to barbarians, that is to say, to any or all people not Europeans. But that the pure-blooded Spaniard, with all his high breeding and learning, possessed or

possesses native capabilities of mind superior to those of the unlearned Indian, the history of America, particularly the history of American aboriginal civilization, does not show. In the life of many a Mexican besides Juarez, both before and after the conquest, we have striking illustrations of the powers of native American aboriginal intellect, as compared with European. Savages, it is true, are children, and their minds the minds of the untutored, the inexperienced, and the undisciplined; but not all American Indians are savages.

Some of the blackest crimes within the power of tyranny to perpetuate—intellectual slavery, the enforcement of beliefs, the degradation of the mental and spiritual faculties of man—are charged upon Spain as causes of the Spanish-American revolution. Moral and mental disease, however, was not confined to Spain, but lay around the roots of Spanish-American society as well. Not all of the ignorance, vice, and superstition of the New World should be charged to the king of Spain; the powers of darkness held sway in America no less than in Europe, and ruled here with an iron hand long after the achievement of national independence. So ingrained in their nature by centuries of oppression was the doctrine of the divine right of rulers, temporal and spiritual, and that whether king or president or general, whether pope, priest, or sorcerer; so imprisoned were they by the thick black darkness—that naught but some almighty arm, of whatsoever denomination, could release them. Many of the evils of Spain were continued under republican rule, and in the name of liberty, long after the power of Spain in America was broken—the oppression of the stranger, whether of church or state, caste distinctions, military and guerilla law, government restrictions and impositions, forced loans, or other of the innumerable impositions of misrule.

Glancing backward a few score years, from the time when in Europe the man of Corsica was mak-

Benito Juarez

ing all the world to tremble, and Spain's decadence was at hand, Spain's natural rulers becoming profligate, and almost imbecile, one abdicating, another flying before the fury of the populace, another, Fernando VII., idle, incompetent, and faithless, a coward and a hypocrite, base, tricky, and a debauchee, as history calls him, and at his death, a brother desolating the land with war in opposing the succession of a daughter to the throne—is it not time that America should become ashamed of such parentage, and that sparks of revolution in Mexico be presently kindled into a purifying flame?

The subjects of Spain in America had suffered almost every form of oppression that ever a people was called upon to undergo at the hand of despotism. Yet the cutting aloof from the mother country was not altogether because the Spanish government made the children of Spaniards born in the New World politically and socially inferior to the children of Spaniards born in Spain, nor altogether because of the odious system of commercial monopoly which Spain imposed. These and like impositions had existed for two centuries, with no apparent disposition on the part of the colonists to rebel; yet when the opportunity came, all these wrongs had their influence. And that opportunity arose from Spain's weakness rather than America's strength; from Spain's degradation rather than America's enlightenment. That enlightenment was destined to come later, and one of its chief apostles was Benito Juarez.

Unlike the Anglo-American idea of freedom, with its sacred rights and firm principles, and the material and intellectual independence essential thereunto, Spanish-American independence was rather a change of masters, and that not always for the better, with revolution as a chronic condition. In the Spanish-American revolutions for independence there was little principle involved, no particular change in church matters, priests of the prevailing faith frequently

taking part as leaders of popular uprisings, and the government which followed was little less arbitrary, and scarcely more republican, than it had been under the viceroys. Indeed, so ground into their being had become the doctrine of loyalty, the divinity of kings, that obedience to rulers in some very pronounced form had become a necessity. To repudiate the idea of divine rulership in some form was to defy the authority of the almighty, and incur the penalties of hell. Such was the atmosphere breathed into the brain of Benito Juarez, as he emerged, an Indian boy of the blood pure, from the wilds of Oajaca.

The venal viceroy Iturrigaray was deposed for disloyalty shortly after Juarez was born. After Iturrigaray, came, as chief ruler under Spain, Garibay, infirm of body and weak of will; Archbishop Lizana, old, sickly, and as feeble in mind as in body; and then Venegas, during whose term began the war of independence.

Meanwhile, hatred of the Spaniards—this name being applied to the later comers of Spain by the earlier arrivals, and by the natives and mixed breeds—increases, until in 1810 the grito de Dolores is raised, and the cura leads forth his flock to battle. Iturbide appears, as a lieutenant of Venegas, opposing Hidalgo, who forms a government in opposition to that of the viceroy. Upon the death of Hidalgo another ecclesiastic, Morelos, becomes the revolutionary leader, whose colleague, Rayon, organizes a supreme national junta, which constitutes the revolutionary government, and of which Rayon is president. A national constitution is adopted, and in 1813 the suprema junta develops into a so-called congress, controlled by Morelos, but under the presidency, first of Murguía, and then of Liceaga, and chased hither and thither in the vicinity of Puebla and Vera Cruz by the royalists under Calleja and Iturbide. Morelos meets his death in 1815, and the insurgent congress continues for a time its migrations, and is forcibly dis-

solved. Royalty is represented for a time by Calleja and Apodaca, while the plan of Iguala is proclaimed, pointing toward independence.

The viceroy Apodaca is deposed, whereupon Novella fans the dying embers of royalty; then O'Donojú poses as viceroy for a time, and at his death the last shadow of viceregal authority disappeared from Mexico forever. Bravo, Victoria, Guerrero, and Santa Anna appear championing with their own cause the cause of republican liberty. The death of O'Donojú follows hard upon the declaration of independence on one hand and the appointment of a self-constituted regency to represent the king of Spain on the other. The viceregal government is dissolved, and a general flight of Spaniards follows. A sovereign provisional junta is formed, presently to give place to a national congress. Central America declares independence, and forms a union with the Mexican empire, as it may for a moment be called.

Then comes a counter-revolution, followed by new issues as the nation enters the transition period from political and intellectual despotism into the elemental conditions of a free people. Somewhat as Iturbide dethroned the viceroy Apodaca, Santa Anna dethrones Iturbide, who pays the penalty of attempted imperialism with his life. The victorious republicans organize anew and form two parties, federalists and centralists, the former preferring a form of government like that of the United States, and the latter comprising masons of the Scottish rite, and the old monarchists. Revolutions of various intent follow thickly, the disease having become chronic.

During these years of strife, which follow a yet longer period of political and ecclesiastical despotism, the state of the country was most lamentable. Since the beginning of the century there had been a marked retrogression. While large salaries were granted to officials, the revenue fell far short of the expenses of the new government. Forced loans

were frequent. Commerce experienced violent convulsions. Import duties were reduced, the old arrangements with Spain terminated, and trade with other nations established—beneficial measures in themselves, but not tending, when united with war and anarchy at home, toward immediate large returns. All industries had fallen into decay, particularly mining. The church owned or controlled two thirds of all the property in the country.

The war-cry of Hidalgo was, Death to the Spaniards! To the masses, who were partly native and partly of mixed blood, New Spain was not only a colony, but a conquered country. Morelos sought to impart form to Hidalgo's idea. The royalists, at first impelled by a sense of self-preservation, were finally roused by the bandit-like raids of the guerillas.

Both sides professed to be champions of the church, and the church was on both sides, the upper clergy being royalists, while those who ministered to the masses were revolutionists. Yet, in the end, the extremes met, the upper clergy finally turning the scale by which the revolutionists triumphed.

The revolutionists were mainly composed of mestizos, the newly developed race, some of them ambitious and comparatively intelligent, though many of them steeped in stupidity and prejudice; all of restless though uneven energy, with a keen sense of their own rights and of the wrongs inflicted by others, and with aspirations roused by mingled Spanish pride and aboriginal pretensions.

The Indian regarded the issue with less interest than the others. So far as he could yet see, the gain to him was an indefinite quantity, whichever side should win. Even the creole often wavered between a longing for control and a fear for imperilled wealth.

Under the constitution of 1824, Guadalupe Victoria is chosen president and Nicolás Bravo vice-president of the republic. Nineteen states and four territories comprise the Estados Unidos Mejicanos,

besides Tlaxcala and the later federal district. The government is divided into legislative, executive, and judicial powers, the first being vested in a congress, consisting of a senate and house of deputies. All religions, except the Roman catholic, are excluded. It is not a republic of the people, ruled by an intelligent and educated middle class, for there is none such; the masses are still thriftless and illiterate, and too habituated to centuries of leading-strings, too dazzled and preoccupied by military achievement, to apply themselves to the study of self-government. Soldiers become the tools of officers, who manipulate the power. Nevertheless, the income of the church is curtailed, and priests made to do more work for less pay. A Spanish invasion in 1829 is quickly repulsed; Guerrero, who had been made president the year previous, is overthrown by the vice-president, Bustamente, who takes the place of his victim, and in his turn is forced to give way before Santa Anna, executive power for a time being in the hands of Pedraza and Farías. Joining forces with the clerical powers, Santa Anna in 1835 enters the capital as dictator, but is presently sent into exile. Then comes the war with the United States, and loss of territory; Herrera is president, and after him Arista; then Santa Anna, having been recalled, resumes powers, yet only the lower to fall and give place to Álvarez, whose cabinet embraced, besides Comonfort, pronounced liberals like Juarez and Ocampo, Prieto and Miguel Lerdo.

Some twenty-two miles northeast of Oajaca, in the midst of the labyrinth of ranges at the conjunction of the sierras, lies the district of Ixtlan, and in it the hamlet of San Pablo Guelatao, on the bank of the water known as Laguna Encantada, or the enchanted lake, from its crystal clearness and unfathomable depth.

All around rise rugged peaks, sheltering the scattering cottages at their base, which stand in patches of cultivated soil and groves of fruit-trees. The set-

tlement numbers less than two hundred souls; in the centre are found a few adobe huts and sheds, with still more humble belongings, a modest chapel, and a temple ruined by one of the earthquakes that occasionally disturb the otherwise unbroken tranquillity of the district. In one of these cottages, on the 21st of March, 1806, was born Benito Pablo, the son of Marcelino Juarez and his wife Brígida García, both of pure Indian blood.

Benito was one of several children, and a posthumous child. His mother died in giving him birth, leaving him to the care of a grandmother, from whom he passed to the family of Pablo, his father's brother. It cannot be said that his prospects in life were altered by the transfer, for he had no prospects in the first place, and in the ordinary course of events he would never have passed beyond the narrow confines of a peasant's sphere. As it was, Benito grew up without any education, as I have said before, even Spanish being to him an unknown tongue as late as his eleventh year.

At this time an incident occurred upon which turned his future. He and a somewhat elder boy, named Juan Luna, were one day herding Pablo's few cattle, when the fruit of a neighbor's garden tempted them to pick and eat. Absorbed by this enjoyment they forgot the cattle, which followed their example, and were soon discussing the excellency of mal-appropriated green corn. The less-guarded movements of the animals roused the owner, who reached the spot in time to catch the boys and administer to them an angry reproof. He did not beat them, but he did what for Benito seemed worse—he threatened to tell his guardian.

Pablo had no particular affection for the orphan boy, and frequently maltreated him for slight offences. The present misdemeanor was more serious than usual; and if for nothing poor Benito received severe chastisements, what would be proportionate punish-

ment in this case? He had a good head for logic; he did not like the conclusions his judgment arrived at, so he resolved to run away. Abandoning the cattle to their fate, he hurried across the hills, and soon fell in with some market-men on their way to Oajaca. It is a common habit among these otherwise secluded people to undertake long journeys to some leading town in order to dispose of a few articles of their manufacture, or sell a little produce, the returns from which may perhaps be dissipated in a few hours' carousal. Yet they will jog contentedly for days at a swinging pace, carrying their burden over hill and ravine, on to their predetermined destination, and past the intermediate towns, where likely enough a comparatively better sale might be effected.

Informed of his adventure, the men sought to persuade him to return; but by this time his distracted wits had come back to him—for he had plenty of them—and he said he would go to his sister, who was serving in a family at Oajaca, and seek her counsel. The result was, that on his arrival in the city, a Señor Perez interested himself in the boy, and found him a home with Antonio Salanueva, a benevolent man, connected with one of the Franciscan orders.

Perceiving the intelligence of the lad, and the facility with which he acquired the rudiments of learning, he enlisted the sympathies of a rich trader, Diego Chavez, who had him sent to the seminario. In return, Juarez assisted, so far as he was able, in book-keeping and other details of the shop. These worthy men little knew that they were preparing this poor Indian boy for the presidency of the republic.

Juarez completed his course with honor, and the pious Salanueva sought to persuade him to study for the church, which in his opinion was the most exalted and promising of the professions; but Juarez had already imbibed liberal ideas, and the civil institute, with its chairs of jurisprudence, being just at that time established, he resolved to prepare for the law.

There was a large secession from the seminario on the same occasion, the Oajaca youths being allured by the wider and more advantageous curriculum at the new college.

About this time the strife of rival political factions, which during the following half-century racked this unhappy land with pronunciamientos, outrages, and ravaging wars in unbroken succession, had reached fever-heat. The cause of all these social convulsions lay partly in the impetuous and volatile disposition of the people, bewildered at first by their escape from the leading-string of the paternal Spanish government, and impelled by reckless ambition and jealousies among themselves.

Itself the result of upheaval, the ever-changing government failed to acquire sufficient strength to control succeeding movements. Temporary peace was purchased by a distribution of offices and other favors among the supporters as well as the opponents of a successful movement, a policy which served only to excite the cupidity of all non-participants in the spoils. Revolution came to be looked upon as the only available means to promotion; seniority, services, and talent counted for nothing. By a skilful or lucky pronunciamiento, the corporal of to-day might be the general of to-morrow, and the embezzling official could readily cloak his misdeeds by the same means, and gain the opportunity for still larger peculations for himself and friends. Liberty was misconstrued into license; everybody claimed the right to protest in any manner he pleased against a tottering government; congress and legislatures were torn by factions, and a disobedient army lay placidly regarding affairs, while fattening on the substance of the country.

The leading parties at this time were the Escoceses and Yorkinos, both taking their name from masonic lodges instituted respectively in accordance with Scotch and York rites. The former was started in

Spain in 1813, by army officers, to promote popular, or rather aristocratic, representation and ecclesiastical restriction. In New Spain it achieved in 1820 the reëstablishment of the liberal constitution of 1812.

The clergy managed to modify the threatening aspect, as we have seen, by forming a monarchy under Iturbide. The main faction of the now divided Escoceses soon overthrew him, however, and labored for a central republic; but jealous of their privileges, the states succeeded in framing a federal system, assisted by defeated Iturbidists.

Two years later, in 1826, the Yorkinos suddenly appeared, headed by such men as Zavala, Esteva, and Arizpe. Their origin lay in the Águila Negra society, formed under President Victoria to counteract the Escoceses. A division took place, and the main body joined the York lodge, instituted by Poinsett, figuring later also under the terms of puros, liberals, progressists, reds, and even Jacobins. This movement caused the revival of the almost extinguished Escoces party, known also under the appellations of aristocrats, conservatives, and retrogrades, to which rich persons, land-owners, the clergy, and cognate classes preferred to belong. The terms indicate their aims, foremost among which were office and power, and the results were lamentable strife and disorder, the parties sinking now and then, only to rise again with principles somewhat modified to suit the changing political aspect.

The term of Victoria, the first president under the constitution of 1824, expired in 1828, and both parties hurried headlong into the election campaign. The aristocratic element, even among the Yorkinos, joined the Escoceses, now called Novenarios, and succeeded in electing Pedraza to the chief magistracy. The other side, nicknamed for a while as anarquistas, canallas, amigos de los cambios, managed, with the aid of the soldiers, to defeat the government troops, set aside the election, and install as president Vicente Guerrero.

This remarkable man was born about 1783, of an humble family mainly of Indian blood, near Tixtla, in the state subsequently named after him. Without education, but possessed of marked military instincts, he had risen during the war of independence to the rank of general. At one time the leading spirit of the insurgents, he had now become the representative of the early revolutionary soldiers, whom the masses were beginning to recognize as their foremost heroes, rather than the later and more aristocratic claimants headed by Iturbide.

The Escoceses had to accept their defeat; but under the designation of partido del órden, or law and order party, which embraced all the influential clergy and the greater portion of the militia, formed by the so-called "decent people" and hombres de bien, they began to labor for a central form of government, with aristocratic control, while the progresistas advocated an unrestrained press, the abolition of clerical and military privileges, the suppression of convents, civil marriage, and other innovations.

It may readily be conceived that Guerrero found many adherents in Oajaca, which was so largely liberal, and embraced at that time part of his state. The seminario naturally leaned to the Escoceses, and the institute to the liberal side. The students of both took active part in politics, and among the latter were Miguel Mendez, a talented Indian from the mountains, Marcos Perez, and Juarez. The result was, that Guerrero's triumph gave Mendez the presidency of the Oajaca tribunal, and Juarez a magistracy, although neither had as yet completed the required course. Both continued their studies, however, Juarez meanwhile filling at the institute the chair of experimental physics, and in the city council the position of regidor, or alderman. In 1832 he took the degree of bachelor of law, was elected deputy to the legislature, and two years later passed as an advocate.

Such was the rapid advancement of the humble

youth, who, up to his twelfth year, had toiled in the mountains, half-naked, and whose prospects then for education, position, and fame were about as good as those of the cattle he tended. Now, at the age of twenty-two, we find him using with force and fluency from the magisterial bench the language of which ten years before he had scarcely known a syllable. His brothers clung to their village with its old, odd ways; but his sister, named Soledad, became, later, companion to his wife, who was a woman of refinement. The cruel uncle received aid to improve his home, and a promising nephew was educated, only to join the opposing party and be shot.

Guerrero did not remain long at the head of affairs. Regardless of his distinguished claims as patriot, leader, and president, his enemies treacherously seized and shot him. The centralists gradually regained control, and held the liberals in check, Juarez among others being both watched and imprisoned for supposed conspiracy. In 1842 his party began to acquire advantages, and he was appointed judge. Two years later, Governor León made him secretary of state, a position which was shortly changed for that of fiscal in the supreme court of the republic. The federal system had been reëstablished, and in 1846 Juarez was chosen one of a triumvirate of rulers for Oajaca, going shortly afterward as its most popular deputy to congress.

Meanwhile, the church, roused by an attempt to levy upon their vast estates toward the defence of the country against invaders from the United States of the north, had stirred up several revolutions, one of them in Oajaca. This was defeated, not without revealing the inefficiency of Governor Arteaga, who thought it prudent to resign. Among the candidates to replace him was Juarez; and with the support of the interior towns and the militia, he assumed office in November 1847.

During five years of administration, Juarez intro-

duced many reforms, developed resources, paid off the state debt, which had been growing for nearly a score of years, and left a surplus in the treasury. Oajaca became known as a prosperous commonwealth, and Juarez as a public benefactor.

The constitution of Oajaca forbade reëlection to governing positions, and Juarez, unlike many another, quietly retired to his law office, yet retaining the post of director at the institute. Ignacio Mejía, one of his later followers, succeeded him as governor.

It was a revolution begun in Jalisco which brougnt Santa Anna to the head of affairs in 1853, as dictator. A man of strong passion, he could not avoid the temptation to retaliate upon his enemies, to whom he ascribed his former reverses and humiliations. Regardless of his oaths, he issued a law against conspirators, the aim of which could readily be interpreted. Juarez had been too prominent among the new ruler's opponents to be overlooked.

One day in May 1853, while engaged in some law business at Etla, Juarez was arrested and hurried away to Vera Cruz, and after severe treatment in several dungeons, he was shipped for Habana, without means, and without permission even to communicate with his family. Accompanied by General Montenegro, he proceeded to New Orleans, and there lived in poverty, sustained by the small remittances which his wife and friends could spare. But the exile proved of benefit to him, for he there availed himself of the opportunity to study laws and institutions which were afterward to be applied for the advancement of Mexico. Indeed, Washington and Bolívar became his models.

He had married in 1843 Doña Margarita Maza, a woman with education, with noble sentiments, and of great beauty. By the sale of his small library and other effects, she was enabled to open a little shop at Etla, and with this, and a small allowance granted by Governor Mejía, she managed to maintain herself and

children. This generosity on the part of Mejía was not forgotten.

The law business of Juarez was transferred to his partner, Marcos Perez; but the latter being shortly afterward arrested for corresponding with the enemies of Santa Anna, Porfirio Diaz, as student and clerk of the firm, came into sole charge. It was a proud trust for one so young; yet fitly bestowed, for Porfirio was not only proving himself honest and industrious, but was now filling the chair of Roman law at the institute, and was receiving a fair income by means of his recognized ability in the profession.

We hear much said as to the benefit of early opportunities, and about those who have succeeded in life without them, have succeeded without any advantages whatsoever, without even an education. There are men who boast of this imperfection, as if their ignorance were something of which to be proud; but such boasting is by no means an indication that the defects of their youth have been remedied in later years.

It is now accepted, almost as an axiom, that men are born about equal; that the education offered by schools and colleges is in every instance a good thing; and that the individual by his superior energy or ability does for himself what others have failed to do for him.

All three of the propositions are in some respects unsound. Men are not born equal. Some have more physical strength than others; some more mind. So far as rights are concerned, all are equal; but the man of mind is more noble, more powerful, than the man of mere clay. Nature delights in variety, as well as in wild prodigality. Millions of animals, birds, and fishes she makes, only to feed other animals, birds, and fishes; and these, again, to feed others. Hillside and plain she colors with flowers, only to wipe them out with a single night's frost or a day's scorching sun. For-

ests she raises, only to serve as fertilizers of new forests.

And amidst all this diversity and superfluity, there are also innumerable shades of quality. One is no better for being born rich than poor; generally, one is much the worse for being lapped in unearned wealth. Education, as bestowed by schools, may be beneficial or detrimental; it may lead to improving or making more efficient native ability, or it may exercise so narrowing and restricting an influence as wholly to kill budding talents. Socrates could interpret the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, which pronounced him the wisest of men, not because he knew more than others, but because he alone of all men was fully conscious of his own ignorance.

The boy Benito did not make himself; he was a product of nature; and in his native hills of Ixtlan there may have been a thousand others his equals in brain-power and inherent ability at or a thousand years before his time. But in his case, accident, circumstances, luck, or providence brought out his talents and held them up before the world, while the others were permitted to come and go in the way usual to universal things.

It is true that not one man in a million circumstanced as he was would have developed as he did. Environment acts on different objects differently. Some things become tender by cooking; others tough. Eggs are made hard and potatoes soft by the application of heat; while corn is first softened and then hardened by the same process. The Pleiades, assured by Medea that thus they might restore to their father his youthful vigor, cut him into pieces, and boiled and boiled and boiled them; but alas! the longer they boiled the old gentleman, the tougher he became.

Application is more than education. We cannot always follow our teachings. There is a duality in all things, and a many-sided significance and way of application to all rules.

For example, we are told that two and two make four; but in our anomalous social life we sometimes find that two and two do not make four. Two house-servants will not do twice as much as one, and often three will accomplish less than two. One may possess many books, and know little of literature; one may read much, and acquire little learning. Similar sicknesses do not produce suffering alike in all; a healthy mind in a diseased body throws off the pain which a diseased mind in a usually healthy body nurses. The sun shining on water, while causing the rivulet to sparkle, envelops the stagnant pool in noisome vapor, so upon two human beings the same happenings will act, on one so as to bring forth joy and golden fruit, while rendering the other, like a dead moon, melancholy, pale, and sepulchral.

Poverty is a strong factor in progress. If Juarez had not been poor, he had not been president. When with his relatives he had nothing, and during his studies at Oajaca he was reduced almost as low as Belisarius begging an obolus. Neither had his mind been so crammed with antiquated facts and notions called learning as to destroy all freshness and originality of thought, and prevent the entry of practical truths and progressive ideas.

Juarez was a perfect type of the pure Zapotec, although somewhat below medium height, and with skin of darker copper-color. Hands and feet small; head not round nor very large; hair straight, coarse, and black; forehead high and prominent; eyes oblong, black, and full of fire; nose straight, though not finely chiselled; face clean shaven; and over all was spread an expression of thoughtfulness and refinement.

Such is a specimen of the aboriginal American in the region of Oajaca, a race in some quarters regarded as savages. While not a handsome man, his face had an alluring stamp of discreet gentleness, from which a large scar by no means detracted. There was little to distinguish him from a European; and one may see

skins as dark in Italy and Spain; while the cast of the face, though a little peculiar and characteristic, is by no means unattractive.

So much for the physical; his life as portrayed in history is a better commentary on his intellectual abilities than any I can make; suffice it to say, that it compares not unfavorably with those of the foremost statesmen and reformers, in various ages, of Europe and America. This matter of race and color is of minor importance, and goes now for little in Mexico. Men are very sensibly regarded for what they are and what they can do. Why is it any more wonderful that genius should spring up in the mountains of America than in the mountains of Asia? Let those answer who have only race and color of which to boast.

In summing up the character of Benito Juarez, we note, first, that although not without valor and other qualities which would have rendered him distinguished in the field, he was a statesman rather than a soldier. Of a lymphatic temperament, and exceedingly reticent on all important matters, in reaching conclusions his mind seemed to depend upon itself. Original in the conception of his plans, there was no lack of force for their execution; and however hotly burned the fires of patriotism and ambition within, outwardly there was an ever-present calm.

Referring once more to the condition of politics and society at the time of Juarez, which must ever constitute the true framework for such a portrait, we find that during the period from 1821 to 1857, Mexico was ruled under divers forms of government, with at least fifty different administrations, these incessant changes in the affairs of state being attended by more than two hundred and fifty revolutions.

The last effort of the conservative party was the invitation extended to Maximilian of Austria to reëstablish the Mexican empire, and the failure of this ill-judged enterprise, in 1867, presently to be presented,

was the death-blow to centralism. Since that time republican principles under the federal system have gradually gained, represented, it is true, by various political parties, but all more or less progressive and of distinctive character, the several factions being designated after their respective leaders, as Juaristas, Lerdistas, and Porfiristas. Reforms have followed in quick succession. From the church has been wrested a large portion of her power, religious tolerance has been proclaimed, and marriage by civil contract legalized; while vast improvement has been made in the material condition of the country, which, during the colonial period, languished under oppressive restrictions, and in later days was depressed by chronic internal strife.

It was one of the chief purposes of Juarez to redistribute the wealth of the country, which, before the revolution, was so largely in the hands of the clergy. And during his career several important decrees were issued to curtail the power of the clergy. One of his first acts on taking his place at the capital, as we shall see, was to expel the papal delegate, Luigi Clementi, as well as the archbishop of Mexico, and bishops Madrid, Murguía, Barajas, and Espinosa. On the arrival at Vera Cruz of these high ecclesiastics, their carriages were stoned, while the populace cried out for their confinement in prison, which, however, the government would not permit. Most of those who could properly be called Spaniards had long before this left the country, taking with them all the money and valuables they could collect, or rather all that they were permitted to remove. As for the rest, there was not always, and there is not to-day, the difference which the abject condition of the poorer classes and the extravagant luxury of the rich would seem to indicate.

It is all the more remarkable, the liberalizing genius of Juarez, when we consider the race problem, and the social position of the Indians in Mexico. Once

lords aboriginal of the soil, they could not forget that they were a conquered people, and for three centuries had been servants, if not slaves—had been wholly under the political and religious domination of the white race. All this time they had been in a state of tutelage, and were treated in many respects as irrational beings. But the rise into prominence of such men as Juarez, whose ability and energy cast a redeeming lustre on their race, have removed, and are yet removing, many social obstacles.

The peaceful, semi-dormant period of viceregal rule was favorable to the evolution of a race, which advanced the Indian and Spanish stock toward a fixed type. If left to themselves, the mestizos must in time become the national race; but Mexico is peculiarly exposed to the encroachments of progress, whose influence tends toward a white race.

Between 1832 and 1860 the clergy sold property valued at $85,000,000 for $42,000,000. During this time, and previously, the church had suffered greatly from seizures and forced loans, both by revolutionary leaders and the government.

After the independence, the Mexican church was for many years in an anomalous condition. Failing to induce the faithful to renew allegiance to the Spanish crown, the pope at first refused to confirm bishops nominated by the Mexican government, but finally assented. There were two thousand priests outside of the regular orders, and a large part of the secular clergy were deemed by their superiors as scarcely within the pale of respectability. The revenue went largely to the city clergy and high ecclesiastics, while country priests were kept poor—doubtless without detriment to their piety. Though among the priesthood were some good men, it is unquestionably true that many were incompetent and immoral, and brought disrepute upon the profession.

It was not wholly as the church claimed, that the people were becoming irreligious, though there were

many among the educated class who rejected all religion, calling themselves naturalistas, but the ancient supremacy of the church had departed forever. But even now, particularly in the rural districts, the clergy retain many of their privileges and prerogatives, directing the conscience not only in religious but in secular matters, and by their wealth and patronage commanding the masses.

And now begins in earnest the fight for intellectual liberty. After two years of exile, Juarez receives news at New Orleans of the revolution of Ayutla, deposing Santa Anna, whereupon he proceeds by way of Panamá to Acapulco, joins Álvarez, and accompanies the forces of the south, until he is appointed at Iguala councillor of state, and shortly afterward minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs.

The first heavy blow against ecclesiastical and military supremacy is struck by what is known as the ley Juarez, upon the administration of justice, promulgated on the 22d of November, 1855. By this law is ordered suppressed all special tribunals, together with the fueros and privileges of the clergy and military.

The atmosphere of intrigue and contempt for true principles, in which Álvarez finds himself enveloped on reaching the capital, is not suited to the character and temperament of the old soldier of the independence war, and he resigns his power to Comonfort, his ministers resigning with him, and Juarez being made governor of Oajaca.

Ignacio Comonfort was born in Puebla on the 12th of March, 1812, his father, Mariano, having been a lieutenant-colonel of the Spanish royal army. He received his education at a Jesuit college. As a rule, in his political career, he was amiable and conciliatory, yet firm of purpose; though slow in resolve, he was energetic in action. Of his bravery and coolness in danger no doubt was ever entertained. Though of a religious turn of mind, and devoted to the faith of his forefathers, he was not bigoted, nor disposed to toler-

ate ecclesiastical despotism. Such was the man in whose hands were now intrusted the destinies of the republic, at the dawn of the era of true liberalism; and in Comonfort and his advisers the supporters of oligarchy and clerical power find opponents whom they can neither cajole nor overthrow. All efforts to restore the old order of things fail; the popular cry is for progressive measures, and the ley de desmortización civil y eclesiástica, or ley Lerdo, is promulgated.

The signification of this measure I will explain. Most of the landed property in Mexico at this time was vested in mortmain. The Lerdo law enabled the tenants to become owners in fee-simple of the estates they held in lease from civil or ecclesiastical corporations; other persons holding property in emphyteusis were granted the same privilege, by capitalizing at six per cent a year the rent they were paying, to arrive at the value of the property. The latter was secured at six per cent in favor of the former owners, and made redeemable at the purchasers' convenience. The buildings immediately applied to the service of a corporation were exempted from the effects of the law. Estates conveyed under the latter were not to revert to the corporations at any future time, and corporations were forbidden to own or administer upon landed property.

Next in the progress of liberalization comes the adoption of a new constitution in 1857, wherein are declared the rights of man upon the soundest basis, as adopted by the most enlightened nations. Equality before the law is promulgated as a fundamental principle; special privileges and prerogatives are forbidden. Military and ecclesiastical fueros, the last remnants of monarchial despotism, are declared incompatible with republican institutions. Among those who take a prominent part in the framing and adoption of these advanced ideas is that patriarch of reform, Valentín Gomez Farías, who, as the acting executive in 1834, had failed in his efforts to curtail the power of the

military and clergy. All elements hostile to progress united to reëstablish despotism, or at least to destroy liberalism, and in this the clergy, by the use of the pulpit and the confessional, were powerful factors.

In an evil hour Comonfort, despairing of conquering a peace, fancied he might secure the desired end by the amalgamation of parties bitterly hostile to each other, over whom he would hold supreme control. This swerving from the straight path brought about his ruin.

Juarez had long before abandoned the cabinet, as we have seen, to become governor of Oajaca, from whose territory he expelled all priests who refused Christian sepulture to the supporters of the new constitution and the reform laws. At the same time that he was elected by 112,000 votes governor of Oajaca, the people throughout the republic had given him their suffrages for president of the supreme court of justice, into which office he was inducted on the 1st of December, 1857, and at the same time, by permission of congress, held the office of minister of government. Juarez was deceived in regard to Comonfort's intention to bring about a change of system, and in the president's name declared groundless all reports to that effect. The conservatives adopted during this same December a plan at Tacubaya to bring about the framing of another constitution, and proposed to Comonfort that, pending the acceptance of the new organic law, he should rule with a council composed of one representative from each state. Upon hearing of this, Juarez forthwith advised the president to reject the rôle which was tendered him. But nothing availed; the conspirators made a pronunciamiento under Félix Zuloaga, and shortly afterward took possession of the capital, Comonfort departing from the republic. After the war of French intervention, he returned to take part in the defence of national independence and republican principles, accepted the position of secretary of war under Presi-

dent Juarez, and on a journey to Guanajuato, was waylaid by a party of imperialists and killed, on the 14th of November, 1863.

Zuloaga, made president ad interim, was superseded by Miguel Miramón, whose energy of character and military ability not only restored at the capital and over a large portion of the republic the supremacy of the conservatives, but paved the way for foreign intervention in the affairs of the country, and for an attempt to implant therein monarchial principles under an imported superior. The plans to supplant republicanism, first with an unmitigated despotism, and next with a monarchy, cost Mexico years of anguish, and the loss of thousands of her children; but these ill-advised efforts eventually fell, as we shall see, before the patriotism, perseverance, and indomitable will of the great Indian champion of nationality and democracy, Benito Juarez.

Upon Comonfort's acceptance of the plan of Tacubaya, annulling the constitution of 1857, under which he had accepted the presidency, thus practically abandoning the purposes and principles of liberalization, and to which Juarez had interposed strenuous objections, the president had held him confined to his room in the palace. But when Comonfort, upon realizing that he had been used as a tool by the opposing party, and in the endeavor to retrace his steps had failed, to the loss of his power and position, he released Juarez, who thereupon fled from the capital to Guanajuato, and on the 19th of January, 1858, proclaimed himself the constitutional president of the republic, and established there his government, which was unhesitatingly recognized by a majority of the states, and became the centre of the liberal element in the country. The step thus taken by Juarez was in accordance with the constitution, which devolved upon the president of the supreme court the executive office in default of the chief magistrate, who by his defection had forfeited his office. The matter was yet more

definitely determined when Comonfort departed from the territory of the republic on the 7th of February.

A succession of disasters having befallen the arms of the constitutionalists, Juarez and his government found it necessary to transfer themselves to Guadalajara, and while there the troops under Lieutenant-colonel Landa revolted, and made prisoners of the president and several ministers and officials, whom they confined in one room, threatening them with death if they did not recognize the government of the reactionists, as those were called who turned back from the constitution of 1857. Upon the coolness and courage of this Indian, whose characteristic stoicism never for a moment deserted him, the fate of the republic hung. Had he shown the slightest weakness, the least indication of giving way, his captors would have resorted to any means within their power to make him yield. But though they held him prisoner, his life in their hands, they felt convinced that not only was his will adamant, but that to kill him would not kill his cause. Would he but yield, turn traitor to the principles of liberalism, dissolve his government and his party, and the oligarchs might be sure of control for years to come, if not forever. If to kill the leader were to kill the cause, his life would not have been left to him an hour.

And fortunate it was, again, that he was not killed, accidentally or intentionally, when a portion of the cavalry and national guard who had refused to join Landa went to the rescue of the prisoners. When hard-pressed by the rescuing party, Peraza, the officer in charge, ordered his men to point their muskets at the prisoners, but at the persuasion of Prieto, one of the Juarez cabinet, they did not fire. A moment later, when Landa in his turn requested Juarez to forbid the royal troops from firing on the mutineers, with no small shrewdness and bravery, Juarez replied, "Pardon me, señor; I am a prisoner, and may not give orders."

An arrangement was finally agreed upon by which

Juarez and his companions were to be set free and permitted to leave Guadalajara, exempt from recapture in any place within ten leagues of the city. Turning their steps toward Coloma, news of fresh dangers from the fall of Guadalajara overtook them, whereupon Juarez resolved to establish his government at Vera Cruz. Embarking at Manzanillo on the 14th of April, with his ministry, Ocampo, Ruiz, Prieto, and Guzmán, on the American steamship *John L. Stevens*, he reached Panamá, and thence via Colón, Habana, and New Orleans, they arrived at Vera Cruz on the 4th of May, 1858. On the same day the government was duly installed, and the fact was communicated by Ocampo to the governors and others.

Meantime the struggle for supremacy continued elsewhere. The liberals were numerous enough, but thus far lacked able commanders; hence the conservatives had within four months made themselves masters of the most populous cities. Even Vera Cruz, Juarez' present capital, was debarred from communication with the interior. He was recognized at ports both on the gulf of Mexico and on the Pacific, but his enemies were using all possible means to close them. But however precarious became the situation, it was not in his nature to become disheartened.

When, in February 1859, Miramón assumed the reins of government in Mexico, owing to the inability of Zuloaga to provide a constitution, he placed at the head of his cabinet Santa Anna's favorite counsellor and minister, Manuel Diez de Bonilla. Miramón was a native of Mexico, in which city he was born on the 29th of September, 1832. He was intelligent, ambitious, and brave, as well as an able military chieftain, though we must admit that fortune had no small share in his brilliant successes. The great services he had rendered the reactionists since the fall of Comonfort had won him the high regard of the clergy; and upon his expressing an intention of attacking Vera Cruz, they at once advanced him a large sum of

money for that purpose. Juarez had not been idle, but had made preparations to meet the coming onslaught. The constitutional forces occupying the defiles of the sierra were brought together at the port, to resist the attack of Miramón's army, consisting of 5,000 well-provided men, with 28 pieces of artillery. The constitutionalists harassed it at all points, while others threatened the capital, and thus prevented the concentration of forces against Vera Cruz. The result was, that at a council of war Miramón's officers declared the capture of Juarez' stronghold by assault to be impracticable. The siege was therefore abandoned on the 29th of March.

On the 12th of July, 1859, Juarez issued a decree confiscating the church property, on the ground that the church had been the main support of the royalists during the war of independence, and since then the most powerful opponent of liberal ideas, promoting the present fatricidal war, with the selfish aims of escaping submission to civil authority, and retaining the supremacy in both civil and religious matters, to effect which it was using the property placed in its hands by the people for benevolent and religious purposes. The decree restored to the nation all the property held by the secular and regular clergy, established independence between church and state, and extended government protection to public worship of all denominations.

The liberal arms, though successful at times, were not, generally speaking, favored by fortune. On the other hand, Juarez was recognized as the legitimate chief magistrate of the Mexican republic by the United States, who accredited a minister plenipotentiary near his government. This was a point in his favor, giving him prestige. Though not despairing of final success, Juarez began to fear that he would be left without means to maintain his cause, which was the cause of his country. Hence his acceptance of a proposition from the United States minister,

McLane, to admit American volunteers in the liberal army. McLane's government had permitted the exportation of war material for the use of the liberals, and further to aid Juarez with its support, had authorized the negotiations culminating in the McLane-Ocampo treaty, signed December 14, 1859, which contained among its provisions one authorizing the United States to defend its citizens and their interests, by force of arms, within Mexican territory. And it was alleged that by another clause Mexico might, under certain contingencies, accept in a certain form the protectorate of the United States. The enemies of Juarez have accused him of an undue subservience to the pretensions of the neighboring republic, thus jeopardizing the independence and dignity of his country. However that may be, the treaty never came into effect, as notwithstanding the arguments adduced in its favor by President Buchanan and others, it was rejected by the United States senate.

In the mean time the belligerents increased their forces, and early in 1860 those of the constitutionalists were quite numerous, while Miramón concluded that the time had come to make a simultaneous assault against Vera Cruz by land and sea, to facilitate which operation a small squadron under Mexican colors, and commanded by General Marin, had been fitted out at Habana, and was expected to arrive off Vera Cruz about the end of Feburary. Juarez was well apprised of the movements of the enemy, and in a forcible proclamation of the 23d of that month declared Marin's expedition a piratical one. Miramón, with 5,000 men, had his headquarters at Medellin, and awaited the arrival of the squadron to push his operations against the capital of the liberals with the utmost vigor. An atttempt was at this time made by Captain Aldham, of the British war-ship *Valorous*, to bring about a compromise between the belligerents, accompanying his proposition with a threat that if they failed to heed it, his government would demand

reparation of all damages inflicted on its subjects by either belligerent. Among the clauses of the proposed arrangement was, that an assembly, composed of men who had filled public trusts from 1822 to 1853, should be convened, and intrusted with the task of reorganizing the country. Miramón assented to the armistice under the combined mediation of Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States. Juarez declined to enter into any arrangement savoring of compromise, and issued a proclamation to that effect.

The squadron expected by Miramón, consisting of the steamers *General Miramón* and *Marqués de la Habana*, were descried in the offing in the afternoon of March 6th. But it was not permitted to render the service for which it had come, for as soon as the two steamers passed the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, they were signalled to show their colors, which they failed to do until they were opposite the Spanish vessels at Antón Lizardo. At this time there were three United States war-ships anchored in the port, namely, the frigate *Savannah*, and the corvettes *Saratoga* and *Preble*, besides two steamers, the *Indianola* and *Wave*, which were under charter to the liberal government. Captain Jarvis, the senior officer of the American squadron, must have had orders from his government to coöperate with Juarez, for he forthwith sent an officer with 80 men to the *Indianola*, and an equal force to the *Wave*, and these steamers, with the *Saratoga* in tow, proceeded to attack Marin's squadron, with the result that at midnight his two vessels were a prize of the United States force, and were shortly after sent to New Orleans for adjudication by an admiralty court. The right of the United States to interfere in this manner in the Mexican quarrel is not clear. In fact, the capture of those vessels was eventually pronounced illegal by the United States court at New Orleans, but the injury inflicted on Miramón's cause, in depriving him of the services of his ships, and of the war material they had brought, was past

all remedy. The operations of the siege brought him no satisfactory results. Negotiations were again attempted to bring about a peaceful arrangement, but they failed before the fixed determination of Juarez to listen to no proposition whose terms were not fully in accord with the constitution of 1857, nor would he assent to foreign intervention in the settlement of his country's affairs.

The besiegers bombarded Vera Cruz from the 15th to the 20th of March, without inflicting serious damage, while their own casualties from warfare and disease were quite large. Miramón became convinced that his enemy had foiled him, and he began his retreat on the 21st toward his lines at Orizaba and Jalapa, the liberal guerillas constantly harassing him. On the march a large number of his men deserted and joined the liberal army.

The tide of Miramón's fortune was now turning against him. President Zuloaga, whom Miramón had virtually kept a prisoner, made his escape from Leon, which was a cause of much alarm. The disappearance of the man who gave Miramón a legal status was a serious affair, for he might recall his decree of 1859, under which that general was acting as president, and reassume his office, or appoint some one else his substitute. This difficulty was, however, overcome by the council of state slurring over the plan of Tacubaya, which created it, and declaring that Miramón should continue in charge of the government. Zuloaga's pretensions being thus ignored, Miramón was chosen president ad interim by a board of departmental representatives. The liberals now felt confident that the resources of their enemies were fast becoming exhausted. The latter had been forced to abandon several important strongholds, in addition to their retreats from Vera Cruz and Sayula. The triumph of the liberals appeared certain in the near future, and hope began to be entertained that notwithstanding the hostile attitude of England, France, and Spain

toward the Juarez government, Mexico would soon reach the welcome day of free institutions, law, and order.

The reactionists under Miramón's immediate command met with a terrible disaster at Silao on the 10th of August, and the victors advanced upon Querétaro, constantly augmenting their strength on the march. Nothing daunted by the reverse, Miramón reorganized his forces with his characteristic energy, resolving that the final decision of arms should be in the valley of Mexico. In the midst of the turmoil, arrived at Vera Cruz Joaquin Francisco Pacheco, accredited as Spanish minister plenipotentiary to Mexico. He concluded to present his credentials to Miramón at the city of Mexico, thus ignoring the legitimacy of Juarez as chief magistrate of the republic. By means not altogether honorable, he obtained permission of Juarez to pass into the interior, and was received at the capital with great pomp. Toward the end of November came Dubois de Saligny, the new French minister, whose instructions were to recognize Miramón's government. A convention had been already entered into by Great Britain, France, and Spain, in which Prussia was also to have a part, for assisting in the affairs of Mexico, even if the United States government objected to it. They proposed an armistice for one year, to enable the Mexican people freely to express through a constituent congress their preference as to the principles that should underlie their government. To the American government they represented that in view of the weakness of the two contending parties, and of the fact that neither the United States nor Spain had consented to act solely, they had undertaken a humane mission in their endeavor to restore peace to distracted Mexico. But this proposal, like other similar ones, found no favor with Juarez, who would take no action whatever not grounded on the constitution of 1857, from which his authority emanated.

And now the star of the liberals is seen in the ascendant. Gonzalez Ortega, with seventeen thousand men, lays siege to Guadalajara, and compels the reactionist Castillo and the garrison of seven thousand to evacuate the place without arms. The constitutionalists afterward, on the 10th of November, 1860, rout the army of Marquez at Calderón. Marquez and Velez take to Mexico the news of their own defeat. Miramón calls a council of prominent citizens, among whom are the archbishop of Mexico, the bishop of Monterey, several other high ecclesiastics, and a number of generals, and frankly lays before them on the 30th of November the exact situation, and the meeting resolves that the city shall be defended to the last. The reactionary government had never established any financial system; its resources had proceeded from contributions of the city, or forced loans. Miramón, being now without means to support his troops, allows the chief of police and a force of workmen to break into the house of a Mr Barton, on whose doors were the seals of the British legation, and to carry away some seven hundred thousand dollars against all protests, and in disregard of the fact that the money belonged to British bondholders. With these funds, Miramón reorganizes his army, and makes preparations to fight the hosts, marching to attack the capital. On the 8th of December he makes a sally, and gains a victory, which facilitates the carriage of provisions into Mexico.

What are these petty successes, however, to the coming hither of Ortega with 10,000 men and 44 pieces of artillery? Leaving Querétaro on the 10th of December, he meets the enemy on the heights of San Miguel Calpulálpan, and at eight o'clock on the morning of the 22d a battle begins, which in two hours ends the three years' war for the intellectual emancipation of Mexico. It is a repetition of the old Napoleonic tactics; Ortega drives straight for Miramón's centre, breaks the army of the enemy, who abandons

his artillery, trains, ammunition, and wounded. The army is utterly routed. Religious despotism lies forever crushed.

The defeated General Miramón reached the capital at two o'clock the following morning, and summoned a council of ministers, at which were present the representatives of France and Spain. The result of their deliberations was, that two diplomates, with the liberal generals Berriozábal and Ayestarán, whom Miramón had taken prisoners in the battle of December 8th, repaired to Ortega's headquarters to treat regarding the terms of capitulation. The liberal commander-in-chief declined to listen to anything short of unconditional surrender. When the commissioners returned on the 24th, it was quickly understood that each must look out for himself. Miramón surrendered the city to Degollado and Berriozábal, and then, with Zuloaga and other prominent reactionists, assembled at the Ciudadela, where they divided among themselves the sum of $140,000, after which they started off together on the Joluca road. Miramón remained in concealment some time at Jalapa, and finally reached the coast, when a French man-of-war's boat conveyed him to the ship *Mercure*, which bore him away to Europe, whence he returned, not long after, to play a most important rôle in subsequent events.

The victorious army, now 25,000 strong, entered the capital on the 1st of January, 1861, amid the plaudits of the people, who had draped their houses in white, and now cast flowers and laurel wreaths upon the brave men who had risked their lives to secure this magna charta of their country's liberties, and the restoration of the reign of law and justice.

President Juarez hastened to reach the capital, where he arrived on the 11th of January. His partisans, and a large number of high military and civil officers, went out as far at Guadalupe to meet him. He entered the city in an open carriage, amid the acclamations of the people, while the artillery saluted in

his person the chief magistrate of the republic. In a manifesto to the nation, after congratulations on the success of the constitutional cause, he solemnly pledged himself to surrender the executive authority to the elect of the people, as he had ever regarded it as a sacred trust for which he must render a strict account.

Mark the nobility of these sentiments, so different from the wrangling demagogues who spend their lives in selfish grasping at power!

Legality and reform indeed had triumphed. A few scattered bands still roamed at large, committing depredations, but the war was at an end. Juarez and his counsellors had now the task of administrative reconstruction, which presented many difficulties, chief among which was the carrying out of the laws issued at Vera Cruz, and the reorganization of the public powers. No act of the government which had emanated from the law of Tacubaya could be recognized as valid; hence orders were issued to dismiss from the service all officers of high rank who had served in the reactionary army, and to prosecute officials and others who had supported it.

Among the first measures adopted by Juarez was the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador, the minister of Guatemala, and the pope's nuncio. The same action was taken with regard to the mission of Ecuador, but it was rescinded a few days later. The order addressed to Luis Clemente, archbishop of Damascus, and papal nuncio, was couched in the following words: "It is by no means proper that the supreme government should permit your residence here, after what you have made this people suffer, after what you have cost this nation, after so much blood has been shed on this soil because of the scandalous participation of the clergy in this most unholy civil war. Now that constitutional order has been established, his excellency the president has ordered that you leave the republic in as brief a time as may be necessary for

making preparation for your journey." Likewise the ministers plenipotentiary were ordered to depart, because of the efforts they had made on behalf of the enemies to liberalism, who for three years had occupied the city of Mexico. The principal instigators of the revolution, however, had been the bishops and their clergy. A great majority of the liberal party demanded that they should be prosecuted, and such as were convicted of treason to the nation, punished; but the government resolved on milder measures,—the exile of the archbishop of Mexico, the bishops of Michoacán and of Potosí, and the bishop of Tenagra, in partibus infidelium.

At this time the ministers of Juarez, Ocampo, Llave, Ortega, and Empáran resigned their portfolios in order to leave free action to the president, and their successors were, Ignacio Ramirez, Guillermo Prieto, Miguel Anza, and Jesus Gonzalez Ortega. The new cabinet continued the work of reform, among which were the organization of public instruction, and the gathering of the nuns into a smaller number of convents. Military operations were limited to the pursuit of the reactionary bands which were preying upon defenceless towns. One of these marauding bands operated in the state of Mexico under the leadership of Leonardo Marquez, one of the ablest among the Mexican commanders, in whose company was ex-General Zuloaga, still calling himself president of the republic.

Meantime the elections for chief magistrate, and for deputies to the national congress, called for by Jaurez from Vera Cruz on the 6th of November, 1860, took place, resulting in a large majority for Juarez, his only formidable rival, the able and stanch Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, having suddenly died before the election.

In the first flush of victory, the government had ordered, on the 11th of January, 1861, that the leaders of the reaction should be brought to trial under

the law against conspirators, and on conviction should be put to death. The first person to fall under this rule was one of Miramón's late ministers, Isidor Dias, who was convicted and sentenced to be shot. But Juarez, being neither vindictive nor bloodthirsty, at once commuted the sentence to the very mild punishment of exile for five years. This action caused alarm in the liberal ranks, most of whom regarded such leniency as rank injustice, while those guilty of lesser crimes were often punished with death. But Juarez was resolved that bloodshed and persecution should cease; he would not rear an edifice to liberty on the bones even of traitors. Hence, early in March a decree of amnesty was issued, from the benefits of which were excepted only a few of the principal reactionists. But congress took a different view, and on the 4th of June passed an act of outlawry against prominent reactionists, among whom were Zuloaga, Marquez, Mejía, Cobos, and Lozada, for whose capture large rewards were offered. About this time the kidnapping and murder of Melchor Ocampo, Juarez' former secretary of relations at Tepejí del Rio, brought on great feeling, and many conservative leaders would have answered with their lives but for Juarez. Ocampo was a man of broad and cultivated intellect, and he had rendered valuable services to his country as deputy, senator, governor of Michoacán, and minister of state. He had ever led a pure life, and was an unselfish reformer. His death was universally deplored. Marquez, Zuloaga, and Cajiga were accused of being concerned with the "execrables asesínos," who had executed Ocampo on the 3d of June, 1861. Marquez' band also murdered General Leandro Valle in the monte de las Cruces. Degollado likewise became the victim of a cowardly assassin.

At the opening of congress, Juarez in his address spoke of what the liberal party had done, claiming no merit for himself, and added: "The government believed it to be its duty to place itself at the head of

the national sentiment in colors indicative of the abuses of the past and the hopes of the future. Hence sprang the reform laws, the nationalization of mortmain estates, freedom of worship, absolute independence of the civil and spiritual powers, the secularization of society, whose forward march was checked by a bastard alliance in which the name of God was profaned, and human dignity outraged. The reform imparted energy to the brave defenders of the constitution; the reform has been sanctioned by the unanimous vote of the people, and the laws that decreed it are now an essential part of our institutions."

The conservative party, however, still continued its cry of Religión y fueros! And having lost all hope of winning their cause before the tribunal of the whole nation, they determined to try coercion with the help of foreigners. They would force ecclesiastical tyranny and European despotism on this people if they could—crimes beside which ordinary murder and robbery are small offences. Desperate indeed must be the situation engendering such infamy, and desperate it was. The party was nearly annihilated; the property of the clergy, which had been the mainstay of the war, was being scattered; free discussion by the press, free instruction in schools and colleges, and tolerance of worship were rapidly melting the iron crusts of ignorance and superstition. Better a throne supported by strangers; better rule through France or Spain than not at all.

Juarez had to encounter not only the unreasonable demands of rabid partisans, but the obstacles constantly thrown in his path by office-seekers and provincial leaders, who during the disorders of the war had accustomed themselves to independent action, and now objected to the enforcement of rules necessary to the consolidation of the republic and general advancement. The liberals now split into two factions, the constitutionalists abiding by the organic law of 1857, and the reformists, who demanded radical amend-

ments. There was a third faction sprung from the party, with conservative sympathies, whom the clergy were ably sustaining. Among other difficulties was the financial question, involving the suspension of payments, taxes, and forced loans. Upon these points it was impossible to secure a cabinet to act with any degree of unanimity; hence the repeated changes of members. There was no great difficulty in suspending the payment of the home debt; but foreign creditors, backed by their respective governments, were more arbitrary in their demands. On the 13th of July, Juarez formed a cabinet composed of Zamacona, Balcárcel, Ruiz, Zaragoza, and Nuñez, whose first act was to propose the suspension of payments for two years, including the British debt. Congress passed the law in secret session on the 17th of July. Dubois de Saligny, acting for France and Spain, protested. For immediate requirements, farming out the customs revenue at $400,000 a month was proposed, or failing in this, then a resort to monthly forced loans. The merchants opposed the plan, and congress in special session failed to find a remedy.

Meanwhile Almonte informed his fellow-reactionists that he would soon arrive in Mexico backed by European naval forces. Next came the news that Great Britain, France, and Spain had, on the 31st of October, 1861, entered into a convention to jointly intervene in the affairs of Mexico. Toward the end of November, though the suspension law of July 17th had been rescinded, France and England had discontinued diplomatic relations. The object of the tripartite convention was merely to occupy Vera Cruz until payment for alleged grievances and debts could be secured. Spain's claims were of some importance, but those of France were insignificant. England's grievances were solely of a pecuniary nature, which Mexico had offered to settle without delay. The United States government offered to pay England and France the interest on their claims for a time, and later made

the same proposition to Spain. But the offers were not accepted. The United States government could interpose no objection to the efforts of Europeans who wished to collect their debts, and were not after territory, nor desired to affect the political status of Mexico. But it took care to see that its own interests should not suffer thereby; wherefore it signified its intention to keep a naval force wherever conflict might take place.

The ultimate object of the powers was not well understood at first; but the fact was, they had resolved, in the event of not obtaining redress by the mere occupation of the coast, that their forces should invade Mexican territory, even to the capital itself; and should the Mexicans act for a European protectorate to rid themselves of tyranny, or to form a stable government, the three powers would jointly coöperate to bring about their wishes. But President Lincoln intimated to Juarez that if European forces should land on Mexican territory, the United States would aid Mexico.

Learning of Spain's preparations at Habana, Juarez prepared for defence. First he gave orders for strengthening Vera Cruz, but seeing that it would avail nothing, he removed the guns from the fortress San Juan, and abandoned the place. England's claim he succeeded in adjusting, but congress failed to ratify the settlement. A ministerial crisis followed, and Juarez found himself without a cabinet, until Manuel Doblado, a patriotic and able citizen, took charge of the portfolio of relations, together with the presidency of the cabinet. At his solicitation, congress granted the president extraordinary powers, which were to be used for the preservation of the nation. Meanwhile, a number of the reactionist chiefs, among them Negrete, Velez, and Argüellez, tendered their services to Juarez for the national defence.

The threatened invasion took place on the 14th of December, when a Spanish fleet under Rear-admiral

Rubalcava, conveying an army of occupation, without meeting with resistance, took possession of the port of Vera Cruz. General Gasset with the land forces occupied the city on the 17th, and issued a manifesto that he would hold the place in his queen's name until the arrival of the French, English, and Spanish commissioners. Mexico was indignant. Active measures were adopted. General Zaragoza started from the capital with 3,000 men, and troops came in from every quarter. Juarez made a requisition for 52,000 men, extended the period of the amnesty law, and decreed a tax of 25 per cent additional upon all imposts, as well as another of two per cent upon all property valued at $500 or upwards. Gasset's forces in their incursions into the interior lost many men killed by the jarochos. Martial law was declared in the states of Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Vera Cruz, and Tamaulipas. Here was seen the Mexican flag waving side by side with those of the allied powers, until the British and French fleets arrived on the 6th and 7th of January, 1862.

The agreement between the allied powers had been that Spain should contribute 6,000 men, France 3,000, and Great Britain a strong naval division, and 700 marines to land on the coast when necessary; but the latter did not furnish as many vessels as she had agreed to. The plenipotentiaries of the powers were: Wyke and Dunlop for England; Saligny and Jurien de la Gravière for France; and Prim for Spain, having at the same time the command of her forces. There was no clear understanding how far they were to carry intervention. The British had been directed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico; all representations to the Mexican government were to be made jointly; nothing had been said about the British contingent marching to Mexico. Spain's troops had orders to march to the capital if necessary. Prim and Jurien had similar instructions. If Mexico refused the terms, active operations were

to be begun. Prim's manifesto, on his arrival at Vera Cruz, though not entirely truthful, was moderate and decorous in tone. Any intention to interfere was denied. Saligny and Jurien expressed themselves to the same effect, but Prim well knew that their master contemplated creating a Mexican throne, to be occupied by an Austrian archduke, and resolved not to aid the scheme. The English wanted to secure the payment of their claims, to reduce the import duties, and to have freedom of religion established—calicoes and bibles, as a Mexican writer catalogued their requirements. Almonte, Father Miranda, and Haroy Tamariz landed at Vera Cruz, and with other prominent reactionists tendered their services to the intervention. Miramón arrived also, and was arrested by the British authorities on one of their frigates for the theft of the British funds at the capital in 1860, and later was sent to Cuba.

On the 19th of February a convention was signed at La Soledad by Doblado and Prim, as preliminary to further negotiations. The allied forces were to occupy Córdoba, Orizaba, Tehuacán, and adjacent country; but if negotiations were broken off, the allied troops should retire within their lines. The convention was ratified by Prim's French and English colleagues on the same day, and by Juarez on the 23d. In all these proceedings Juarez was fully recognized as chief of the republic. But Saligny and his Frenchmen were in no sense men of truth or honor. They had come hither, in conspiracy with traitors, to plant imperialism in Mexico, and a little matter of perfidy should not stand in their way. Instead of retiring toward Vera Cruz, as they had agreed to do, while yet the negotiations were proceeding more Frenchmen arrived under Lorencez. Then it came out that it was their intention to make Maximilian emperor of Mexico. After several stormy conferences, the Englishmen and Spaniards departed from the country, leaving the French to accomplish their unhallowed purpose.

Juarez solemnly declared that Mexico would defend herself to the last extremity. It soon became evident, further, by the increase of the French forces and the encouragement given to the conservatives and monarchists, that Napoleon and his tools contemplated the extirpation from Mexico of republicanism, which it pleased them to call anarchy.

The French plenipotentiaries, on the 16th of April, issued from Córdoba an invitation to all friends of the intervention to join their standard. They had not come to wage war against Mexicans, they said, but to save them from arbitrary rule. The next day Almonte issued a manifesto calling on the people to trust in the French assurances. He sent emissaries into the interior to undermine the loyalty of the liberal troops, and circulate revolutionary manifestoes. He was proclaimed, by Taboada and others, president at Córdoba, which movement was seconded at Orizaba, of which place the French had repossessed themselves and whither Almonte and his supporters now repaired. On the 27th of April, by order of Almonte and Lorencez, Taboada left Córdoba with 300 Mexican cavalry for Orizaba, and the next day the French division, 6,000 strong, commenced its march for Puebla, where they were met by the liberal forces under Zaragoza, Diaz, Negrete, and others, and the famous Cinco de Mayo battle ensued, which resulted in the discomfiture of the Frenchmen, who retreated to their camp at Los Álamos, and thence back to Orizaba, to await the arrival of reënforcements from France. The success of the Mexican arms in this first encounter filled the whole nation with joy—all save the traitors who were coöperating with the enemy. Zaragoza had captured a considerable number of French prisoners, many of them wounded, together with a quantity of decorations found on the field of battle. The uninjured prisoners and all the decorations Juarez caused to be returned to the French camp. The wounded were properly cared for, and

when able to travel were likewise sent back to Lorencez. The conservatives and monarchists hastened to swell Almonte's ranks, while Juarez was still energetically meeting the emergency. Comonfort was given command of Tamaulipas. Juarez then moved his residence to Tacubaya. Doblado retired from the government, and assumed the command in chief of the army of the interior. He was succeeded in the cabinet by Juan Antonio de la Fuente, the author of the law on religious toleration. Juarez was indefatigable in his efforts to secure the execution of financial measures in the states, and endeavored to disprove the malignity and falseness of the European charges by extending to foreigners, even the French subjects residing in the country, a most considerate protection.

A great misfortune befell the Mexican nation on the 8th of September, 1862, in the death, from typhoid fever, of Zaragoza, to whom was largely due the success before the walls of Puebla on the 5th of May. The republic has since honored his memory by adding his name to that of the city he so gallantly defended, and the Puebla de Zaragoza is proud of this distinction.

After Zaragoza's death the command of the army was intrusted to Gonzalez Ortega, the efficient officer who had crushed conservative power at the hills of Calpulalpam. About the same time the French commander, Lorencez, was superseded by General Forey, who had come from France with reënforcements. He did not obey his astute master, who had told him "to vigorously check every act or expression that could wound the feelings of the Mexican people; not to ignore the haughtiness of their character; and to conciliate the inhabitants by all possible means." True, the contempt with which he treated the reactionist chiefs, traitors to their country and to all true liberty, they richly deserved; but when he falsely charged Ortega with purposes involving treason, he gave Americans a lesson in European morals and French

official integrity which were not at all difficult to apply.

Throughout all this disgraceful and bloody proceeding on the part of the French, Juarez never for a moment thought of yielding. He might die, all Mexico should die, in so far as he could order events, before submitting to a slavery worse than death. Therefore when the French forces appeared again before Puebla, and beseiged the city from March 22 to May 19, 1863, the garrison could only do its best, and that was prodigies of valor, repulsing repeated assaults, while food and ammunition became exhausted, and all hope of help from Comonfort was gone, he having been defeated by Bazaine on the 8th of May upon the heights of San Lorenzo. So reduced became Ortega's army by this long and terrible siege, that a sally in force with any reasonable chance of breaking the enemy's lines and escaping was a physical impossibility. Under the circumstances, the Mexican commander tendered proposals of capitulation to Forey; but so unreasonable were the Frenchman's demands that Ortega adopted a measure unequalled in the annals of war, which was nothing less than breaking up the small arms, rendering useless the artillery and the little ammunition still left, concealing the flags, and dissolving the army. On the 17th, Forey was notified that he might enter and take possession, which he did, gaining little glory or profit thereby; for 26,300 men with powerful armament had taken all this time and labor to subdue a place hastily and imperfectly fortified, and defended by militiamen, few of whom had been trained to arms. The officers were parolled; some of them violated their pledge and escaped, while others were conveyed to France, where it was afterward demanded of them that they should pledge their allegiance to the newly created empire. Those who refused were turned adrift to starve—a dastardly proceeding from any point of view. A number of

them were afterward enabled to return to their country through the noble efforts in Spain of Prim and Santa Álvarez.

Dark indeed was the hour, coming so early in the conflict, this defeat of Comonfort, and the destruction of the army of the east at Puebla; and Juarez deemed it prudent, with his government, to abandon the capital on the 31st of May, as the city could not be held with only 6,000 men. The populace clamored loudly for a decree of expulsion of French residents, but Juarez refused; war to the death for the expulsion of invaders, but no injustice to residents—such was the president's position.

With the more immediate friends of the government, and a portion of the army, Juarez repaired to San Luis Potosí, making Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada chief of his cabinet, and Comonfort minister of war. Another division of the forces, under Berriozábal and and Diaz, retreated in the direction of Toluca and Morelia, and the city of Mexico fell into the hands of the French army.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the means adopted for forcing monarchial government on Mexico by the church party, backed by French bayonets. Suffice it to say, that Saligny empowered 35 persons to elect a provisional government in the form of a triumvirate composed of Almonte, Archbishop Labastida, represented in his absence by Ormaechea, and the superannuated and almost imbecile ex-president Salas. A few days later there came together an assembly of notables, so called, whose powers to represent the Mexican people emanated from Forey. This body, on the 10th of July, passed a decree, the execution of which was intrusted to the foreign bayonets. 1. The nation adopts for its form of government a moderate hereditary monarchy, with a catholic prince. 2. The sovereign will bear the title of emperor. 3. The imperial crown of Mexico is tendered to H. I. H. Prince Fernando Maximiliano, archduke of Austria, for him-

self and his successors. 4. In the event that, owing to circumstances which cannot be foreseen, the archduke Fernando Maximiliano should not take possession of the throne thus offered him, the Mexican nation leaves to the benevolence of Emperor Napoleon III. to designate the catholic prince to whom the crown shall be offered. Against the first article there were two votes out of 231, and only nine out of 220 against the fourth. Such was the plot initiated by a few conservative emigrés, which obtained the support of the French government, on a prior acceptance by Archduke Maximilian. The proceedings were regarded by the Mexican people as a farce; and though weakened by long-continued civil war, they did not hesitate to enter upon a desperate struggle against the invaders. The constitutional arms, however, met with continued reverses; in fact the most important parts of Mexico, embracing the rich mining and agricultural regions between latitudes 18° and 23°, and containing two thirds of the population, and the chief manufacturing and trade interests, were brought under imperial sway.

While Maximilian was received in Mexico under triumphal arches, and surrounded by a crowd of sycophants, the true government was forced to wander about like an outcast in its own land. Upon the approach of Mejía with a large army, Juarez moved to Saltillo, leaving Negrete at San Luis, but Mejía entered the place on the 24th of November. The French army at first occupied only the road from Vera Cruz to Mexico; but after Forey had left the country, and Bazaine assumed the chief command, its operations became more extended. In a short time Oajaca, defended by Diaz, fell into its hands; fights were of daily occurrence around Jalapa; a French division occupied Guadalajara, and Marquez held Morelia against the liberal army of Uraga. During the year 1864, there were 102 engagements, with 3,267 killed and 1,300 wounded; and in 1865, 322

engagements, with 5,664 killed and 1,269 wounded; making a total in two years of 424 actions, in which 8,931 were slain and 2,569 wounded. So much for this puppet play at despotism in America by a French emperor and an Austrian archduke; let this be borne in mind when comes the day of reckoning.

Juarez and his ministers reached Saltillo on the 9th of January, 1864, on which day they heard of Negrete's defeat and abandonment of San Luis Potosí. At this time occurred the defection of Vidaurri, governor of Nuevo León. Juarez issued a decree removing him from office. Nuevo León and Coahuila rose in arms to uphold the constitutional government; Vidaurri fled, and Rejón, his secretary, was executed at Matamoros. The president and the ministry sojourned in Monterey till August 15th, when they were attacked by Quiroga at the same time that three columns of Franco-Mexicans were marching against the city. The president and his officials fled amid a shower of bullets, and were pursued by Quiroga's riflemen as far as Santa Catarina, where they took to the desert, facing hostile savages, and escorted by only a handful of men, their destination being Chihuahua, where they arrived on the 12th of October.

During this long and painful journey, Juarez saw more than one faithful adherent, more than one true friend, succumb—perish from exhaustion; but nothing could break his indomitable will, though there now remained with him scarcely twenty persons—so great was his confidence in the right. Add to all his other trials a severe illness which now overtook him, and we see something of the courage and fortitude of the man. A bilious fever, at this important point, came very near putting an end to his life, It was as nearly a lost cause as might be, at this juncture, and yet survive, for nothing but disaster befell the army, while even the associated patriots became petulant and quarrelled. Doblado and Ortega criticised Juarez' election, and asked him to resign, which he refused to

do, being convinced that the interests of the nation demanded his remaining at his post.

Maximilian committed two serious mistakes—the first in allowing himself to be deceived by his apparently enthusiastic reception, and the second in adopting the extreme measure of treating the liberals as bandits. Whatever the motive which prompted this action, the time came when he had to bitterly rue it. Juarez, on becoming aware of the lawless proceedings of guerillas, which cast dishonor upon his party, had managed to check them.

Maximilian had promised in Europe to restore the power of the church, but, pressed by the pope's nuncio, he prevaricated, assuring the papal representative that his measures would be in accordance with his conscience. He soon became convinced of the wisdom of Juarez in regard to the church, and that he could not safely undo what the liberal government had done. He made propositions, embracing, among other things, religious toleration, yet with a recognition of the catholic religion as that of the state. He did not offer to restore the church property or ecclesiastical supremacy. On the contrary, he desired the church to cede to the government all the revenue from property which republican rule had nationalized, and that he should have the same patronage over church affairs as had the king of Spain. On other points he was disposed to make concessions. The nuncio, disgusted, returned to Rome. Maximilian decreed religious freedom; the council of state was ordered to revise the nationalization of church estates, confirming sales legally made, and subjecting papal bulls to government supervision and approval, before they could be published. The clergy, who would not recognize the advance of liberal ideas, was roused to actual hostility. The emperor found himself driven by circumstances, as well as by his natural bent, toward the liberals; he failed in securing their support, and the conservatives

became lukewarm. At the same time, by his efforts to be an independent sovereign, he estranged himself from the French, who were the support of his throne.

Juarez established his government at Chihuahua on the 15th of October, 1864. His position in the second semester of that year was not altogether alarming. His leading generals still had 12,000 men, though somewhat scattered, and considerable means were received from the customs at three ports on the Pacific, from Piedras Negras, on the Texas frontier, and from Matamoros, to which must be added loans raised in the United States, forced contributions, church property, and other resources, besides the moral support of the northern republic. Arms were constantly coming in from Texas and California, and occasionally a few recruits. On the other hand, Uraga deserted and declared for the empire. Troubles appeared again in Nuevo León, and finally, in December, Nuevo León, and most of Coahuila, to the banks of the Rio Grande, submitted to the enemy. Chihuahua being threatened by the imperial forces, Juarez retired to Paso del Norte, where he could pass over the line into the United States at any moment. Such action became necessary; but he would never quit Mexican territory except as a last resort; and as for yielding, that was not to be thought of. To be captured was certain death.

On came the Frenchmen and took Chihuahua, but departed as quickly to defend some threatened posts. Then Juarez returned to the place on the 13th of November, but was forced to retire a second time to Paso del Norte. Dark indeed were these days for republican Mexico, the country overrun by foreign invaders, all Europe recognizing the emperor, patriot blood running in torrents from scaffolds erected by the usurper, the hope of the country resting alone on Juarez, and he hunted from place to place like a wild beast by these bloodhounds from Europe—Juarez the Indian, the Washington, the William Tell of Mexico,

standing immeasurably superior to any known native American, and embodying all that is best in the European—standing now alone, abandoned, persecuted, without soldiers, without supporters, and yet a host in himself, strengthened by his sense of duty, and a firm conviction in the justice of his cause.

Thus passed the year 1864, likewise the next—long enough time to try the soul and sinews of the strongest. But in 1866 the clouds begin to break. France at length gives heed, as the note of warning from Washington rises louder, and Secretary Seward emphasizes his order that the Frenchmen must go. Then all the world sees that the astute emperor has been making an ass of himself. The Anglo-American federation is not a mass of broken fragments, but one and indivisible, with a disciplined army of half a million men, who would hail with joy an order to pick up the Indian Juarez, and establish him, at the national capital, in the office to which he was chosen by the people.

And the Frenchmen did go, the 8th of March, 1867, seeing the last of them depart, leaving the young Hapsburg man to get out of the scrape as best he could. Poor Maximilian had been advised to abdicate and leave the country while he had the opportunity, but he could not bring himself to a shameful flight, abandoning his supporters to the vindictiveness of their enemies; and so he remained, trusting to his Mexican supporters and the foreign legion to sustain his now tottering authority.

As the French troops retired from the interior states, the constitutionalists advanced; when Juarez and his government reached Zacatecas, they had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of Miramón.

Later, Escobedo routed Miramón at San Jacinto, and took 1,000 prisoners, among whom was Miramón's brother, who, together with all the men of the foreign legion, were shot, in retaliation for brutal outrages of Miramón in Zacatecas. Guanajuato had been in the

hands of the republicans since January; Guadalajara was occupied by Corona. Mejía's imperialist division, under Castillo, had been defeated by Rivera. Colima had submitted to the republican government since December 1866, and Porfirio Diaz, after escaping from his prison at Puebla, had initiated his admirable campaign in the east.

The uprising for freedom was now general throughout the republic. Maximilian, with his foreign legion, and an army of recruits, shut himself up in Querétaro. Juarez and his government were again at San Luis Potosí. Diaz laid siege to Puebla; at the same time Escobedo surrounded Querétaro. Marquez, with a strong force, broke his lines, and proceeded by forced marches to Mexico, as the emperor's representative, in search of assistance. Deeming it necessary to attack Diaz, he was routed on the 10th of April, and fled with the remnants of his army into the capital. Diaz captured Puebla, and with reënforcements from all quarters laid siege to Mexico, which he might have bombarded, had he been willing to destroy lives and property; he might have induced the city to surrender, had he felt disposed to grant the personal guarantee of life and liberty each traitor asked for himself.

Maximilian behaved well throughout, like a soldier and a gallant fellow, as he was. But Querétaro at last fell into the hands of his enemies, and he saw he was caught in a trap, as he delivered his sword to Escobedo. It has been said that a colonel named Lopez treacherously left a position undefended, through which the republicans entered the city. With Maximilian were taken generals Miramón and Mejía. The prisoners numbered 15 generals, 20 colonels, 375 other officers; and 8,000 soldiers. This was on the 15th of May. On the 21st of June, the garrison of Mexico surrendered to Diaz. The traitor Vidaurri was discovered and shot. Marquez went into concealment and eventually escaped from the country, to which he was never allowed to return.

The war was at an end; the triumph of the republic was complete.

But what should be the fate of Maximilian? As a good man, a kind and gentle prince, the fair product of a fair environment, he ought to live; as an invader, a tyrant, the tool of a trickster, and the indirect cause of the death of ten thousand patriots, he deserved to die. He said he had been invited to come and rule Mexico. Who invited him? Not the Mexican people, struggling to maintain their liberties under a republican form of government; but traitors, and a church whose tyrannical demands even the tyrant himself refused to grant.

There was a law by which, as Maximilian had previously construed it, Juarez should be shot in case he was caught. But instead of ordering his captives shot forthwith, as by that law he had the right to do, Juarez, on the 1st of May, directed General Escobedo to detail officers for a court, and bring to trial Maximilian, Miramón, and Mejía, which was done. Every effort was made to save the archduke; but neither the efforts of his able counsel and of the Princess Salm-Salm, nor the tears of Miramón's family, nor the petitions and solemn promises of Maximilian, had the desired influence upon the court, which, on the 14th of July, declared the accused to be criminals against the nation, the jus gentium, and the public peace and order, pursuant to the law of January 28, 1862, and sentenced them to death.

What is Juarez to do? The world is horrified over the impending fate of Maximilian. So excellent a gentleman, so kind a prince! Crowned heads bow low and beg the president for his life. Even the American government yields to the prayer of the Austrian minister. The Austrian government pledges itself, through Secretary Seward, that Maximilian should renounce forever all his projects regarding Mexico.

There is but one thing for Juarez to do—as a patriot, as an honest man, a self-sacrificing man, who

cares more for his country than for the opinion of the world. A French emperor, usurper, and cowardly trickster—cowardly, because he never would have dared to send armies to Mexico had not the United States been engaged in civil war; this counterfeit of a former scourge, who makes of war a trade, of human butchery a pastime, unites with traitors to enslave the minds and souls of a people struggling to be free—sends men and arms to force these freemen to submit to the rule of a puppet he sets up in the person of a princeling of Austria, a good and amiable man enough in his way, but the representative and exponent of an infamous cause, thus making his acts infamous, whatever he himself may be. Failing in his wicked attempts, when adjudged to die, the world in horror cries for mercy—so sweet and gentle is this tool of a tryant! Juarez, the Indian, though in no wise bloody-minded, says: No; Europe is your place, America mine. You, a scion of despotism, come hither to tap the veins of liberty, causing to flow rivers of blood, every drop of which is worth more than all your aristocratic veins contain, causing to die thousands of good men, every one of them a thousand times better than you, victims to your petty ambition, to your master's petty plottings. And must you escape, who have wrought this ruin—you, because of pity, poor princeling! A thousand times no. If almighty justice required atonement for the sins of a people, in the person of a well-beloved son, how much more does down-trodden liberty require retribution for your great crimes against this bleeding nation. Let it be written in the heavens, with a finger of blood, where it may be read by all nations, forever, that the European who meddles in American affairs shall die. In no act of his life did the true greatness and genius of this American Indian shine forth with greater lustre than in this sacrifice of the lamb of Austria.

In the history of the republic it is written that the president declined to grant the executive clemency,

and that Maximilian, Mimarón, and Mejía, who during their imprisonment had been shown every consideration, were shot upon the cerro de las Campanas on the 19th of June, 1867.

Juarez entered the city of Mexico on the 15th of July, and met with an enthusiastic welcome, amidst the acclamations of the people, the roar of artillery, and the ringing of bells. Flowers were strewn in his path, and flags and streamers waved all over the capital. The political chief at the head of the city council addressed him as follows: "The ayuntamiento of Mexico, representing the people, opens to you the gates of the city, rendering you due honor. This act is not the homage which a servile man with bent knee renders to the insolent despot, but the tribute that a freeman, with his heart swelling with pride and joy, pays to his liberator. Take, then, possession of the city, the seat of the government, and display as much wisdom in your administration as you have shown courage and energy in the late struggle, in order that the people who have looked upon you as the savior of the independence may likewise proclaim you as the destroyer of anarchy, and the guardian of the public liberties."

Juarez' first act was to assure the nation that during his absence of four years from the capital he had assumed no obligations derogatory to her independence and sovereignty, the integrality of her territory, or to the respect due to the national constitution and laws. Several imperialists were sentenced to death at Querétaro by court-martial, but the president pardoned them. The same clemency was not shown to O'Horan, Marquez' tool of oppression; the supplications of his mother, and petitions from every quarter, availed naught, and the sentence was carried into effect.

The government might now have disarmed party hatred, and gained the support of its former opponents, had it been so disposed. Unfortunately, a

large and prominent portion of the liberal party demandèd a policy tending toward persecution, death, or imprisonment of the imperialist chiefs, and the confiscation of their estates. Much against the will of Juarez, the law of August 16, 1863, was enforced, but the penalties decreed thereunder the president commuted to a small fine.

It was hardly to be expected that men passionate by nature, sometimes brutal, always ignorant and superstitious, and stirred to the depths by long and bitter strife, should all at once blossom into serenity and peace. Mexicans are by no means angels. As a people, they have even to-day little idea of the true theory of self-government. It is a question whether Juarez at bay on the border of the republic, or Juarez at the capital attempting reconstruction and reconcilation, was least to be envied. Even the law of August 14, 1867, convoking the nation to the exercise of her elective powers, was an apple of discord. The constitutional reforms submitted were at once weighed by individuals by the standard of selfish interests. Those so lately dealing in blood were now hungry for place, and in nothing did Juarez resemble his associates and supporters less than in their selfish greed. He cared for the nation, the purity and perpetuity of the republic, and the intellectual freedom of the people—not for himself, for money, for power or place. To this every act of his life testifies.

Again Juarez laid down his office, and again was elected by popular vote president of the republic, with Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada president of the supreme court. Constitutional order was reëstablished, and various important measures initiated, among them several for the promotion of public instruction. Juarez' new cabinet consisted of Lerdo in the portfolio of relations, Iglesias in the treasury, Ignacio Mejía in war, Martinez de Castro in justice and public instruction, and Balcárcel in fomento, colonization, and industry.

On the 26th of August Admiral Tegethoff arrived at Vera Cruz on the Austrian steamship *Elizabeth,* to demand in the name of his government the body of Maximilian. The demand was refused, and the remains were not delivered until they had been respectfully asked for in the name of the family. The steam frigate *Novara,* which brought Maximilian to the shore of Mexico in 1864, took away his remains, which had been by Tegethoff conveyed to Vera Cruz, escorted by a federal force. The embalmed body was placed on board the frigate on the 26th of November.

In the mean time Santa Anna made his appearance at Sisal, but was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Vera Cruz, where he was tried. His past services, and the able defence of his counsel, Joaquin M. Alcalde, saved his life. The ex-dictator was sentenced to exile from the republic for eight years.

Juarez was inaugurated as constitutional president on the 25th of December, 1867, for the term ending November 30, 1871. Since the intervention and the recognition of the empire in Mexico by the European powers, the republican government had maintained diplomatic relations only with the republics of America; and of these all save Guatemala and Ecuador, whose respective rulers, Currera and García Moreno, had followed the example of Europe. Juarez maintained cordial relations with the United States, neglecting no opportunity to manifest his friendship and gratitude. At the opening of congress, in December, he spoke of the value of the constant sympathy of the people of the United States, and of the moral support its government had extended to the republican cause in Mexico. The Anglo-American republic had, all through the years of the foreign intervention and empire, kept a legation in the city of Mexico, but without holding relations with Maximilian's government. The good feeling of Mexico toward the United States was particularly shown when ex-Secretary Seward visited the country in 1869.

Diplomatic relations with European powers were renewed very gradually, the Mexican government pursuing an independent and decorous course throughout. It sought not to flatter or offend, least of all to throw obstacles in the way of negotiation of new treaties, especially those for the furtherance of commerce. European subjects were uniformly protected in their persons and property. Italy, the first to reopen diplomatic relations, was soon followed by Prussia, for the German confederation, in 1869; Spain, after changing her dynasty, did likewise in 1871. These friendly relations were established through the mediation of the United States; and in the same manner were relations restored between the republic of France and Mexico. There were further political convulsions which Juarez was destined to meet before his career was closed, yet for the most part they were such as would add strength to the principles of government initiated by the example and the perseverance of the hero of reform and pilgrim of Paso del Norte. His policy was ever characterized by a marked respect for liberal institutions, freedom of the press, free expression of opinion, and a general national decorum. Before the end of this same December the political horizon darkened, and the clouds burst in various parts of the country, in the form of war, either against the general government, or within the states against their own constituted authorities.

And all through the two years following, 1868 and 1869, the situation was anything but promising. On the 15th of December of the latter year a revolution broke out in San Luis Potosí against both the state and federal authorities, supported by a large part of the fourth division of the army. The government and legislature of Zacatecas seconded the movement, after seizing a conducta of $60,000 belonging to private parties. The public peace was disturbed in Puebla, Morelos, and Hidalgo; in Orizaba the national guard was opposing the government of Vera

Cruz; in Jalisco there was a hostile feeling manifested against the national authority, while Julio Santa Anna was menacing Jalapa. Juarez then demanded and obtained of congress extraordinary powers, and using them with admirable discretion and energy, succeeded in crushing this formidable revolution within four months, after General Rocha defeated the insurgents at Lo de Ovejo, and Guadarrama, the discontented general at Jalisco, summitted to the federal authority. Of the authors of this disturbance some fled to foreign parts, others perished, and a number were subjected to the action of the courts. This revolution had left without a home or country many who, in the darkest hour of the nation's life, had rendered efficient service, when congress by the law of October 13, 1870, pardoned alike both traitors and rebels—those who had served the empire and those who had broken out in fresh revolutions. The whole country applauded the measure. The fact is, it was necessary to pardon liberally, if the population of Mexico was not to be seriously curtailed.

A few days later, Juarez was seized with a violent attack of brain fever, and grave fears were entertained for his life, but after eight days of anxiety he recovered, and again gave attention to public affairs. Toward the end of the year he was visited with another affliction, the death of his beloved wife, whose kindly qualities and general benevolence had won for her the love of all. The nation mourned her loss, while almost the entire population of the capital with sorrowful mien accompanied the remains to their last resting-place.

By this time had begun the agitation for the next election, which was to take place the following year. The party which sustained the government split into factions, one of which demanded the reëlection of Juarez as a guarantee of the continuance of present liberalism and reform, while another faction supported

Lerdo, considering the reëlection of an incumbent as anti-democratic. Both of the above factions called themselves conservatives. Then there were the constitutionalists, who took up Porfirio Diaz as their candidate.

In the midst of the electoral campaign the public peace was again disturbed by a mutiny of the garrison at Tampico, but this movement did not seem to have politics at its base. Rocha took the town by assault on the 12th of June, 1871. The presidential election took place the same month, the three candidates obtaining votes as follows: Juarez, 5,837; Lerdo, 2,874; and Diaz, 3,555. In the absence of an absolute majority of votes, the election devolved upon congress, which, on the 12th of October, 1871, chose Juarez, who took charge of office again on the 1st of December. The choice made by congress was ignored by the radical opposition, and a portion of a battalion, led by certain partisans of Diaz, seized the citadel of Mexico and the Belem jail. Juarez gave orders to attack the insurgents, who, at midnight, after a desperate resistance of ten hours, were defeated. This affair was a prelude to a revolution which the Diaz party was preparing against the reelection of Juarez, and whose centre was Oajaca.

Perhaps it would have been as well had Juarez here terminated his public career. Grant and others in the United States would have been held in no less esteem by posterity had they been less eager for a long continuance in office. Juarez was, perhaps, led to the step he took by the belief that the triumph of the other candidates would bring with it, in one of them, the domination of a very limited personal clique, and in the other that of men who had neither prestige nor any conception of administrative order. Even then he could have bequeathed to his successor a republic which in the four years of his presidency, from 1867 to 1871, had, amid so many difficulties, made more progress than in the fifty

years of civil and foreign wars which had preceded them. During those four years he carried out many important material improvements; others were initiated; the civil and penal codes were prepared; the public treasury was improved, and without levying extraordinary taxation, it covered all the expenses occasioned by the political revolts; the chief portion of the first Mexican railway was built with aid afforded by the government; public instruction was improved; the jury system was established for criminal prosecutions in the federal districts; commercial treaties were concluded with the United States, Germany, and Italy, and a beginning had been made toward restoring diplomatic relations with such nations as so desired.

When the revolution had formally broken out, Juarez obtained of congress discretional powers to quell it. The insurrection had large resources at its disposal, but in the end Juarez' generals, Alatorre and Rocha, were victorious, the former capturing the capital of Oajaca, and the latter routing the main army of the opposition at la Bufa, near Zacatecas. Diaz, who, with much skill, had appeared with a force of cavalry before the national capital, retired to seek refuge in Jalisco. The revolution, which at first presented a bold front and threatened to be formidable, was easily crushed, more by the force of public opinion than by the force of arms. The constitutionalist party had lost its prestige, and all its moral force, with the assault embodied in its plan de la Novia.

Such was the political situation of the republic when the president was called to answer the summons which comes sooner or later to every one, rich and poor, high and low. On the early morning of the 18th of July, 1872, Juarez felt somewhat indisposed. That afternoon was noticed his absence from the paseo, where he was wont to stroll with his daughters. No one, not even himself, suspected that he was seriously ill. In the course of the day he expe-

rienced an acute pain in one leg, and some difficulty in breathing. To divert his mind from himself, he conversed with his family and kept his eyes fixed on the portrait of his late wife. But toward night recurred the pains that had preceded a former heart trouble, which he at one time had suffered from, and the family became alarmed. Three eminent physicians, Barreda, Alvarado, and Lucio, labored in vain against the malady, and a few minutes past eleven o'clock, without any noticeable change in his features, he drew over his face the sheet which covered him as he lay upon his bed, and quietly breathed his last, surrounded by his children and a few personal friends.

The body was still warm, when, pursuant to the existing law, it was conveyed from his house to a room in the palace, on the shoulders of his aids, for the purpose of proceeding with the act of officially recording the death in the presence of the secretaries of state and of foreign relations. That night Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, as president of the supreme court, was summoned by the cabinet to assume the executive office.

The embalmed remains of the late president were placed in a metallic coffin, which was enclosed in a mohogany case, garnished with sprigs of laurel and olive, and bearing the initials B. J. A magnificent hearse, drawn by six horses held in hand by six lackeys, conveyed the body to the San Fernando cemetery, to be placed in the family tomb. In an angle of the garden, in the small plaza of San Fernando, had been erected a monument in the form of the old Greek parthenon. The coffin was placed on a large urn, covered with laurel leaves made of gold and evergreens. In the upper triangle were inscribed alpha and omega, and on the top of the small temple was a bust of the dead president. Then with all the pomp at the capital's command the body was consigned to the tomb, and at a signal from the towers of San Fernando, the battery at the national palace

announced that the solemn ceremonies were at an end. Honors were subsequently paid to the memory of Juarez by several state and municipal governments, and in several foreign countries. Congress lost no time in making suitable provision for the statesman's family, in the form of pensions and otherwise. The remains were finally removed, in July 1880, from the family vault, and placed under a monument erected in San Fernando. Another monument was also erected for the wife. The late president left property valued at $138,000, including $17,000 of unpaid salary, besides a few manuscripts. With his death he bequeathed to his country the boon of peace. Opponents laid down their arms, and placed themselves under the constitutional flag.

Benito Juarez had ever an unfaltering faith in his mission. Old traditions he ignored; petty wrangles and temporizing policies he despised. Heeding only the dictates of duty, he opposed an iron will to the torrent of personal ambitions and party strife, to the wicked envy of a triumphant reaction as well as of a foreign invasion. He saved the constitution of 1857, by taking into his hands the reins of government at the time that the allied clergy and army were endeavoring to destroy it. Without him, the liberal party would have found itself without a leader, or even a cause to fight for. What would have been the fate of the republic, we might ask, if Juarez, the chief magistrate, without soldiers or resources, had faltered? Who would have taken up the struggle had he abandoned it? Indeed, in vain may we search history for a more wonderful example of human greatness and success—a poor, ignorant Indian boy, emerging from the wild mountains of Oajaca to link his name with some of the most radical reforms the civilized world has ever witnessed.

Fr Junípero Serra

CHAPTER IV.

THE POWER OF RELIGION.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION OF THE CALIFORNIAS—KINO AND SALVATIERRA ON THE PENINSULA—EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS—FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS IN LOWER CALIFORNIA—DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF ALTA CALIFORNIA—THE FRIARS ON THE SEABOARD—FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA IN THE FIELD—HIS LIFE AND WORKS—MENTAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS—EVOLUTION OF A SAINT—VOYAGE HITHER—MISSION BUILDING—JUNÍPERO IN MEXICO—AT SAN DIEGO—AT MONTEREY—AT SAN FRANCISCO, SANTA BARBARA, AND ELSEWHERE—INCIDENTS OF HIS DEATH.

MISSIONARY enterprise in the Californias began in 1697, when the conde de Moctezuma, viceroy of Mexico, granted a license empowering the Jesuits Kino and Salvatierra to undertake, at their own cost, the conversion of the Californians. Crossing the gulf from the Yaqui country, Salvatierra brought to the shore of the peninsula the image of our lady of Loreto, whose name was given to the first California mission. Securely established at Loreto, as they thought, the Jesuits founded settlements elsewhere on the peninsula Before his death, which occurred in 1717, Salvatierra reduced the affairs of the missions to so perfect a system that the form of government then established was adopted to a great extent by the Franciscans in Alta California. Priests, soldiers, and natives were all subject to a father superior, next to whom stood the rector of a district, of which at this time there were three. A visitador, with his consulta, made the circuit of all the missions once during

his three years' term of office. In harmony with the mission hierarchy was the secular arm, the soldiers being subject to their captain, who under the visitador was supreme in all civil, judicial, and military matters.

Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish dominions, in 1767, the California missions were tendered by Viceroy Croix to the Franciscan college of San Fernando, and the trust accepted, Junípero Serra being placed in charge as president, with Francisco Palou, Juan Moran, and others, as his more immediate associates. Entering upon their peninsular field of labors, soon came Don José de Galvez as visitador-general, with powers to advance Spanish occupation up the coast to San Diego and Monterey. After careful investigation, he resolved to send four expeditions, two by land and two by water, to start separately, but all to unite at San Diego, and press on to Monterey.

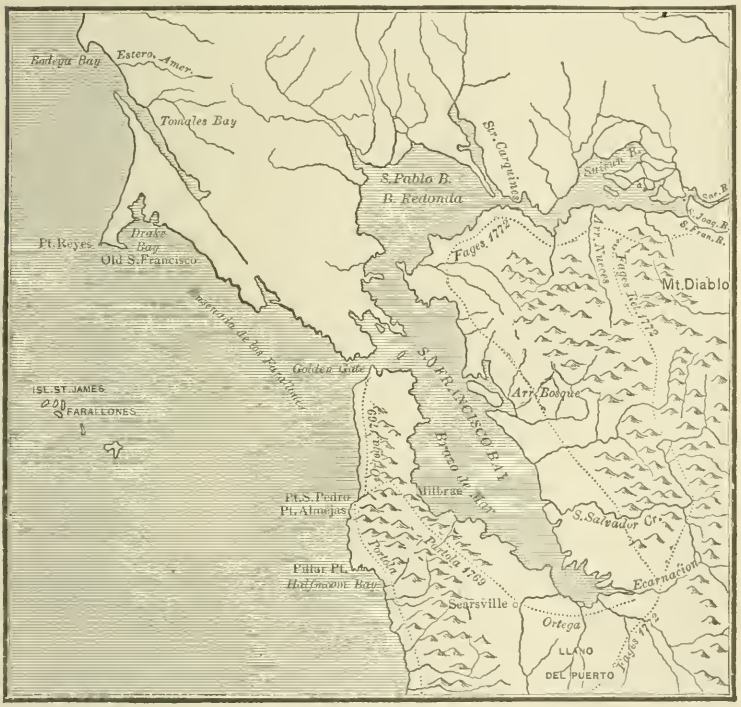
Meanwhile the Dominicans, loath to see the late possessions of the Jesuits fall wholly to the Franciscans, petitioned the king early in 1768 for license to found establishments on the west coast of California, between latitudes 25° and 28°. The king disapproved of the project, fearing dissension, but was finally persuaded thereto, and on the 8th of April, 1770, granted a new cédula, dividing the missions of the peninsula between the Dominicans and Franciscans. The Dominicans desired the northern districts, including San Ignacio, Guadalupe, and Mulegé, their purpose being clearly to secure an open way to the north; but the royal cédula cited left the details of the division to the viceroy, who was instructed to give to each order a field for expansion northward, with limits so fixed as to avoid future contention. The guardian of San Fernando, and a junta held March 21, 1772, were in favor of a broader division. "You may take all of Lower California," said the Franciscans to the Dominicans, "all of the old

Baja California in 1800.

Jesuit missions, and their property, if you will leave to us the unoccupied field of Upper California." To this the Dominicans gladly assented; for not only was the peninsula nearer to Mexico, but the Jesuits had performed much labor, which would accrue to the benefit of their successors. They did not dream of the wide difference in the possibilities of the two sections. Hence, on the 7th of April, 1772, was signed by the Franciscan guardian, Padre Rafael Verger, and the Dominican vicar-general, Criarte, to whom the matter had been referred for final adjustment, a concordato by which the entire peninsula was given to the Dominicans up to a point just below San Diego, while the Franciscans were to have the field clear to themselves above that point. The former had the right to extend their missions eastward and northeastward, and the latter to the north and northwest.

The Franciscans embarked in their northward adventures on the 9th of January, 1769, when the *San Cárlos* sailed with sixty-two persons on board, including Padre Parron and Lieutenant Fages, with twenty-five infantry from the mainland, many of whom died of scurvy on the way. The *San Antonio*, Juan Perez commander, sailed on the 15th of February, carrying, besides her crew, fathers Vizcaino and Gomez. The first land expedition, commanded by Rivera, and including Padre Crespí, Pilontin Canizaves, a company of twenty-five soldiers from the Loreto presidio, and forty-two native Californians, set forth on the 24th of March; and on the 15th of May, Portolá, lately appointed governor of the Californias, with nine soldiers under Sergeant Ortega, President Serra, and another company of natives, began their journey northward, all to be reunited at San Diego at the beginning of July. Father Palou, who had filled for a time the office of president of the peninsular missions after the departure of Serra, arrived at San Diego, with six companions, toward the end of August 1773.

The discovery and exploration of the seaboard of Alta California had been effected by divers voyages since 1540. The result was a general knowledge of the coast-trend beyond Cape Mendocino; of the Santa Bárbara channel and islands; of the ports of San Diego, Monterey, and old San Francisco, near Point Reyes; and to some extent, of the climate, soil, and people.



Movements of the Discoverers.

Immediately upon his arrival, in July 1769, Junípero Serra founded his first mission, at San Diego. There were no converts for a long time, and the missionaries were constantly annoyed by the thefts and petty hostilities of the natives, as will be more fully shown hereafter.

While the padre president was engaged in these duties, Portolá and Crespí, with the main company, marched northward in search of Monterey, which port they reached in October, but did not recognize it, because of the exaggerated descriptions current since the time of Vizcaino. Nor did they halt until they came in sight of Point Reyes, and discovered the bay of San Francisco. Then they returned, reaching San Diego in January 1770. Again the main body of the missionaries, this time under Lieutenant Pedro Fages and Father Crespí, set their faces northward, and came to Monterey, where they founded, early in June 1770, the presidio and mission of San Cárlos, the second settlement in Alta California; and for a long time this region was spoken of, at Mexico and elsewhere, as "the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey." The following year two new missions, San Gabriel and San Antonio, were founded. San Luis Obispo coming into line a year later. In 1772 Fages and Crespí reached the mouth of the great river in an unsuccessful attempt to pass around the new bay and reach old San Francisco. Quarrels began between the military and missionary authorities, as represented by Fages and Serra, and the latter went to Mexico, not only to unseat his enemy, but to work for the general interests of his beloved missions.

At the good beginning thus made the Franciscans were greatly pleased. Besides the presidio, with its garrison of sixty soldiers, there were now five missions, under nineteen friars, who had baptized about 500 natives. The live-stock brought from Lower California had increased to 200 cattle, 60 horses, 80 mules, 100 swine, and 160 sheep and goats. Father Junípero labored diligently in Mexico to inspire the government with some degree of his own enthusiasm respecting the future of the new California. He obtained many concessions, and returned to his mission field in March 1774.

The year 1775 witnessed the destruction of San Diego mission, moved the previous year to a site some six miles back from the bay, while in September and October of the year following were founded the presidio and mission of San Francisco, destined practically to be the northern frontier of Spanish occupation. Also, in 1776–7, besides the restoration of San Diego, were added two new missions, San Juan Capistrano in the south, and Santa Clara in the north. Monterey was made the capital of both Californias, where Felipe de Neve came to reside as governor, in February 1777. Before the end of this year the first California pueblo, or town, was founded, at San José, the new ruler not regarding the conversion of natives as the only desirable element in the building of Spanish empire. In 1779 the Manila galleon touched for the first time at Monterey, and the year following saw the country guarded by eighty soldiers in three presidios, a town with twenty inhabitants, and sixteen friars serving three thousand native converts in eight missions. There was a population of Spanish and mixed race of five hundred, and agriculture and stock-raising had been introduced with flattering prospects.

In 1781 the pueblo of Los Angeles was established, and in 1782 the mission of San Buenaventura and the presidio of Santa Bárbara. Then, in 1784, came the death of the padre president, Fray Junípero, who had founded and governed all these mission establishments up to this time; after this were added to the line, Santa Bárbara mission in 1786; Purísima in 1787; Santa Cruz and Soledad in 1791; San José, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, and San Fernando missions, and Branciforte pueblo, in 1797; San Luis Rey in 1798; Santa Inez in 1804; San Rafael in 1817; and Sonoma in 1823.

Having thus outlined the history of California occupation, let us proceed to the study of the life and character of the great founder of Christianity and civilization in these parts.

Junípero Serra was a native of Majorca, having been born in the town of Petra, in that island, November 24, 1713. His parents, Antonio Serra and Margarita Ferrez, were honest farmers of good repute, and the care which they displayed in the training of their son, who was by no means robust, mark them as exemplary members of society. A religious fervor was early implanted in the heart of the child, which controlled his life. He was baptized on the day of his birth, and named Miguel José, and was so called on his confirmation, May 26, 1715, when not yet two years old, it being the practice in that part of the catholic world to confirm children while very young.

His parents, besides instructing him in the rudiments of the faith, provided for his regular attendance at the convent church of San Bernardino, where he acquired a knowledge of Latin. Thus heredity and environment united to form an exceptionally devout nature. At a very early age he was eager to enter the St Francis order of friars, to which end he was taken to Palma, the capital of the island, and placed under the care of a beneficiary priest of the cathedral. There he remained for several years, studying philosophy and theology at the Franciscan convent, the wish to take the habit of the order daily increasing. Therefore, as soon as he reached the required age, he made application to the provincial for admittance. But as the youth was of diminutive figure and delicate appearance, the provincial postponed his reception for a time, admitting him, however, as a novice, into the convent of Jesus, outside the city walls, September 14, 1730.

He passed the year of his novitiate in studying the rules of the order, and in reading the lives of prominent Franciscans, his youthful soul being greatly moved thereby. Even now the determination arose within his breast, as soon as opportunity offered, to leave his home and country and go as a missionary to foreign parts. At the end of the probationary year he

formally professed, September 15, 1731, being not quite eighteen years of age. It was on the occasion of that solemn ceremony that he assumed the name of Junípero, out of his love and admiration for one of the companions of St Francis who bore that name. The day of his profession he marks as the starting-point of physical and spiritual manhood. "All blessings came to me by my profession," he exclaims. During his novitiate he had been sickly, and so small in stature that he could not read at the chorister's desk, but now health and strength came on apace, and he rapidly grew to medium height.

Transferred to the principal convent, at Palma, he continued his studies, in which he became so proficient that before ordination he was made professor of philosophy, and for three years taught in the convent. Before he had finished his philosophical course, the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred upon him by the Lullian university, in which he occupied a professor's chair down to the time of his departure from his native isle. There also he won renown as a preacher, his oratory being so brilliant, his rhetorical skill so marked, his power of expression so graphic, and his doctrines so sound, that on one occasion, even an opponent was led to exclaim "This sermon is worthy of being printed in letters of gold."

But neither learning nor applause could take the place of piety; all other aspirations were consumed in the fires of missionary zeal, kindled by the writings of the fathers. For this work he was the chosen of God; to this end he had been created; in the execution of this divine purpose he would live and die. There need be no haste, no intervention of human plans; for all would be made plain. A brother friar, named Palou, was likewise filled with the same aspirations, and the two took counsel and comfort together talking over their hearts' desire. Hence in due time they asked and obtained permission from the commissary-general of the Indies to join a com-

pany of missionaries of propaganda fide, soon to embark for Mexico, and on April 13, 1749, they sailed from their native isle nevermore to return.

When he set forth in his important career, Padre Junípero was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, in the prime of manhood. But he was endowed with more than physical strength. Religious enthusiasm will probably carry a man further in the endurance of toil, danger, and suffering than any other motive, —military glory, avarice, or any feeling of love or hate. It embodies all these, and more,—all glory, the glory of God and man; all possession, whether of this world or the next; all love and all hate, the love of good and the hatred of evil. In the reward promised to the faithful there is nothing left to ask. All that God can give is already his, —blessings eternal, beside which the benefactions of this world, with all its riches, comforts, and honors, are as nothing. And what evil shall man do unto this chosen one of God? To kill the body is but to hasten the soul to glory. What would incite to heroic deeds, if not a service so sublime, offering such rewards! In the strength of their numbers, armies march out to battle; the soldier of the cross goes forth alone, himself a host, the armies of the Lord attending. The missionary annals of Mexico furnish many examples of self-devotion and heroism, of sufferings and martyrdoms, not the least thrilling of which are to be found in the adventures of those who planted the Christian faith in the Californias.

Junípero Serra was a born saint, not in the sense of canonization before birth, but of creation in the spirit and essence of sanctity; a material being ripe for martyrdom from the beginning, to whom it were equally easy, equally a necessity, living or dying for the faith. He was morally, rather than physically or intellectually, great. Self-devotion, self-sacrifice, lofty principles and purposes, and never-dying religious zeal, were the weapons by which he overcame all,

whether of the world, the flesh, or the devil. Give, as an adjunct to this sublime devotion, fair executive ability, which Junípero possessed, and if opportunity be present, results are sure to follow.

His portrait shows a fine facial outline, symmetrical rather than pronounced features, with no special indication of that state of exaltation to which his soul must needs have been raised before it could find its highest happiness in self-flagellations and suffering for Christ. Nevertheless, we find traces of a mystic reverence and pious thoughtfulness in those dark eyes, slightly sunken, shaded by strongly marked eyebrows, and telling of the religious fervor that spurred the anxious spirit onward, of the courage and indomitable endurance which we find him displaying under the severest trials, in the wild fields of missionary labor in the New World. About the mouth are signs of gentleness and refinement, rather than firmness and strength, and yet we know that he possessed all these; likewise amiability, benevolence, and a kind disposition,—traits which will be seen to come prominently forward as we accompany him on his journey through life. While each individual feature faithfully portrayed some prominent quality, the harmony of all in combination produced an expression proclaiming inner confidence and hopefulness. The countenance was illumined by the consciousness of rectitude in all his actions and intentions, and by the sweet reflection that his career was directed by omnipotence into paths of duty, and not left to drift under the impulses of vanity or ambition. The abiding hope and expectancy of approval on the part of his heavenly master, when he should enter the kingdom promised to the faithful, could not fail to affect the facial expression, flushed with the holiest impulses of the heart.

Humility, sincerity, earnestness, faithfulness, and all kindred virtues were written in unmistakable lines in his features. Yet, however great his humility, however complete his self-denial, his governing and

directing abilities raised him above other servants of God whose devotedness and abnegation of self were as conspicuous as his own. We find Junípero ever implicitly relying on providence, so deeply impressed with a belief in divine protection that all escapes from danger he attributes to the special intervention of the saints.

Taking passage in an English vessel sailing to Malaga, the two missionaries arrived at that port after a voyage of fifteen days. The discomforts attending ocean travel in those days were aggravated by the misconduct of the captain, who interfered with the performance of their religious duties. Further than this, being of a disputatious disposition, he persisted in discussing points of doctrine, and when defeated in argument, he lost control of his temper, and threatened to throw the two priests overboard and sail away for London. On the last occasion of a wordy contest between him and Fray Junípero, he suddenly drew a knife and held it at the padre's throat with the apparent intention of killing him. Discretion, however, prevailed, and the infuriated mariner retired to his cabin to sleep off his anger, while the priests passed the night in watchfulness and prayer. From Malaga they sailed to Cádiz, which port they reached on the 7th of May, and found that after they had taken their places there were still three more vacant in the missionary party about to sail across the ocean. Serra thereupon wrote to his convent at Palma, and padres Rafael Verger, Juan Crespí, and Guillermo Vicens responded to the call, and presently joined him. The expedition was divided into two parties, the first of which, consisting of a president and twenty missionary friars, among whom were Serra and Palou, sailed from Cádiz August 28, 1749.

The voyage was a long one, occupying no less than ninety-nine days, and marked by incidents which tested the patience and courage of the friars. Provisions became scanty, and at one time water was

so sparingly dealt out, that the supply was insufficient to quench thirst. Under all trials Junípero remained unmoved, enduring hunger with calmness, and endeavoring to quiet others, saying that by eating little and talking less, they would save saliva, and so find some relief from thirst. Arriving at Porto Rico about the middle of October, the ship took in water, and proceeded on her course to Vera Cruz. The voyagers were already in sight of port when a storm came on, which lasted for two days, and drove them back to the coast of Campeche. The danger was very great; the ship was expected to founder; and, what added to the horrors of the position, the crew became mutinous, and endeavored to force the captain to run the vessel ashore as the only means of saving some of their lives. Fortunately, before this extreme measure was enforced, the violence of the tempest abated, and the storm-shaken mariners entered the harbor of Vera Cruz on December 6th. During this time of peril Junípero preserved his usual tranquillity. When asked if he was not afraid, he replied: "I was somewhat so at first; but when I thought of my mission, fear departed."

At Vera Cruz, Palou was attacked by a dangerous illness, which forced him to remain there for some time. Though provision was being made by the government to transfer the friars into the interior, the eagerness of Fray Junípero urged him forward. He requested permission of his president to proceed on foot to Mexico without delay. Leave being granted, Serra, with only one companion, a missionary from Andalusia, started on his hundred-league journey. During the march the travellers were constantly beset by difficulties, from which they were delivered by the power of the almighty. Whether by the kind hospitality of the natives they escaped death from exposure and starvation, or were guided to fords in dangerous rivers in which they would otherwise have lost their lives, they recognized the interposition of the saints in

their behalf. Unused to such long journeys, Junípero's legs began to swell, and he was obliged to halt. One night, while resting at a hacienda, the swelling increased, becoming intensely painful, and before morning it broke, leaving a life-long sore, for the evil developed into a chronic ulcer, which caused the padre much suffering to the day of his death. But this accident did not long detain him; after a day's rest he continued on his way, and reached the sanctuary of our lady of Guadalupe on the last day of the the year 1749. The following morning the two friars went to the apostolic college of San Fernando, in the city of Mexico, where they were received with expressions of joy and brotherly love.

Six years previous to the arrival of Father Junípero in Mexico, the college of San Fernando had established five missions in the districts of Sierra Gorda, and the faculty needed missionaries. Accordingly, about the end of June 1750, Padre Junípero, with seven friars, among whom was his companion Palou, who ere this had joined him in Mexico, was sent to take charge of those missions, Serra being elected president of the party.

In that wild mountainous region the zealous apostle labored for nine years without ceasing. By imposing ceremonies, conducted in a manner to inspire reverence, he gradually won the hearts of the rude people with whom he labored. Quickly learning the Pame language, he was soon able to instruct them in the doctrines of the faith. He encouraged their devotion by his example; taught them humility and Christian charity by washing annually, in holy week, the feet of twelve poor Indians; and in his anxiety to impress the neophytes with the truthfulness of the word which he preached, and his immovable confidence therein, he performed many cruel acts of penance upon himself. His historian, Fray Francisco Palou, afterward made father guardian of the college of San Fernando, relates that Fray Junípero, when preaching

on special occasions, was accustomed to scourge himself in the pulpit in a terrible manner, with an iron chain, in imitation of Saint Francis. He would likewise strike his naked breast with a heavy stone, while holding aloft the crucifix in his left hand and reciting aloud the act of contrition. With such force did he deal the blows that his audiences were astonished that he did not break the bones of his chest. And the biographer further states that to this self-punishment was attributed the chest disease which finally caused Serra's death. Another method which Junípero employed to move his listeners to repentance, when discoursing on the eternal sufferings of the damned, was to lay bare his breast and burn his flesh with a lighted torch, enduring the torture without flinching, while the beholders shed tears of sympathy and contrition. On one occasion, while preaching in Mexico, he scourged his naked shoulders so unmercifully, while exhorting his hearers to repentance, that all the people burst into tears, while one of them, crying out "I am the sinner who should do penance," ascended the pulpit steps, took the chain from the father's hand, and so effectually followed the example of the friar that he sank down in a swoon, and shortly afterward died from the effects of the punishment, after the sacrament had been administered to him on the spot where he had fallen.

Nor did Serra neglect the temporal interests of his flock. He was careful of his neophytes, providing his mission with cattle and sheep, and with seed and grain. He taught the natives various industries; many of them became expert masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths; he instructed their women in the domestic arts of sewing, knitting, spinning, and weaving, so that when he left this scene of his labors, all the missions under him were in a flourishing condition, with well-filled granaries.

While Father Junípero was laboring in the Sierra Gorda, the college of San Fernando, in connection

with that of Querétaro, had attempted to establish missions among the fierce Apaches on the banks of the San Sabá. The attempt failed, Fray Terreros winning the crown of martyrdom. Thereupon a military expedition was planned by the viceroy, and Junípero received a letter from his superior calling him to the conquest of souls in the land of the Apaches. With instant obedience the father answered to the call, and presented himself at the convent in Mexico. But owing to the death of the viceroy the undertaking was indefinitely postponed, and Serra retired to his convent. During the next seven years he was engaged in missionary work in various parts of Mexico, preaching and converting sinners alike in populous cities and wild districts, travelling on foot for six months of the year, north and south, east and west, from Campeche to Sonora. It is estimated that he walked not less than two thousand leagues in passing from place to place in these journeyings. Many were the dangers to which he was exposed, and severe the hardships which he underwent. Nor are there wanting in the records of his life accounts of many escapes through miraculous intervention. On one occasion when celebrating the sacrament, after having partaken of the elements, he was seized with sudden illness, and had to be carried thence. No one doubted that he had been poisoned, yet he refused to take any of the antidote offered him, but, swallowing a little sweet oil, he recited the words found in St Mark's gospel: "They shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them." Later there was hung in the convent of San Fernando an oil painting representing Father Junípero holding a chalice from which was escaping a small snake. Another painting depicts him preaching in the open air on the occasion of a missionary revival. On the ground directly in front of him lies the chain with which he was accustomed to scourge himself; at his right foot stands the chal-

ice, with the snake twisting itself out; while at his left is a lighted torch supported against a human skull. In his left hand the father holds aloft a crucifix, and the right grasps a heavy stone, with which he is about to inflict self-punishment as penance for the sins of the people. The countenance is expressive of deep sorrow. The audience by which he is surrounded is composed of persons of various races and degrees, from the high Spanish official, with powdered hair and queue, lace ruffles, and court-sword, to the half-naked Indian, with his head-gear of plumes and primitive bow and arrows. All of them, men and women alike, are represented in various attitudes of devotion.

On the occasion of his departure for the California missions, elsewhere mentioned, Junípero and his companions took leave of the community on the 14th of July, 1767, all being deeply affected. "Go," said the guardian to the company, with tears in his eyes, "with the consoling knowledge that you have Father Junípero for your prelate, whom, by these presents, I appoint president of those missions. Obey him as you would obey me, and pray for me." Junípero was so deeply moved that he could not speak as he kissed the hand of his superior. The journey to Tepic, including a few days' rest at Querétaro and Guadalajara, lasted thirty-nine days, but owing to delay in the sailing of the vessel, they were unable to proceed to Lower California until the beginning of March 1768. On April 1st the vessel anchored in the roadstead of Loreto, the missionaries departed to the districts assigned to them, and Serra at once commenced his duties of visiting the different missions. After it was decided to establish missions in Upper California, Junípero enthusiastically engaged in preparations for the expedition, and was greatly assisted therein by the visitor-general, Galvez.

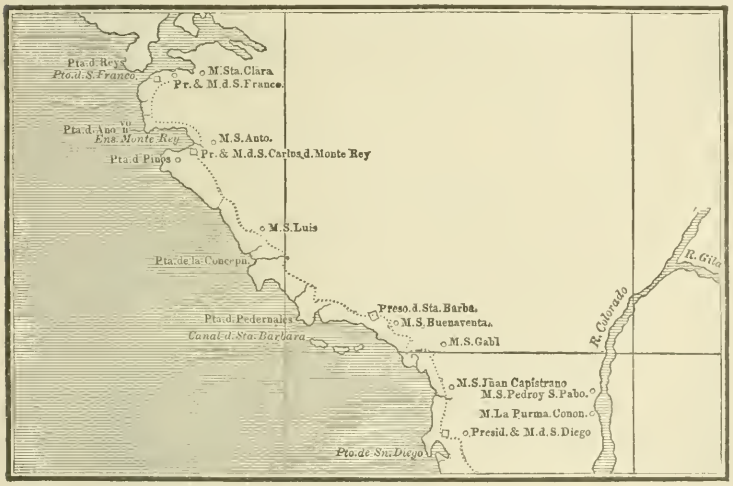
After the departure of the expeditions by land and sea, as already narrated, Serra remained at Loreto until the end of easter, 1769, being anxious to direct

the ceremonies of the church during those days of adoration. Then, accompanied by two soldiers and a single servant, he started northward to meet Portolá later, and continue the journey together. His foot and leg were in a terrible condition, and Fray Palou, at whose mission he called on the way, was so moved at the sight that he implored him to remain there, and let him go forward as his substitute. "Let us not speak of such a thing," was Serra's answer. "I have placed my confidence in God, and I hope that in his goodness he will allow me not only to reach San Diego to raise there the standard of the holy cross, but also Monterey." After three days' rest, the good padre proceeded on his journey, though it required two men to lift him into his saddle. Going from mission to mission, he took an affectionate leave of his former companions, and gave them advice and instruction. On his arrival at Velicatá, he found Governor Portolá encamped there, and in concert with him established a mission at that spot, erecting a cross on May 14th, dedicating the chapel they constructed to San Fernando. Father Campa was left in charge.

Continuing his journey in company with the governor, his sufferings became so intense that Portolá suggested that he should return. Junípero would not listen to such a proposition, and the compassionate governor ordered a litter to be made, and caused him to be carried by the Indian neophytes attached to the expedition. Camping for the night, a muleteer, at his request, applied a poultice composed of grease and pounded herbs, with which he was accustomed to treat the sores of his animals. The application was effective, and the relief afforded enabled the padre to continue his journey with less pain.

On July 1st they reached San Diego, having been forty-six days on the road since their departure from the new mission of San Fernando, and on the 3d, Serra wrote a letter to his friend Palou, in which, besides narrating an account of the expeditions by sea—both

vessels having arrived—he gives a concise description of the country and its inhabitants. The land expedition before mentioned, under the command of Portolá, having left on July 14th in search of the harbor of Monterey, Serra proceeded to establish the first mission in Alta California. This was accomplished, the foundation of the institution being laid on July 16th, when a cross was erected and the usual ceremonies on the establishment of a new misson were performed. The Indians approached, but not knowing their language, little could be done with them on the instant.



PALOU'S MAP OF CALIFORNIA MISSIONS.

Presents of trinkets and clothes were made them, and so eager were they to obtain articles of the latter, that they quickly displayed a ready aptitude for thieving, and soon became insolent and aggressive. On August 12th and 13th, they attacked the strangers for purpose of plundering, but were repelled. On the 15th, however, a more serious assault was made; the Indians assembled in great numbers, armed with bows and arrows, sabres of hardened wood, and war-clubs. Palou, with two of the soldiers, had gone on board

the *San Cárlos* to say mass, and only four of the military remained in the mission. Serra had just finished celebrating mass, when the Indians rushed into the settlement and began to plunder on all sides; the soldiers fired upon them, and a general conflict ensued. Fray Vizcaino was wounded in the hand, his servant, José María, was killed, being pierced through the throat, and two of the soldiers and an Indian neophyte were wounded, though not seriously. The effect of the fire-arms, however, terrified the assailants, and they presently withdrew, carrying with them their dead and wounded. After this encounter, the natives no longer molested the missionaries; fear and respect took the place of insolence and contempt; in a few days peace was established, the natives continuing their visits unarmed.

On the 24th of January, 1770, Portolá returned, having failed to discover the harbor of Monterey, but bringing the report that they had reached the bay of San Francisco, whereat Junípero resolved to found a mission there in honor of St Francis. But his purpose was destined to be delayed. The governor, finding his provisions running short, decided to abandon San Diego if he did not receive fresh supplies by the 19th of March, and retire to San Fernando. But no discouragement could drive Junípero from his purpose. During this period of anxious suspense he writes to his friend Palou: "If all provisions and hope also disappear, I shall remain with only Friar Juan to the end." March 19th arrived, and still no vessel appeared; all through the day a heavy fog hung over the bay, while preparations were made by Portolá to abandon the place on the following morning. Serra celebrated mass with more than usual solemnity, and preached with extraordinary fervor. In his heart he prayed earnestly to God for help, and implored the intercession of St Joseph, whose feast-day it was. As evening approached, the fog lifted for a brief interval, and lo!

far out at sea, in the rays of the setting sun, a ship was descried heading toward them. Hope revived, the order to embark was countermanded, and four days later the *San Antonio* sailed into the harbor. St Joseph had indeed heard their prayer, and another miracle was recorded in the annals of the enterprise. San Diego mission, and all the magnificent works which were to follow, were not to be ingloriously abandoned.

Provisions being now plentiful, it was determined to go in search of Monterey, and about the middle of April two expeditions, one by land and the other by water, left San Diego with that object. Portolá and Crespí went overland, while Serra proceeded by water, sailing on board the *San Antonio*. Delayed by contrary winds, the ship did not reach its destination before the 31st of May, after a tedious voyage of forty-six days, the land expedition having arrived there ten days earlier. On June 3d, Junípero founded the mission of San Cárlos at Monterey with the customary ceremonies. In a letter to Palou, dated the 13th, he relates the particulars. "Near the same oak-tree," he writes, "where the fathers of Vizcaino's expedition celebrated mass, having erected an altar, I chanted the first mass that is known to have been celebrated here since that time." At the conclusion of his letter he remarks further: "To-morrow we are going to celebrate the feast and procession of corpus christi, although it may be but poorly done, in order to chase away as many little devils as there may be in this land." But alas! no sooner had the little devils taken their departure, than larger ones sprang up in their stead; and so, in the succeeding generations of the sons of Satan, their size has gone on increasing to this day.

For some time the Indians were shy, and held aloof, the work of conversion progressing slowly. On December 26th, Serra for the first time administered the holy sacrament of baptism at that mission; and

Palou states that three years later, when he visited Monterey, he found there 165 Christians, while the number of those who had received baptism at the time of Junípero's death amounted to 1014.

The news of the discovery of the harbor of Monterey, and the establishment there of the presidio and mission of San Cárlos, was received with great rejoicing in the city of Mexico, and measures were at once adopted to increase the number of missions in California. On the 2d of January, 1771, ten missionaries sailed from San Blas for Monterey, but, encountering stormy weather, they did not reach San Diego till March 12th, and having remained in that port nearly a month, while the ship was discharging cargo, sailed thence for Monterey on April 10th. Still more unfortunate was a party of twenty religious who sailed from San Blas on the *San Cárlos* early in February. The winds were so contrary that they were driven southward as far as Acapulco before they could turn about; then, being short of water, the captain endeavored to make the port of Manzanillo, and had the mishap to strand his vessel, which was so much damaged that he refused to put to sea again, and the missionaries were compelled to travel up the coast on foot a distance of 300 leagues. Their sufferings were so severe that one of their number died on the way; nor did they cross the gulf and reach Loreto before November 24th.

Meanwhile Serra employed himself in examining the surrounding country. He saw at once that the seashore was not the proper place whereon to establish a mission, which should be located on good agricultural land. About a league distant, on the fertile plains of Carmelo, he found a spot suitable in all respects, and thither, toward the close of 1771, he transferred the mission and presidio of San Cárlos. While the soldiers and Indians from Lower California were preparing the ground and erecting the necessary buildings, Serra proceeded to found the mission of San Antonio. Taking with him two friars, Miguel

Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar, and a guard of soldiers, he journeyed some twenty-five leagues southeasterly, and having arrived at a beautiful dell, which they called Los Robles, on account of the oak trees growing there, he selected a suitable spot and established his mission. Frame huts were erected for the priests, soldiers, and servants, and a large building was raised and consecrated for a church; then Junípero, having remained there about fifteen days, returned to Monterey, leaving a corporal and six soldiers as a military guard for the two friars.

The founding of the mission of San Buenaventura and the presidio of Santa Bárbara was a project that continually occupied Serra's mind; yet circumstances so frustrated his desires that they were the last to be founded by him; nor did he succeed in establishing them until after a delay of thirteen years. The cause of this was the want of military force, and frequent scarcity of provisions. But apart from these deficiencies, the pioneer missionaries had to contend against troubles promoted by their own people, and which evoked an unfriendly spirit in the minds of the natives. In their dealings with the Indian women, the Spanish soldiers were accused of giving offence, and frequently of downright insult. In September of this year Friar Pedro Cambon, and Angel Somera founded the mission of San Gabriel, and the conduct of one of the soldiers was so offensive to the wife of a native chief that he sought to avenge himself. In the fray which followed, the chief was slain, and the hostility of the Indians made it necessary to increase the strength of the military guard there, the soldiers destined for the mission of San Buenaventura being sent to San Gabriel.

The year 1772 was marked by a famine which "grievously tormented many." In August Junípero left Monterey for San Diego, and on the way founded the mission of San Luis Obispo, leaving Fray Cavaller in charge, with a corporal and four soldiers as

guard, and two Indians from Lower California. The ceremonies were performed September 1, 1772. Serra arrived at San Diego on September 16th, having visited the mission of San Gabriel on the way. His object in going to San Diego was to confer with the captain of the ship that brought provisions from Mexico, but which had failed to reach Monterey. The difficulties of transportation by land, and the danger of robbery by the natives, to which a convoy was always more or less exposed, made it necessary that the supplies should be sent by water; nevertheless, it required much pleading on the part of Junípero to induce the captain to sail for Monterey and take the much-needed supplies.

Having satisfactorily arranged this matter, the good father now turned his attention to his favorite scheme of establishing the mission of San Buenaventura. Finding himself with four missionaries at San Diego, while two others were expected shortly to arrive from Lower California, he urgently pressed Commandante Fagés to coöperate with him in the undertaking. That officer, however, raised so many objections to the project, that Serra began to suspect that he had received orders from Mexico prohibiting the further founding of missions. Consequently he deemed it necessary that one of the missionaries should go to the capital and correctly inform the viceroy as to the state of affairs. The other priests being consulted, it was agreed that Junípero, or some one selected by him, should proceed without delay to Mexico. Although in his sixtieth year, and suffering without intermission from his ulcered leg, the zealous man of God did not hesitate a moment. He knew that a painful land journey of 200 leagues lay before him, yet he must see the viceroy in person without delay. On October 20th he embarked on board the *San Cárlos*, and arrived at San Blas after a prosperous voyage, taking with him an Indian neophyte of Monterey.

His journey to the capital was attended by his usual sufferings when on the road. At Guadalajara both he and his Indian companion lay ill of fever, which took such a malignant form that there seemed no hope of their recovery. The last rites of the church were administered to the apparently dying men, Father Serra expressing no fear of approaching death, but sorrowfully apprehensive that the death of the Indian might retard the work of conversion, his tribe fancying, perhaps, that the Christians had killed him. Fortunately his fears were groundless. In a few days they were able to continue their journey, and arrived at the capital January 6, 1773.

Serra's interviews with Viceroy Bucareli, who had succeeded the marquis de la Croix, led to a most satisfactory result. The reports that had reached the viceroy had been so erroneous and misguiding that he had already decided to abandon the harbor of San Blas, on which port the missions of Upper California were dependent for supplies. On the representations of Junípero, Bucareli immediately sent orders to San Blas that a packet-boat should be despatched forthwith to Monterey with provisions, and the work on a new frigate which had been stopped should be resumed. But this was only a beginning in the turn of affairs. At the viceroy's suggestion, Serra drew up a report of the condition of the missions in Upper California, with a statement of their necessities, and this was so ably done, and contained so graphic a description of the situation, that the viceroy forwarded it to Spain, where it met with well-merited consideration at the court. A royal cédula arrived in due time, ordering that the port of San Blas should remain open, and a promise was made of assistance in supplying officers, pilots, surgeons, and chaplains from Spain.

In another communication addressed to Bucareli, Junípero begged for the extension of spiritual power; and so deeply was the viceroy moved by the earnest pleading of the missionary, that he constituted him-

self the advocate of the cause. He called a junta, or council, over which he presided, and addressed the counsellors so strongly in support of Serra's petition, that they voted unanimously in favor of it. A plan was drawn up for the guidance of commandants; the number of the troops was increased; provision was made for the erection of fortified presidios at San Diego, San Francisco, and in the channel of Santa Bárbara; and each mission was to be provided with six servants to aid in erecting buildings and in tilling the soil, their salaries being paid out of the royal treasury. Moreover, a bountiful supply of corn, flour, beans, and clothing, to the value of $12,000, was granted, and 100 mules were sent for distribution among the missions. Furthermore, a maritime expedition was planned for the purpose of exploring the coast northward of Monterey.

Having succeeded to his heart's desire in his application to Bucareli, Father Junípero prepared for his return to California, and having received the blessing of his father guardian, bade farewell forever to the inmates of the convent. He set out in September 1773, accompanied by Fray Pablo Mugartegui, and arrived at Tepic without further adventure.

There, however, he was detained until January 24th, waiting for the freighting of the vessels. On that day he embarked on board the new frigate *Santiago*, bound for Monterey. On March 13th the vessel incidentally touched at San Diego, where Junípero heard of the great distress the missions were undergoing from scarcity of provisions. Supplies were at once landed, and the frigate was sent on her course to carry relief to Monterey, which was in the greatest straits.

Serra's intention had been to accompany the ship, but he now decided to continue his journey by land, in order that he might visit the missions and take to them the much-needed provisions. These duties performed, he arrived at his mission of San Cárlos about

the middle of May, 1774, and occupied himself in superintending the unloading of the vessel, and preparing for the departure of the expedition northward.

During the years 1774–9, three such expeditions were despatched by the zealous viceroy, and though Serra took no personal part in them, it is to his honor that, on his visit to Mexico, he aroused in the heart of Bucareli the desire to promote discovery, and by his suggestions guided to a certain extent the actions of his excellency in that respect. Nor did the viceroy fail to acknowledge the encouragement which the priest gave to these expeditions. In a letter addressed to Serra, dated Mexico, January 20, 1776, he writes: "The new discoveries made by the ships of the king on those coasts are the object of your reverence's letter of October 12, 1775, and for them, and the honor resulting to me thereby, you send me your congratulations, which I receive with pleasure; at the same time your reverence is deserving of thanks for the manner in which you celebrated there these happy events with all possible solemnity; and I am satisfied that the zeal of your reverence and that of the other fathers will be the best guarantee of the extension of the gospel."

By letter of August 17, 1775, the viceroy approved Serra's project for the founding of another mission, between those of San Diego and San Gabriel, and Captain Rivera allotted six soldiers as escort and guard. The name to be given the new establishment was San Juan Capistrano, and friars Fermin, Francisco Lazuen, and Gregorio Amurrio were appointed by Serra for the work. A suitable site having been selected, Father Lazuen, on October 30th, duly performed the usual ceremonies, and eight days afterward Father Amurrio arrived with provisions and stores. The Indians were friendly, and readily assisted the new-comers in felling timber for the construction of buildings. All hearts were made glad, and the missionaries were still congratulating each other on the

prospect of soon having everything in order, when one evening the intelligence reached them of a terrible disaster at San Diego.

It has been deemed best to remove the mission of San Diego about six miles inland, in view of the agricultural advantages offered thereby. This transfer separated the mission from the presidio, and encouraged the disaffected natives in an attempt to destroy the Spaniards by a simultaneous attack on both places. For although many converts had been made, no less than sixty Indians having been baptized on October 3d, the greater part of the natives seem to have been hostile to the foreigners. A little after midnight on the 4th of November, a horde of savages surrounded the buildings and set fire to them. There were but eleven persons in all of Spanish blood, among whom were the two friars, Luis Jayme and Vicente Fuster, who at the first alarm rushed out, the former facing the enemy with his usual salutation: "Love God, my children."

Father Fuster escaped to the barracks hard by, with two boys, a son and a nephew of Ortega. All through the night the Indians continued the attack, the fire driving the besieged from one place of refuge to another. The blacksmith, Arroyo, was killed at the first assault, being pierced in the body by two arrows. Later the carpenter, Urselino, was mortally wounded ; and Father Fuster was hurt by a piece of adobe, quantities of missiles and burning brands being hurled over the walls. In attempting to barricade themselves more securely, two of the four soldiers received severe wounds which placed them hors de combat. The safety of the survivors now depended upon Corporal Rocha, who used the fire-arms so skilfully, while others loaded for him, that he succeeded in preventing the enemy from getting to close quarters. At dawn the savages withdrew, fearing the arrival of soldiers from the presidio. It had been their plan to attack that post also ; but the party sent against it

returned, because the mission had been fired before they had proceeded far enough to be sure of effecting a surprise.

Search was now made for Jayme. In a dry bed of a creek his mangled and naked body was found, bruised from head to foot with blows of clubs and stones, and pierced by eighteen arrows, while his face was disfigured beyond recognition. Serra received intelligence of the disaster on the 13th of December, whereupon he exclaimed: "Thank God; the soil is watered; the conversion of the Dieguinos will now be accomplished."

The result of this outbreak was the temporary abandonment of the mission of San Juan Capistrano, and the strengthening of the military force at San Diego. Serra at once wrote to the father guardian at Mexico, as well as to the viceroy, particulars of the occurrence, pleading at the same time on the side of mercy, and imploring his excellency to extend clemency to the misguided savages. Bucareli, in reply, writes on the 3d of April, 1776: "In view of the prudent and Christian reflections which your reverence makes, inclining to treat with conciliation the rebellious neophytes, rather than to punish them, I inform your reverence, in reply, that I have so arranged, having issued orders, on this same date, to the commandant Rivera so to act, considering it the best method that can be adopted for the pacification of their minds, and perhaps also for the conversion of the neighboring gentiles, when they perceive that they meet with leniency and kind treatment instead of punishment for the excesses they have committed. I also informed that chief that the principal object of the moment is the reëstablishment of the mission of San Diego and that of San Juan Capistrano."

Anxious as Serra was to go in person to the scene of the calamity, and rebuild the mission, he was unable to do so before the last day of June, when he embarked on board the packet-boat *El Principe*, Cap-

tain Diego Choquet, arriving at San Diego after a voyage of twelve days. The causes of the postponement of his wishes were various. In the first place, the commandant Rivera hurried away with the troops at Monterey to the disaffected district, and while at the mission of San Gabriel, Lieutenant-colonel Anza arrived there from Sonora, with forty soldiers and some families of settlers for the port of San Francisco. The two commanders, after due consultation, decided to join forces for the punishment of the Indians at San Diego. Investigations followed; raids were made to different rancherías; gentile chiefs were brought in, made to testify, and were flogged or imprisoned; but little was learned with regard to the origin of the outbreak. Then arose a difference of opinion between the two commanders, and Anza's military colony being threatened with scarcity of provisions at San Gabriel, he resolved to take his party without delay to Monterey, where he arrived March 10, 1776. Serra went over from San Cárlos to congratulate him on the safe termination of his march, and to assist at the religious ceremonial of thanksgiving.

These different proceedings and projects in some way or other interfered with Serra's departure to San Diego. On April 15th Rivera returned to Monterey, and was visited by the father president, to whom he was the bearer of letters from the friars at San Diego. That commander had been excommunicated by the priest for having entered the building used as a church, sword in hand, with a squad of soldiers, and taken thence an Indian who had sought refuge there. The culprit, though an old neophyte, had been a ringleader in the revolt, and Rivera demanded his delivery on the plea that the right of church asylum did not extend to such a criminal. After consultation with the friars of his own mission, Serra refused to grant the captain's request for absolution, informing him that when he gave satisfaction by returning the Indian to the sanctuary, the San

Diego friars could grant absolution without the necessity of his interference. On the 19th Rivera started south again, refusing to let Serra go with him, on the plea of great haste.

On his arrival at San Diego, Serra began the work of reconstruction. He enlisted in the cause the captain of *El Principe*, who not only promised him the aid of his crew, but also to accompany the expedition and work as a laborer. He obtained from Rivera a detail of five soldiers and a corporal, and on August 22, 1776, the whole company, consisting of Father Junípero and two other missionaries, twenty sailors with their officers, the corporal and five soldiers, and a band of fifty Indian neophytes, proceeded to the destroyed mission, all except the natives carrying firearms and cutlasses.

For more than a fortnight they labored unceasingly, priests and officers acting as superintendents, and even working with their own hands by the side of sailors and peons. The church and other structures were progressing favorably, and hope was entertained of finishing and surrounding them with an adobe wall before the sailing of the ship, when Rivera appeared on the scene and put a stop to the work. It is difficult to fathom his motive,—jealousy of the priests, perhaps. An Indian had told him that the savages were preparing arrows for a new attack, and though a sergeant sent out to investigate could find no foundation in the report, the commandant pretended alarm; at all events he withdrew the soldiers on guard at the mission, and urged the withdrawal of the sailors. Choquet, though protesting, yielded, not caring to assume the responsibility, and the work was abandoned, to the indignation of the missionaries. Viceroy Bucareli, in a letter addressed to Father Junípero on this subject, says: "I do not doubt that the suspension of the reëstablishment of the ruined mission of San Diego caused your reverence much pain, while, as far as I am concerned, the knowledge of

the fact has caused me displeasure, and much more the frivolous motives which gave rise to it, as intimated to me in the letter of the naval lieutenant Don Diego Choquet." He also informs the venerable president that a reënforcement of twenty-five soldiers was already en route for San Diego, and that if Rivera did not devote himself to the reëstablishment of the missions, the governer, Don Felipe Neve, lately appointed to reside at Monterey, would do so. This letter was dated December 25, 1776, and reached Junípero's hands long after these troubles had ceased.

In fact, three weeks after the cessation of the work, the reinforcement alluded to in the letter arrived, despatches having been received a few days previously, ordering the troups to be employed in the restoration of the missions. Serra's joy was complete, and he gave expression to it by the ringing of bells and the celebration of a high mass. Rivera was now obliged to modify his plans; he detailed a guard of twelve soldiers for the mission of San Diego, and another of ten men, with a corporal in command, for San Juan Capistrano, the other two being assigned to San Gabriel. Then, leaving a force of thirty men at the presidio of San Diego, he set forth for Monterey, taking with him twelve soldiers.

Work was now resumed at the mission, and the buildings were soon ready for occupation. Fathers Fuster, Lazuen, and probably Santa María, were inducted into their new quarters about the middle of October, and recommenced their missionary labors. The destroyed registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths were replaced by others, in which the entries were restored as far as possible from the memories of priests, neophytes, and soldiers, and Serra added some valuable notes to the history of the mission at various dates from August 14th to October 25th.

In the last days of that month, accompanied by the friars Mugártequi and Amurrio, and escorted by the ten soldiers, he went northward to reëstablish the mis-

sion of San Juan Capistrano. The bells, which had been buried on the abandonment of the mission, were unearthed, properly hung and chimed, and the mission was again founded with the customary ceremonies. This occurred November 1, 1776.

But Serra's zeal exposed him to danger. A few days later he went to San Gabriel for neophytes to aid in the work of construction, and for provisions and cattle. On his return with these supplies, so anxious was he to reach San Juan with the news, that he proceeded in advance with only one soldier and a neophyte from San Gabriel. When beyond reach of help, he was met by a band of armed and painted savages, who approached with fierce shouts and hostile gestures. The good priest's life was only saved by the presence of mind displayed by the neophyte, who informed the Indians in their own language that a strong body of soldiers was close behind, which would take terrible vengeance if harm should come to the friar. Thereupon the angry demonstrations ceased.

Having arranged everything to his satisfaction at San Juan Capistrano, Father Junípero returned to San Cárlos in January 1777, visiting San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio on his way thither. He was anxious to learn whether the mission of San Francisco had been founded, and received on his arrival at San Cárlos the cheering intelligence that not only that mission but the mission of Santa Clara were already established. As Serra did not officiate in person on these occasions, it is only necessary to state that friars Palou and Cambon, assisted by the military authorities, founded the mission of San Francisco, at the laguna de Dolores, October 9, 1776, and that on January 12, 1777, fathers Tomás de la Peña and José Murguía celebrated the first mass in the new mission dedicated to Santa Clara.

On his return to San Cárlos, Serra was anxious to visit the new missions as soon as possible, but the expected arrival of Governor Neve, who had been

instructed to make the presidio of Monterey his place of residence, caused him to postpone his journey. Neve arrived on February 3d, and business connected with the spiritual and temporal reduction of the country detained the father president at San Cárlos till September, when he started northward, arriving at Santa Clara on the 28th. On the following day he sang mass and preached, and on October 1st proceeded on his way to San Francisco, performing the whole distance of fifteen leagues in a single day and a part of the night. There he remained till the 10th, recuperating his strength. Meantime he visited the presidio, and looked out upon the water which separates the end of the peninsula from the hills beyond. "Thanks be to God!" he exclaimed; "already our father San Francisco has arrived with the processional holy cross of missions at the extreme confines of the continent of California, since in order to advance farther, it is necessary to embark."

Eight missions had now been founded, but the distances between them Serra thought were too great for effective work, and he therefore resolved to establish intermediate ones, and so accomplish the conversion of the Indians along the whole coast of California. With this object in view, he had already asked and received permission to found three others, along the channel of Santa Bárbara. "Help me," he said, to Palou and those around him, "to pray to God for success, and afterward we will work in order to fill in the other gaps." Thus, overflowing with zeal, he returned to San Cárlos, resting for two days at Santa Clara.

The right to administer the sacrament of confirmation belonged exclusively to the bishops, nor could the highest official of the religious orders perform that rite without special authorization from the pope. When Father Junípero first reached Lower California, in 1768, he found in the Jesuit archives a bull of Pope Benedict XIV, conceding the power of confirmation

to missionary officials of that society. Anxious that his neophytes should not be deprived of the benefit of that sacrament under the Franciscan management, he requested the guardian of San Fernando to obtain for him similar authority. The result was, that, under date of July 16, 1774, a papal decree was obtained granting the power of confirmation to one friar in each of the four colleges in America. But as church and crown in Spain were zealous defenders of their respective prerogatives, formalities required that the document should receive the king's sanction, the approval of the royal council of the Indies, and the approval and authentication of the audiencia and viceroy of New Spain. Then there were formalities to be observed by the spiritual authorities, and such long delay occurred that Serra's patent, issued by the commissary and prefect of the colleges at Querétaro, Juan Domingo de Arricivíta, did not reach his hands until the end of June 1778.

No time was lost in exercising the newly acquired power, and at different dates, from June 29th to August 23d, Serra confirmed 181 persons at San Cárlos. Then, notwithstanding his infirmities, he embarked for San Diego, where he confirmed the neophytes and children of the soldiers. Thence he journeyed northward, administering the rite, with all its solemnities, at each of the missions, on his way back to Monterey, and afterward extended his tour to Santa Clara and San Francisco, returning to San Cárlos January 8, 1779. During the last half of 1778 and the following year no less than 2,432 persons received the rite of confirmation.

But now an unexpected obstacle intervened, which suspended for a time his right to confirm, and embittered his happiness. After exercising that right for more than a year without interruption, Governor Neve all at once chose, as representative of the crown in California, to call upon Serra to show him the authority under which he was acting. Father Palou

narrates that, during this period when the government of the Californias was being placed under the rule of a commandant in the person of the chevalier de Croix, the father president encountered innumerable difficulties interposed by Governor Neve, who seemed designedly to throw impediments in the way of missionary progress. Exactly at what time the differences arose between Serra and Neve cannot be determined; but probably the quarrel began soon after the former's return from his first tour of confirmation.

From the records bearing upon the affair, it is uncertain whether Serra refused to produce his papers, or whether, being produced, they were regarded as insufficient by Neve; at all events the latter ordered confirmations to cease, and refused to furnish the escort asked by Serra during his journeys from mission to mission, but he made no attempt to enforce his order, referring the whole matter to General Croix in Sonora. Serra paid no heed to Neve's orders, but went on confirming through the year, even administering the rite to twenty-four persons in 1780. He had, however, reported the matter in October 1779 to the commandant-general, and also to the guardian of San Fernando, taking the precaution to forward to the latter all the documents he had bearing upon the matter.

On April 20, 1780, Croix sent an order to Neve to take possession of the original patent and instructions that had been sent by the guardian to Serra, and under no pretext whatever to permit the father president to continue administering the rite of confirmation. Of course, Serra could not deliver up the papers, as he had already sent them to Mexico, but he yielded to Croix' orders to suspend confirmation. On July 20th he replied to a letter from the commandant-general, charging and entreating him to obey the order by giving up the papers, that he would cheerfully do so. The controversy, however, continued, nor was the difficulty settled, so far as Serra

was concerned, before May 1781, when Neve, in a letter dated the 19th of that month, at San Gabriel, informed the father president that, as the apostolic brief had been shown to have the requisite approval of the council, there was no longer any obstacle to his administering the sacrament.

This episode in the life of Junípero Serra exhibits the pertinacity of the man, when acting under the conscientious belief that principles of the gravest importance were involved. He maintained his right, in defiance of Neve, until he began to apprehend that his resistance might end in his being prohibited to baptize; then, with characteristic submissiveness, he yielded to the pressure put upon him, placing his faith in God. During the period that he abstained from exercising his right to confirm, he occupied himself exclusively in catechising the neophytes at San Cárlos, at which mission he remained until September 1781; then, having administered confirmation there and at San Antonio, he proceeded with Father Crespí to San Francisco, where he arrived October 26th. Great was Father Palou's joy at meeting the revered father president and his friend and countryman, Fray Crespí. There they remained until November 9th, when they returned by way of Santa Clara to San Cárlos. A few days afterward, Crespí was taken ill, and soon became aware that his days were numbered. Having received the last rites of the church at the hands of Father Junípero, he breathed his last, January 1, 1782. Such was the estimation in which Serra held him, and so great was his affection for him, that shortly before his own death he requested that he might be buried by the side of his beloved disciple and companion Fray Crespí.

The project for the establishment of missions along the Santa Bárbara channel had been retarded by a serious disaster on the Colorado, which was the destruction of two missions lately founded on that river, the massacre of all the males, priests, soldiers, and

settlers, and the carrying away of all their wives and children into captivity, by the Yumas. This occurred July 17, 1781, and the remainder of the year was occupied in making campaigns in the hostile region for the purpose of punishing the savages. Thus, though the force required for the projected establishments in the channel arrived in the summer of 1781, orders were issued to suspend all operations that might interfere with operations against the Yumas, and the soldiers remained at San Gabriel.

In February 1782, however, Governor Neve wrote to President Serra, announcing his intention to proceed in the matter, and asking for two friars, one for San Buenaventura, and the other for Santa Bárbara. There were but two supernumerary friars in California, one of whom he needed during his own occasional absence from San Cárlos; the other, Father Cambon, then at San Diego, he instructed to meet him at San Gabriel. Six friars were expected to arrive by this year's transport, and Father Junípero, in his zeal, decided that he and Cambon could attend to the spiritual needs of the two new establishments until the arrival of the expected missionary recruits.

Junípero reached San Gabriel March 19, and on the 26th, all being ready, the expedition set out. It was a large and imposing company, and none equal to it had ever been employed on a similar undertaking in California. It consisted of seventy soldiers, with a full complement of officers; long pack-trains of provisions and commodities, with their drivers, numerous serving-men, and a band of Indian neophytes. Moreover, Governor Neve accompanied it in person, with his escort of ten soldiers, who were followed by their wives and families. On the 29th, the party arrived at the locality which had previously been selected as suitable for a mission, Neve having been obliged to return, owing to the arrival of a courier with despatches. A cross and an altar were raised on the site

chosen, and on March 31st the mission of San Buenaventura was founded in the presence of a large attendance of Spaniards and natives, Father Serra saying mass and preaching to the assembly. Work proceeded apace, the Indians showing a friendly spirit, and cheerfully aiding in the erection of the buildings.

About the middle of April, Neve arrived from San Gabriel, and Cambon being left in charge of the new mission with a guard of fourteen soldiers and their sergeant, the remainder of the company started up the coast to establish the presidio of Santa Bárbara. The site chosen was on the shore of a small bay near a large native town called Yanonalit. The formal establishment took place on April 21st, when Serra said mass. Affairs progressed favorably thenceforward, but the father president, finding that there was no immediate prospect of founding the mission, wrote to Fray Fuster at San Juan Capistrano, instructing him to go to Santa Bárbara on temporary service, and then returned to Monterey, visiting the missions of San Luis Obispo and San Antonio, in both of which he confirmed.

On reaching San Cárlos, about the middle of June, he found that the transports *Favorita* and *Princesa* had arrived. The vessels brought full cargoes of supplies for the presidios and old missions, but, to the bitter disappointment of Serra, no friars. The fact is, an estrangement had been gradually growing for some time between the friars and the military authorities, which finally developed into a feud. Neve took no trouble to conceal his aversion to the friars, and his opposition to the missionary system in California. Bucareli, the zealous friend of the missionaries, was dead, and his successor, Viceroy Mayorga, was a Pharaoh, who knew not Joseph. He declined to furnish either church paraphernalia or agricultural and house implements, as requested by the guardian of San Fernando by letter of December 18, 1781. The Franciscan authorities saw clearly that an attempt

was being made in California to overthrow the old mission system. No implements for house or field signified no agricultural or mechanical industries, no communities of laboring neophytes, and no temporalities for the friars to control. Under these circumstances, the six friars selected for duty in California flatly refused to go there.

When Junípero Serra was made acquainted with these and other particulars, he saw clearly that the founding of new establishments must be postponed. In fact, early in 1773, instructions came from the college to the effect that neither Santa Bárbara nor any other mission must be established, except under the old system. San Buenaventura had, however, already been provided for, and ample supplies were in readiness; nor did Neve seem inclined to interfere by enforcing the new regulation. Accordingly, padres Dumetz and Santa María were appointed to the new mission by the father president, who wrote to the guardian, earnestly requesting him to send at least two missionaries to act as substitutes in case of the sickness or death of any of those on duty. There were at this time, the latter end of 1782, but eighteen padres for the nine missions.

Serra's call for help was not unanswered, and on June 2, 1783, two new friars, Juan García Rioboo and Diego Noboa, arrived at San Francisco, and after remaining a few days at that mission went by land to San Cárlos. They found their venerable president greatly broken down in health. Since his return from Santa Bárbara, in the previous year, he had been unable to leave his mission, where, however, he still continued to instruct his flock and perform the church services. For some time past he had been suffering from an affection of the chest, which, with the continual discharge from the ulcers on his leg, sapped his strength. When padres Rioboo and Noboa reached San Cárlos, he was undergoing one of his most severe attacks, but their presence revived

him. The death of his old companion, Crespí, had been a heavy blow, and the disappointment and sorrow which he experienced at the partial frustration of his plans had also been detrimental to his health. Now, however, he was reanimated with new courage, and as his license to confirm would expire in July 1785, this tireless man of God, though racked with pain and exhausted by disease, determined to make a final tour through the missions and confirm the neophytes.

Leaving Fray Diego Noboa in charge of his mission, in August 1873 he embarked on board the vessel bound for San Diego, where he arrived in September. The pains in his chest were now so intense, that it was feared he would never be able to complete the journey, while he himself believed that he would never return. Just before he sailed, he wrote a letter of instructions to Fray Palou, which concluded with these words: "All this I say, because my return may be only by letter, since I feel so much worse. Commend me to God."

At San Diego he administered the sacrament of confirmation, and then began his journey of 170 leagues to Monterey. During the earlier part of his tour he met with no alleviation to his sufferings, and what little strength he had left grew daily less. At San Gabriel he was so ill that death seemed near, and the young native neophytes who assisted him at mass said to the resident friars, with tears in their eyes: "Fathers, the aged father already wishes to die." But his fervor and zeal bore him through. From mission to mission he made his way, catechizing and confirming. At San Buenaventura, the last of the missions he had founded, he was greatly rejoiced to find a goodly number of Christianized natives, where the year before he had seen only gentiles. In January 1784, he again entered San Cárlos, and strange to say, with his health and strength somewhat recruited. He remained there until after easter, attend-

ing to all his accustomed duties, and then set forth, at the end of April, for the purpose of administering confirmation at the missions of Santa Clara and San Francisco.

On May 4th he arrived at the latter mission, without being delayed at Santa Clara to confirm, since it was his intention to return and dedicate on the 16th the new church that had been erected under the direction of Father Murguía. Having completed his work at San Francisco, the father president returned to Santa Clara on the 15th, accompanied by Governor Fages, who had succeeded Neve, and that same evening blessed the new church according to the Roman ritual. Its architect and builder, Murguía, did not live to be present at the dedication, having died only a few days before, of a malignant fever. His death broke another link which bound Father Junípero to the world, and the venerable apostle felt that his work was all but done. Palou, who had been called to Santa Clara as soon as it was known that Murguía's life was in danger, was preparing to return to his mission when Junípero requested him to remain a little longer. He was greatly prostrated, and knew that his time was drawing near. The few days that these two friends passed together were employed by Serra in preparation for his approaching death. He performed the customary spiritual exercises, and made a general confession of his life to Palou, with great contrition and an abundance of tears. The rest of the time he occupied in baptizing and confirming.

In the beginning of June he returned to his own mission, sending thence the supernumerary friar, Diego Noboa, to take the place of Father Murguía. His increasing infirmity did not prevent him from continuing his labors, and he administered the sacrament of confirmation until July 16th, on which day his license expired; then, finding that 5,307 had been confirmed, he exclaimed, in the words of St Paul: "I have finished my course; I have kept the faith."

He now sank rapidly, and letters conveying his farewell were despatched to the Franciscans of all the missions, while from each of the nearer establishments a padre was summoned to take leave in person. Palou, the only friar who arrived before Junípero's death, reached San Cárlos on August 18th, and on the following day celebrated the regular monthly mass in honor of St Joseph; in other religious services the sufferer insisted in taking his part. On the 23d, painful irritants were applied to Serra's chest, but without effect, and on the 26th he made a general confession. Next day he walked to the church, and received the viaticum in the presence of friars, officers, troops, and natives; on returning to his room he sent for the carpenter and ordered him to make his coffin. During the rest of the day the dying man remained seated in profound silence, and as night approached, growing visibly worse, he asked for extreme unction, which he received seated in his chair. After a sleepless night, which he passed for the greater part on his knees, resting his breast against the boards of the bed, toward morning he received absolution, and the plenary indulgence of his order. In the morning of the 28th he was visited by Captain Cañizares and officers of the vessel in port; he received them with earnest expressions of affection, and ordered the bells to be rung. Cañizares he had known since 1769, but had not seen him since 1779. After listening to them for a while he said: "I thank you for having come after so long a time, and from so great a distance, to throw a little earth upon me." Then he conversed with his old friend Palou, requesting to be buried near Crespí. At one time terror seemed to oppress his mind. "A great fear has come over me," he suddenly exclaimed; "I am greatly afraid; read for me the recommendation for the dying aloud, that I may hear it." Palou did so, in the presence of the officers, and all was soon calm again. Serra then

went out of doors with his visitors, and for the last time gazed upon the face of nature.

At one o'clock he took a cup of broth, and returning to his chamber disposed himself for rest. The officers went to drive. A little later, Palou, anxious about the revered president, approached his bedside. Serra's position was unchanged from that in which he had left him, and he seemed as one asleep. But Junípero's spirit had fled.

The bells announced the mournful tidings. Clad in the friar's simple robe in which he died, and which was the only garment he ever wore save when travelling, the body was placed in the coffin, with six candles beside it, and the weeping neophytes came to cover the remains of their beloved master with flowers, and touch with their medals and rosaries the lifeless form. Every article of clothing, save the one that served as a shroud, was distributed in small fragments as precious relics among the people, and notwithstanding all vigilance, a part of the robe was taken also. On Sunday, the 29th, he was buried in the mission church by Palou, in the presence of all the inhabitants of Monterey, and with due ceremonial display, including military honors, and the firing of guns from the fort, and from Cañizares' vessel at anchor in the bay.

Little remains to be said. To know the life work of the man is to know the man. Deep as was his nature, so pure and open were all his thoughts and acts, so plain and simple the record thereof, that all about him is an open book. He believed as he had been taught, acted on that belief, and died as firm in the faith as he had lived. To him missionary work was the greatest of all work, the conversion of the heathen, the saving of souls. Not all would entertain the same view as to what success might be in such a labor. The natives quickly disappeared; it has ever been so; contact with civilization kills them,

and that very surely, whether the weaker race be met in kindness or in cruelty.

The spiritual conquest of California brought immediate material results. A line of imposing edifices sprang up along the seaboard, which were soon centres of important industries; later many of them became sites of towns and cities. Junípero Serra's object, however, was not material results. He cared little for flocks and fields, for towns and traffic, except in so far as they contributed to spiritual success. And this to his mind must have been abundant, though all his beloved converts were so soon to be swept from the earth; great the glory and great the reward in the saving of a single soul, and Junípero doubted not that he had saved thousands.

Every incident in Serra's life, whether connected with his painful journeyings, his labors among savages, or his bearing toward his brother friars, points not only to his perfect sincerity, but to some one or more of his many virtues—his heroic fortitude, his self-abnegation, humility, benevolence. To all he was kind-hearted and charitable. Often he denied himself comforts, that he might give to others. Four days before his death, in the presence of Palou, he gave an aged Indian woman a blanket, and it was not discoverd until afterward that he had divided his own covering with her. At the same time he was stern enough in his enforcement of religious duties, and he never hesitated to put in practice what he considered no less his right than his duty, even to the flogging of his neophytes for negligence in this respect. His executive ability was fair for a priest. He had the faculty of applying spiritual enthusiasm to temporal affairs. He managed the business interests of the missions with wisdom; and though engaged in saving souls, he did not neglect the worldly welfare of his neophytes. It was no light undertaking, the management of so many men, and so much property, with the inadequate means at his disposal, distance from base of supplies,

and length of time in communicating with his superiors. Such was the exaltation of his nature, however, that in the subjugation of a wilderness, a handful of men under his guidance was equal to an army under the direction of another. Above all, he possessed in an eminent degree those two prime requisites for the accomplishment of great purposes, knowledge of detail and breadth of view. When Junípero Serra breathed his last at the mission of San Cárlos, a great and good man passed away.

CHAPTER V.

DOMINATING INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CALIFORNIA.

A Romantic Story—The Reserved Garden Spot of Civilization—The Native Races—California Pastoral—The Missionary Régime—Discovery of Gold—California Inter Pocula—Government and Society—Life of William T. Coleman—Experiences East and West—In the Mines—As a Merchant—As a Revolutionist and Savior of Society—As Chief of Popular Tribunals.

The story of California reads like a romance: first a primeval garden equal to any Eden, without the faintest echo from the past,—dusky Adams and Eves, naked, stolid, a little below rather than above their companions the grizzly bear and elk in prowess, or the lion and panther in dexterity, or the coyote in cunning, with many flowers and a few thorns, with many birds and a few reptiles, and an air and sunshine breathing of heaven, as if just outlying the gates of glory; next appearing a race a trifle less dusky, possibly a trifle less stolid, with a foreign religion to sell for lands and personal service, and with enough of the diseases and infernal appliances of European civilization soon to exterminate the aboriginals; finally came the Anglo-American.

The last was of indomitable energy and adaptability, full of projects, depth of resources, and happy devices for carrying them out over through any obstacles. Tested in close contest with the representatives of all nationalities, he proved to be the man most fitted to bring into a progressive state a virgin field, which under Mexican sway might have remained an outpost

ever smouldering with revolution, or under English rule might have sunk into a stagnant conservative colony. He applied the democratic principles of the republic in brilliant and effective demonstration, by evolving the most progressive of commonwealths.

Latest born of progress, and fairest of all! The land seemed predestined for something better and beyond the ordinary stamping-ground of civilization, being long held in reserve as an experimental garden spot for the latest and highest culture. While the north developed sturdy hunters and fishermen and in the south sprang up a superior indigenous civilization; while flourished here mammoth trees and mighty beasts, and all things over head and under foot and on every side were indicative of the most favorable conditions, the intellect of aboriginal man was at the lowest, his thoughts clouded in darkness, his efforts nerveless. Why it was so, in the absence of any record, or any architectural or other remains, none can ever tell; it may have been by reason of wars, or physical or social convulsions; all that we know is that the land was kept.

And the Hispano-Americans likewise kept it, careful not to disturb its primeval beauties, not to cut down its mighty forests, nor exhaust the prolific soil by cultivation.

But slowly the serpent, civilization, was working its way into this Eden. Trumping up a quarrel with Mexico, and forcing upon that abased land an unjust war, the political sharpers at Washington never let go their grip upon the neck of 'our sister republic,' until a broad expanse of her fairest territory was secured, fifteen millions being paid under pretence of bargain and sale. This, and accursed gold, broke the spell; political greed, and greed of gold, broke down the walls of ages, and let the rabble in. Farewell, then, one and all, flowering fields and matchless wilderness, wild men and beasts; farewell, too, ye languid ones of the Latin race; all the world is upon you, California!

Even after entertaining all the world, and opening to Asia and Europe, to Jew and Dutchman, her sierra treasure-box, and paying back to civilization for the scurvy trick it had played her—she and the neighboring states—five thousand millions of precious metals, the country still remained unknown, unappreciated. It was a place not fit to live in, everybody said, but only to gather wealth in, and hurry away from; while upon the floor of the United States senate, her astute representative exclaimed, "I would not give six bits an acre for the best agricultural land in California." And so God kept the land for better than mining purposes, and for men more appreciative than astute senators,—but not yet, not until the north and the south had finished their great gladiatorial combat over the beast, slavery, and national disintegration; not until the people had recuperated from the heavy blow to life and property brought on by this bloody war, and peace and prosperity again overspread the land, wealth and intelligence multiplying more rapidly than ever,—not until within the last two decades has California begun to be esteemed at her true value.

And when this last and most remarkable of human migrations set in, a migration such as the world never before witnessed nor will ever witness again, a migration not of Spanish priests, and adventurers for gold and glory, nor of Scotchmen for furs, nor of avaricious Englishmen for free Indian lands, but a moving westward of men and women of wealth and refinement, coming from the seats of the world's highest civilization, and bringing with them the world's highest intelligence, the world's foremost ideas in science and morals; coming hither with peace in their hearts and means in their pockets for those greatest boons of heaven, health and happy surroundings,—when such a class, and for such a purpose, began to come, the most enthusiastic of Californians could scarcely realize it, could scarcely believe it true, that all the world with one accord should now be eager to champion

California, to proclaim hers as the brightest skies, the purest air, and the most adaptable soil in all the world.

Yet, while California has changed from a treasure-house to an Aladdin palace, and the transformation has proved the greatest of blessings, the benefits of her former deeds must not be ignored. Gold has many ills to answer for, in loosened moral restraint, manifest in a spirit of gambling and roaming, with attendant thriftlessness, vice, and crime. Nevertheless, the good results preponderate in substantial heirlooms. Observe the impetus to trade and industries throughout the world, the outlet for migration, the incentive and means for exploring and developing resources in adjoining lands, along the Pacific slope, in British Columbia, Australia, and other regions, with the attendant settlements and prosperity; the lines of steamships furrowing the greatest of oceans in all directions, and the girdles of railways spanning the continent. Gold cleared a wilderness, and transplanted thither the politics and institutions of the most advanced civilization.

Spain sought to retain for herself all colonial trade by forbidding intercourse with foreigners; yet she offered no commensurate facilities, and thus injured the colonies for her own selfish purposes. Tired of the check on their prosperity, the pastoral Californians sought an outlet for their surplus produce by illicit traffic. The republic admitted foreigners, but imposed so heavy a tariff as to encourage smuggling. Nevertheless stock-raising flourished as the basis for a regular trade.

This was insignificant, however, when compared with the volume of transactions, beginning with the flush times, when everything, from the simplest food staples, had to be imported for the inpouring masses. The once quiet bay became suddenly studded with hulks and masts; steamboats wound their way up rivers and inlets with supplies for the multiplying

camps, supplemented in their task by mule-trains and wagons. Clipper-ships were launched to surpass all craft for speed and beauty; steam was regularly utilized for freight traffic on the high seas, and the world was taught a lesson in despatch and enterprise. The Orient and Australias were bound to Europe by another tie, and a great railway undertaking was carried out to complete the link.

In time imports changed in character, and fleets found employment in carrying wheat from California; and now fresh lines of railway are competing to open new markets in the east for her fast increasing fruit and wine. Interior trade is sustained by general wealth and open-handedness; and while exposed to many risks from the indispensable credit system attending mining as well as farming, and dependent on seasons and yield, yet it has been endangered by comparatively few crises. The instability of the flush times, which compelled recourse to the characteristic auction houses for the disposal of cargoes, and which held back insurance companies, and ruined thousands, is gone. Affairs have assumed a steady, normal tone, and the once imperilled reputation of San Francisco stands assured, like her position as the metropolis of the coast, the centre of Pacific commerce, whence radiate lines of local and continental railways, constituting the connecting point for intercourse at once between the east and west, the north and south.

The chief incentive to Spanish conquest in Mexico was gold, which as early as the first half of the sixteenth century lured expeditions to the confines of Utah and California, there to rest and stay the onward march of fortune hunters. Beyond loomed still another attraction in the interoceanic strait, that Columbian legacy which for three centuries danced an ignis fatuus before the eyes of navigators and geographers, holding forth vistas toward the north-west of a short route to the spice and silk regions of the

Orient. To this great objective point of European trade since the dawn of history, and to the cognate Levant, stands linked the name as well as the occupations of California.

The failure of Cortés and his rival, the viceroy, to find treasures wherewith to gild the reports of their explorations, retarded Spanish discoveries in this direction for nearly two centuries, and the coast, skirted only occasionally by the Manila galleons, was left shrouded in mystery.

Meanwhile miners pressed onward from Zacatecas into Durango and Chihuahua, and trade following upon their heels, sought harbors along the shore of Sonora, while friars passed beyond to impose the cross upon the natives, and facilitate political subjugation, stretching further the barrier against tribes too fierce to accept such subjugation. Now revived the rumors of the pearl beds on the contra costa, and traders and divers made profitable trips across the gulf, guiding thither finally the band of devout Jesuits, who by 1768 completed a chain of missions northward, parallel to the Sonoran establishments.

Thus slowly extended Spanish occupation along the Pacific, under the leadership of miners, peddlers, and priests, the government complacently recognizing their conquests by appointing a feeble frontier guard to watch over the revenues. Then came a shock of surprise. After a century-march through Siberia, the Muscovites had crossed to Alaska, evidently bent upon advance. Spain trembled not alone for her vaguely claimed possessions in the north-west, but for the strait which romancing geographers and navigators persisted in planting there, lined perhaps by golden hills and the still vibrating cities of Cíbola. With spasmodic energy the crown decided to renew the long suspended discovery expeditions, and to assert its territorial claims by founding a settlement near latitude 37°, the nucleus for cheap missionary subjugation. Further dignity was imparted by pro-

claiming it a port of call on the circuitous Manila route, and it became also an advance post against the hostile Apaches toward the east.

Spanish instructions were always heavily garnished with red tape and economic injunctions, but in this instance their execution fell to the charge of the able and energetic José de Galvez, the all-powerful visitador-general. The Jesuits had been ousted from the peninsula, as from every other Spanish territory, with a haste judiciously calculated to prevent their carrying away many valuables. The missions here being found well provided, the fitting out of a sea and land expedition to the north was imposed chiefly upon them.

San Diego mission was founded in 1769 as a way station; in the following year rose the presidio at Monterey, and by 1776 the military line was extended to San Francisco. Between the two sprang up a number of missions under the care of San Fernandino Franciscans, who had succeeded the Jesuits on the peninsula. Notwithstanding the preliminary obstacles attending the formation of new settlements, remote from centers of population, the friars were so delighted with the country that they hastened to surrender to the competing Dominicans the established missions in Lower California, in order to devote themselves wholly to the northern field.

It was a region of manifold attractions: A sea-board strip eight hundred miles in length by one or two hundred in width, marked off in the temperate and semi-tropic zones at the western earth's end, warmed and cooled by ocean currents and sea breezes, and sheltered in the background by the lofty Sierra, upheaved in crumpled folds from primeval ocean. Intermediate, toward the shore line, the Coast range rolls up in stony waves, enclosing the great valley of California, and westward several minor vales. It is a land younger than the eastern slope of the continent, fashioned not by the same slow and normal

process of ordinary strata formation, but in many a fit of passion, with upheavals and burstings asunder, with surging flood, and scorching blasts. As if to illustrate this method in producing nature's masterpiece, a broken line of desert country, in places weirdly fantastic, stretches eastward from the summit of the Sierra, redeemed to some extent by silver deposits. The adjoining belt on the western slope of the Sierra embraces the gold region. The third belt, reaching to the summit of the Coast range, and the fourth, to the ocean, are agricultural, provided in the north with abundance of timber, and with foot-hills revelling in perennial spring; in the centre and south a semi-tropic vegetation abounds.

The soil yet quivers with electric force, and climatic moods are subservient to fitful local causes; here a gentle summer's holiday, there a winter of magnificent disorder; between, exhilarating spring, with buds and freshness, and beyond, a torrid fringe, parched and enervating. While configuration permits surprises, it tempers them, and, as a rule, the extremes are confined to narrow sections. The sea-breezes are fairly constant, leaving a night rarely oppressive, and the mean temperature ranges from 51° in the north to 62° in the south; during winter it varies from 43° and 45° at Humboldt and Sacramento, to 51° and 52° at San Francisco and San Diego, rising in the summer to 57°, 69°, 60°, and 71° at the places named respectively.

In the south the rains are scanty; but they increase with every degree northward, until they reach an average of twenty inches at San Francisco, or double the fall at San Diego; and they continue to increase as they advance into the forest region toward the Oregon border. The distribution is almost entirely restricted to the season between October and April, leaving the summer almost rainless, a condition to which agricultural operations are adjusted with great economic advantage. It is the period of nature's re-

pose. The grass fades away entirely. The winter rains revive vegetation, and arid wastes blossom into gardens.

It is a dry, exhilarating atmosphere, tempered by refreshing nights, and the heat being not so depressing as in moister climes. It is ever stimulating to activity and enjoyment. Land and sea vie with each other in vitalizing benefits. When one glows with undue warmth, the other tones it down; when one grows cold and sullen, the other beams in happy sunshine. Winds and currents, sun and configuration, the warm stream from ancient Cathay, and the dominating mountains, all aid in the equalization of differences.

It was a region fitted to cradle a high culture and a happy people, and yet, as I have said, we find it occupied by races among the lowest on the continent; naked and dwelling in brush huts, having no knowledge of agriculture, and hardly an idea of religion; roaming in quest of roots and berries, small game and fish, precariously dependent on the seasons; split into petty bands, and kept apart by a confusing multiplicity of tongues.

Here, indeed, was a field for missionary efforts, and the Franciscans engaged heartily in the task; but the Indians were found indolent in mind as well as body. It took long to win them over, and was accomplished by appealing to their appetite. Urged thus they accepted baptism, and conformed to the outward observance of rites, remaining otherwise indifferent to the doctrines of the church, save in the superstitious features. Thus discouraged the friars found additional reasons for yielding to the tempting pupilage system, or serfdom, so long sustained in parts of Mexico. It was profitable to till fertile plantations and raise large herds with the aid of submissive slaves, who demanded in return for their labor, besides religion, only simple food and scanty clothing. Indeed, when the number of laborers ran short at some missions, it became the fashion to

send forth expeditions to impress by force additional recruits, who were secured to some extent by the ties binding them to wife and children, similarly captive. While as a rule gentle, the natives could not be wholly relied upon, as shown by occasional outbreaks. The policy was to inspire fear by prompt punishment at the hands of the guard, the friars interfering to mitigate the severity, and so win love and influence.

The aim of the government was to promote what was called the civilization of the neophytes, and transform the missions into pueblos, thus filling the province gradually with useful citizens. To this end artisans were sent to teach them handicrafts, and the election was ordered among them of alcaldes and other officials for the acquisition of experience in local self-administration. Not relishing the diminution of their profitable and pleasing authority, the padres took care that industrial training should decline into abortive subdivision of tasks, and that native officials should become mere mouth-pieces of their will. Indians were kept in utter ignorance of practical knowledge, and encouraged in their indifference even for religious conceptions, so that the government found itself unable to put secularization to the test. The effect of this policy reacted on the whites, in stamping as degrading the agricultural labor so widely assigned to a race of serfs. The employment, and even the kidnapping of Indians for most work became accordingly the rule.

The military governor sought naturally to remedy some of these abuses. The friars objected, and disputes were constant. At first the ecclesiastics carried their point, and procured the dismissal of the meddling officer; but as the circumstances became understood, their privileges were restricted, especially after the seat of authority was transferred from Lower California to Monterey.

Alta California assumed ascendancy over the peninsula within eight years of occupation. This rec-

ognition of her superior importance was further affirmed by the simultaneous determination to utilize the resources and secure the possession of the country by founding colonies. Settlers were offered free passage, an annual allowance for five years, with a loan of seed, live-stock, and implements for establishing farms and homes; in return for which certain community labor and military service were exacted. Even such liberal concessions failed to attract more than a limited number of volunteers for two pueblos, and vagrants were impressed to fill the third. Their growth henceforth was chiefly due to the accession of retired soldiers, many of whom had married Indian women.

While the heavy duties so far ruling on goods were reduced, and the Manila galleon was ordered to call and afford additional trade facilities, enterprise and development found themselves checked by the jealous exclusion of foreigners, so that the only outlet for products was in the demands of the few and distant presidios, for which the adjacent missions competed. One of the governors sought to give an impulse to new industries, notably flax culture, and to a livelier intercourse with Mexico, but the indolence and pride of the people, the advent of foreign smugglers, and Spanish wars, combined to nip the budding enterprise.

Notwithstanding the narrow-minded policy which directed the fortunes of the province, within and from without, the missions at least prospered. They numbered eighteen, at the turn of the century three more being subsequently added, and contained more than ten thousand converts in charge of forty friars. They owned in 1800 fully 67,000 cattle and horses, and even more small stock, and harvested 75,000 bushels of grain, besides manufacturing blankets, leather, soap, and pottery for home consumption. The three pueblos embraced somewhat over 100 families, owning 16,500 cattle and horses, and 1,000 sheep,

and raising 9,000 bushels of grain. The military force at the four presidios, and as guard at the missions, reached 280 men.

Shortly after this a change came over the scene. The war of independence broke out in Mexico, and the attention of the crown was wholly diverted, so that neither supplies nor pay, nor other subvention, reached the province. The chief sufferers were the troops, now reduced to rags and scanty food, yet compelled to remain in charge of the crumbling fortresses, and the empty magazines. The missions and settlers had to share the burden. They were obliged to provide the usual staples, and accept in payment drafts on a treasury which never repaid them. Their loss of stipends and trade with Mexico was also considerable, and frequent false alarms kept them in suspense and exposed to levies for defence measures.

They found compensation, however, in illicit trade. This had been growing for several years despite injunctions and guards. Now, with supplies from Mexico cut off, there was no alternative, even for the governor, save to permit the indispensable recourse to foreigners, and so obtain a welcome amount of revenue. The result was a great impulse to agriculture, and yet more to stock-raising, for securing hides and tallow, as barter for dry-goods, hardware, and trinkets, chiefly from Boston vessels.

The Russians also availed themselves of the opportunity to exchange goods for grain and other provisions much needed in Alaska, and they presumed to establish north of San Francisco bay a station for their traders and poaching fur-hunters. The intrusion hastened the foundation of missions on the north side of the bay, and the exploration of the interior, in order to assure Spanish claims. The growing pretensions of England and the United States to the region north of the Spanish lines, caused the Muscovites to withdraw three decades later.

Thus poured in wealth in return for products hitherto

of little value, and missions and settlers prospered, notwithstanding the many exactions; but the easy acquisition of manufactured goods tended to the neglect of the few crude industries fostered with so much care by Borica and other governors.

The people gave one proof of their loyalty to Spain by bravely repelling an attack by the privateer Bouchard in 1818, and were duly rewarded by a reënforcement of 300 disreputable soldiers, who bringing no supplies, imposed themselves upon the bounty and patience of the province.

Spain, long neglectful, came forward in 1821 with some illusive political concessions, but too late. Iturbide's opportune coalition with the insurgents achieved the independence of Mexico. Her patience exhausted, California promptly recognized the change, and received the delightful concession of an assembly, of local self-administration, and of a native governor, to the setting aside of the hitherto dominating Spanish element. Too small in population for a state, she was soon reduced to a territory, and transferred to the tender mercies of Mexican demagogues, who received office here for serving political factions at Mexico, thus privileged to keep watch over a frontier province contiguous to the hostile United States.

In the first exultation over the acquired independence many dazzling plans were evolved for trade, industrial development, and colonization, but nearly all melted away before the volatile disposition of the Mexicans. Foreign merchants were, however, encouraged to come and they infused some system and energy into commercial transactions. Smuggling continued, partly through the connivance of officials, who willingly accepted bribes to evade the law. The federal, like the late colonial, government, expected the province to pay the expenses of both the civil and military establishments out of the heavy export as well as import duties; but under official corruption even this heavy imposition failed to meet the expendi-

ture, and recourse was had as of old to the still augmenting wealth of the missions.

In accord with the new political principles it was assumed that the neophytes must be set free. Secularization was therefore ordained, despite the protests of the padres. The fact that the brotherhood consisted almost entirely of now obnoxious Spaniards, would have hastened the execution of the decree, together with their own expulsion, but for the fear of Indian outbreaks, which they alone were supposed able to check. The mere intimation of such a revolution in mission affairs drew around them a host of cormorants, who scented spoils, well aware that the simple-minded Indians could not manage or retain property when once divided among them. Two honest governors interposed a bar against the marauders, and inaugurated a prudent system of secularization.

The hungry local factions chafed with ire and impatience, and when it appeared that schemers from Mexico were preparing to displace them by a raid under official auspices, cloaked by colonization projects, they were fairly roused. They could not be expected to stand calmly by and let hated outsiders secure the rich prize. Hence they conspired and drove out the governor, as well as their rivals, and appointed tools of their own to the administration. The territory was elevated to the dignity of a state, and the virtually self-appointed council assumed the sonorous title of congress. The preöccupied authorities at Mexico had to assent for the time, although they persuaded the dominant party to join the state as a department of the new centralized republic.

All obstacles being now removed, they swooped down upon the doomed missions. Creatures of the victorious clique were placed in charge, with instructions to give prompt attention to official levies on the property. Encouraged by this precept the managers hesitated not to lay heavy hands on the movable

effects, distributing them freely among their friends under the guise of loans, or against nominal sales. Anticipating the attack, the friars had shortly before hastened to secure their share, by arranging with contractors for the slaughter of cattle and the sale of hides and tallow, for their own benefit. The scanty allowance made to the neophytes was quickly wrested from them by pandering to their vicious bent for drinking and gambling, and by imposing on their stupidity and inexperience. They sank into vagrant poverty, or relapsed into savagism. In due time they came in contact with the insolent and prejudiced miners, to be buffeted, hounded, and butchered; to be driven even from the miserable reservations, where unscrupulous agents had been permitted by a neglectful government to defraud them of the pittance bestowed in exchange for their territorial possessions. And so they faded away under vice and disease, massacres, and withering contact with an insidious civilization.

In the nefarious secularization of the mission establishments were dissipated resources of great extent and importance, which by 1820 amounted to 100,000 cattle and horses at one mission alone; besides the average annual crops of 114,000 bushels of grain, and fertile fields, with irrigation canals, blooming gardens, fine edifices, implements enough for themselves and their numerous satellites, and rich regalia. The population at the time, aside from Indians, fell below 4,000, and the spoliators were few, so that all secured rich returns. When the newly created bishop arrived, in the early forties, to look after the estates, hardly anything remained save the land and buildings, and these were shortly afterward spirited away in grants and pretended sales to gubernatorial partisans. Thus passed away institutions which, notwithstanding their deterioration from avowed lofty purposes, into training fields for serfs, largely for the service and delectation of pampered friars, had pioneered and sus-

tained industries and colonization in California, and imposed in behalf of white immigrants a salutary control over the aborigines.

Fresh changes were impending. The easy going disposition of the Californians, and their preoccupation with quarrels over the spoils, had permitted the growth of a foreign element, composed chiefly of adventurers from the United States, who had been slipping in across the border. They naturally sympathized with the well-understood designs of the Washington cabinet regarding the province. In 1842 these designs were demonstrated by a momentary landing at Monterey. Four years later, in view of the then pending war with Mexico, a United States officer fomented an uprising of American settlers in the Bear-flag revolution, of which he in due time assumed the direction, in order to coöperate with the naval forces of his government for the conquest of the country.

The movement had been fostered by discord between the northern and southern factions in California, consequent on the division of revenue and spoils, and by their open discontent with the Mexican government for its neglect, for the refuse character of the soldiers, many of the officers being sent to pray on the province, for the several attempts to convert it into a penal colony, and for other causes of complaint. They were, nevertheless, more afraid of the grasping and domineering disposition of a superior race like the Anglo-Americans, and this stirred their slumbering loyalty to united though futile resistance.

Their apprehensions were well-founded; for the now inflowing mass of Americans yielded only too readily to the temptations excited by the loose tenure of property in California. An injudicious method of adjusting land titles, ordained by the government which should have protected them, tended to undermine possession, and one estate after another passed into the hands of unscrupulous lawyers, squatters, and

speculators, until nearly all the old Mexican families had sunk into poverty. It was a spoliation by the side of which the mission raids were insignificant.

The conquering host brought, however, a number of redeeming qualities, in energy and enterprise, making themselves felt in the development of the hitherto neglected industries, as farming, dairying, lumbering, fishing, and the leading mechanical handicrafts, pioneered prior to 1848 by such standard-bearers of civilization as the newspaper and the steamboat, and emphasized by the founding of towns like Benicia, Stockton, Sutterville, and Montezuma. They started in good force, forming nearly half of the 14,000 white and mixed population, not counting the scattered neophytes, 3,000 and more, nor the host of wild Indians who, nursing a deep animosity against the domineering colonists, were frequently harassing the settlements and carrying off cattle and horses.

The population of the new race consisted mainly of restless backwoodsmen from the western frontier of the United States; self-reliant, and of ready resource in building homes, mingled with the even more enterprising and broadly utilitarian men from the eastern states; both of strong intellect, here quickening under new and favorable environment; high-strung, shrewd, and practical, and with overweening self-assertion. By the side of the Anglo-American, elevated by vitalizing freedom of thought and intercourse with nature, we find the burly Englishman, full of animal energy, marked by aggressive stubborness, tinctured with brusqueness and conceit; the prudent, thoughtful Scotch; the quick-witted Celt; the methodic and reflective German; the pure-blooded Spaniard, wrapped in the reflection of ancestral preëminence; the imaginative though superficial Frenchman; and the esthetic and cheerful, yet insincere, Italian; these three of the Latin race all bound by affinity of blood and language, and holding an esteemed position among the Mexicans.

A preponderating influence in this gathering might have been secured at the time by the Mormons, though of course the catholics would have fought hard against it. California was one of their objective points, but the Yankees having secured the country, they stopped at Utah.

For centuries California had lain slumbering, lulled by the monotone of ocean. The first fitful dream of explorers in search of an ever-eluding strait, of cities stored with treasures, had subsided into pastoral scenes, with converts and settlers clustering round white-walled missions in the shadow of the cross. Then came the awakening, caused by a rude invasion of soldiers and land-greedy frontiersmen, the premonitory ripple of international interest, and world-absorbing excitement. It is the dawn of history, presently to be followed by a golden sunlight, flooding the whole western world, and casting visions of empire far down the vistas of time.

It was on the 24th of January, 1848, that Marshall discovered gold at Coloma. The fact once fully realized, a thrill passed through the world, and forthwith was started a migration of peculiar significance. Never was a shrine more revered than this of the Sierra foothills, with their Pactolian streams. Thither all men turned for means to gratify their longings, their love and hate, their lust and domination.

First the people of the seaboard turned their steps toward the mountains. Farms and villages were abandoned. Then Oregon, Sonora, and the Hawaiian islands sent their representatives, and by the end of 1848 the diggers numbered about ten thousand. Skimming the surface of the placers they obtained probably ten millions of dollars, and left their mark in a series of camps extending from the Tuolumne to the Trinity.

This glittering affirmation of former rumors, spread abroad in magnified proportions, stirred to their foundations the four quarters of the world, particularly

western Europe and the eastern United States. Trade and industries were thrown out of their channels by the sudden diversion of laborers, craft, and shipping to meet the pressing call, and society was seriously inconvenienced by the secession of so large a proportion of its youth and sinews. The period was ripe for a great movement, with Europe in the throes of revolutionary fever, and the North American continent roused by the late transfer of important territories, and the disbanding of soldiers, while steam was shortening the highways by sea and land.

From Maine to Texas resounded the noise of preparations for the journey. The excitement began in the winter of 1848–9, when the overland route was impassable; and so the currents turned to the sea-ports, to seek the way round Cape Horn, or across the different isthmuses. For the year ending 1850 over eleven hundred vessels were reported at San Francisco, fully one-half American, and the influx by sea continued so large for years as to necessitate the doubling of the Panamá steamer service, and the establishment of a special passenger line by way of Nicaragua. In the spring new routes were opened across the continent.

Thus came in 1849 alone a hundred thousand people, sufficient to lift California at a bound from an insignificant colony to an important state, with camps and towns, well-beaten roads, and steam-furrowed rivers; and to place the federal union a half century forward in commercial enterprise.

San Francisco was raised from a hamlet to a bustling city, from a local town to the metropolis of the coast. Her position at the entrance to the great river system of the country, leading to the gold region, and her judicious adoption of a well-known name, guided to her wharves the in-pouring fleets with their crowded passengers and cargoes. Thus was assured her future. The growing confidence in her permanence, and the frequent conflagrations, led

to a prompt transformation of the scattered tents into substantial buildings. With an improved fire department, and cheap lumber, the predilection for wooden houses was freely gratified. The hilly nature of the site, and the shelving shore, suggested the filling in of the cove behind the wharves; and so hills were tumbled into the bay, and the area for building widened, although at the sacrifice of drainage and of picturesqueness. Within three years the place took rank with the leading mercantile entrepôts of the world. It was a Herculean achievement, in the face of discouraging obstructions, and a constant struggle with political corruption and social disorder. Twice the people rose to purify the moral atmosphere of the city, and in 1856 the young metropolis emerged a model of wise and economic management.

As the chief seat of manufactures, trade, and society, she presented in miniature the progress and fluctuations of the state. She felt the blows inflicted by a growing agriculture upon the import trade; by the Fraser river mining excitement, though more than balanced by the tributary Nevada developments; by the transcontinental railway, which cut off much of her trade by distribution along its route, and undermined many of the industries started by the war for the union; and by the financial crisis of 1876–7, with the attendant depression and riots. Since then the ever returning wave of prosperity has risen higher and higher, impelled by the several agricultural and horticultural developments, and the augmenting concentration of tribute-bearing railway lines. Assured land titles and hill-climbing cable cars added their quota to the prosperity which was sustained by the growing manufactures and trade, the latter finding here a concentrating point between the north and south, the Orient and the interior. Sea-girt and enthroned upon her seven hills, here was a new Rome, whose far-reaching influence swept round the earth, obstructed neither by seas nor mountains.

The first two years of the era of gold present a peculiar and rapid development, the result of an elect community of intellectual and energetic men, thus abnormally thrown together, and aided by the most effective appliances of the age. Started and sustained by innate manhood and self-reliance, its advance was marked by upturned ravines, and streams diverted from their course; by a wilderness transformed; by the rise of towns in a day; by the mute eloquence of many an abandoned site; and by the bustling traffic along every road and stream.

Perceiving their importance in the federal body politic, the people, within a short time after their gathering, framed a state constitution, and although congress had taken no action, they elected a governor and other officials, to whom the military commander relinquished the administration. Senators then went to Washington, and aided in procuring national recognition and admission as a state.

With the decadence of mining, business sought another field, and there arose the agricultural industry which proved of surpassing importance. When the Fraser river excitement carried away its thousands, overspreading the skies of San Francisco with gloom, many who had unbounded faith in her future stood by to give confidence and profit by the sure return of prosperity. During the union war, in hastening which California had been in some degree instrumental by securing admission as a free state in face of slave-holding opposition, the people displayed their loyalty by turning from the lately dominant democratic party, and giving men and money to the cause. The reward came in a large immigration of refugees, who in this secluded nook sought shelter from war, and assisted to build up the manufactures fostered by interrupted freight communication with the east.

The inflictions of the drought of 1862–4 were off-

set by the mining output, and by prosecuting the more secure branches of agriculture, as grain and fruit-growing instead of stock-raising; and the havoc created by the transcontinental railway to incipient manufactures was more than atoned for by bringing nearer eastern men and markets, promoting immigration, and building up a number of way-side settlements, even at the temporary expense of San Francisco and her trade channels. The Nevada silver mines poured their wealth into the lap of the bay city; but in the train followed extravagance and gambling, all the more ruinous by reason of its respectability, and the panic waiting on collapse. The lesson was not wasted. Rash speculation yielded to prudent investments, and a glorious period of prosperity enriched the entire state.

A characteristic self-reliance called early Californians to impromptu organizations, alike for the performance of great tasks and for government. Original as well as practical, on all lines of thought they turned to fundamental principles for starting points. They believed in popular sovereignty as superior to tradition or precedent, and regarded law as the voice of the people, which they were ready to do without if necessary, or to modify to suit circumstances. They framed rules for camps and mines which received the sanction of world-wide acceptance. They looked upon officials as servants for executing the popular will, and considered it proper to enforce observance of duty. This right to watch and punish villainy formed the actuating principle of the vigilance committees, which in California attained their loftiest proportions, fit to command the admiration and imitation of all.

Preoccupied with mining and trading, the respectable portion of the community gave little heed to local and judicial administration. Observing this neglect, the growing vicious element yielded to its instincts, until crime stalked openly abroad, shielded

by corrupt judges and parasitic politicians. Twice the smouldering indignation of the people of San Francisco burst into a flame, first in 1851, and finally in 1856. Taking the law into their own hands they executed the more atrocious villains, exiled several score of convicts, vagrants, and ballot stuffers, and frightened into flight a cloud of other birds of prey. The lesson was impressed upon the minds of public servants; a reform party was organized, which for years assured an honest administration; and San Francisco, purified, became famed as one of the best governed among cities. Her example was followed throughout the state with the most beneficent results.

Another phase of California abnormities crops out in filibustering. The United States inherited from European ancestry the thirst for Spanish treasures; but rising above the vulgar pillage which tarnished the daring deeds of the early freebooters, she struck for the sources whence those treasures flowed; and so Texas, New Mexico, and California were successively slipped into her fold. Herein lay to many an affirmation of the doctrine of manifest destiny, of United States expansion perhaps to Tierra del Fuego. Prophets rose to enunciate the gospel. Special attention was accorded to them in California, filled as it was with adventurers stirred by the gambling spirit, and by a mania for roaming, and intensified by the belief in auriferous deposits to the south. They were trained alike for fighting and for wandering; expeditions were constantly forming for opening new mining fields, for swooping down upon some Indian rancheria ripe for butchering, or for descent upon some foreigner's camp, rendered obnoxious by its good fortune in finding rich claims.

Such abuses led in 1851–2 to the departure of a large force of Frenchmen, under arrangements with the Mexican government for defending the Sonora frontier against Apaches, and developing mineral resources. True to her instincts and habits, Mexico

broke faith with the adventurers, and in their despair the company, under the leadership of Count de Raousset-Boulbon, performed a brilliant coup d'état, the fruits of which, however, were spoiled by the discord fomented by Mexican intrigues.

The undertaking served to show the weakness of the Spanish-American states, and to encourage Anglo-American imitators. The most famous of these was William Walker, known as the gray-eyed man of destiny, who after a fiasco in Lower California, redeemed his fame as a leader by a series of dashing victories in Nicaragua. Success blinded his prudence; he clouded his achievements by numerous outrages, and roused an indignant people to consign him to a pirate's fate.

The scheming factions at Washington did not find sufficient attractions in these ventures to induce the government to uphold them, and Mexico joined in inflicting a lesson so revolting in its severity as to check further invasions. Carried away by unscrupulous ambition, abettors in these undertakings became oblivious to the abhorrent crimes, here cloaked by political plans and false aphorisms, of theft and enslavement, slaughter and devastation, all committed in the name of liberty, and veiled by the glamour of romance.

The greater part of the in-pouring migration during the flush times passed to the mining region, chiefly to the famed American river, thence to follow the guiding star of gilded rumor to promising fields; or to swell the train of rushes, which seeking a mythic gold lake or a metal mountain, filled up one district after another, from the bank of the Gila to the borders of Oregon. On their heels stepped closely the caravans of the trader, prepared to form the solitary business street of the budding camp, to open trails through the spreading districts, and to pave the way for settlement.

It was an attractive life, in free communion with

nature, unfettered by conventionalities, and with fascinating vistas of adventure and enrichment to gild the monotony of toil. The illusion was a necessary stimulant, for the average yield to each miner had by 1852 fallen to two dollars a day, which implied a bare subsistence to the luckless majority, after deducting the gains of the fortunate few. No wonder then that desertion set in from their ranks for agricultural and other industries, as well as for rum and swift perdition.

Those who conformed to the varying demands of circumstances continued to wrest substantial rewards from the field. They were men who could meet difficulties with energy, and surmount obstacles with happy devices. When the immortal pan and rocker failed to draw enough from the skimmed placers, improved machinery and methods were applied, as sluice and hose, dredger and flume, stamp-mill and quicksilver reduction, to cover large areas with the help of a few hands, and at less than a hundredth part of the former expenditure. Placers were supplemented by hydraulic and quartz mines, and ground hitherto rejected as worhless was reopened to yield fortunes.

California's inventions created a transformation in gold mining, and brought about a revival of the industry in different parts of the world, guided by laws of admirable simplicity and effectiveness from the same source, and by her pioneers, who poured out over the coast and across the seas to open new fields, and lend their skill, wealth, and energy for the unfolding of many more industries.

The state herself found auxiliary resources in coal, quicksilver, oil, and other mineral products, which built up flourishing villages and opened trade channels; yet she will ever remain indebted to gold for ringing in the nations, and opening a prosperity which has since struck deeper roots in richer soil.

Along the path of the advancing gold-diggers sprang up camps and towns, founded by men who,

though unaccustomed to subduing the wilderness or to city-building, were, nevertheless, trained in organized proceedings and political movements. In meetings formed on the spur of the moment rules and constitutions would be framed of admirable tenor, and by the same show of hands, or decisive ayes, disputes were settled and sentences passed.

Many of the camps were creations of a day, which faded away with the decaying mines. Others survived the misfortunes of minor tributary settlements, to attain the dignity of commercial centres or county seats, and in time to turn with the changing industries for support to agriculture and manufactures. Some became noted for their mills, factories, or canneries; some prided themselves on educational institutions, or sought to attract attention as health or pleasure resorts. With the increasing traffic, several towns rose at eligible outlets to secure entrepôt trade, or as heads of navigation for river or coast trade. But of all the towns projected in California not one in ten had any existence except on paper.

Railways came in time to determine countless destinies, dooming to decay the less enterprising settlements, while exalting others from the condition of petty stations to centres of trade. San Diego lived and grew in spite of the malign influence of railway men, owing to her harbor and climate; while Vallejo, which once dared to measure itself with the City at the Gate, was shorn by monopoly of her prospective glory. A similar early disappointment fell to the lot of Benicia, both of these towns being deluded in their aspirations to become the seat of state government. The capital passed from them, as it had from Monterey and San José, to fix itself at Sacramento, whose prospects stand assured as a railway centre, and arbiter of the great northern valley, as is Stockton of the southern.

Counties underwent similar transformations. Soon after the first rush of population to the Sierra slope, a

reflux set in for the bay and coast region. Then with the increasing wheat culture, the movement turned to the centre of the great valley, accelerated thereto by the disastrous drought of 1862–4, which cut short the pastoral prospects of several districts, especially in the south, forcing them to have recourse to irrigation. The cost of water retarded the cultivation of cereals, which vineyards and orange groves supplanted. The fame of the south spread as a terrestrial paradise, and an inflowing migration lifted the region to unparalleled prosperty. The example led to the transformation of several interior so-called deserts into blooming gardens; and once more the current of population gradually returned to the long neglected auriferous slope, and harvested golden fruit instead of golden nuggets.

The evolution of settlement parallels in a measure that of agriculture, which in California presents three great successive periods, the pastoral, cereal, and horticultural. The spontaneous products of the soil sufficed for the aborigines. The conquering Spaniards taught them to till fields and plant orchards, wherewith to sustain the military-ecclesiastical establishments, and to encourage the formation of colonies; but the assignment of farming to a low race stamped it as degrading in the eyes of the settlers; and yielding to their proud as well as indolent disposition, they preferred stock-raising which might be prosecuted largely on horseback. While long circumscribed by the narrow policy of the government, this industry rose in time, under the liberating influence of revolution and independence, to become a basis for foreign trade, and to stamp the province as a pastoral region.

Anglo-Americans introduced superior methods, and fostered by the high prices of the flush times, gardening and farming assumed respectability, and within a few years the proportion of a fast-growing source of export. The discovery of the peculiar advantages of the great valleys, especially the San Joaquin, for the

cultivation of grain, increased the product, which soon lifted California to the front rank among wheat regions. The blow inflicted by the drought of 1862–4 reduced pastoral interests to a subordinate position, principally as an adjunct to farming, but with improved breeding which brought into fame the sheep and horses of the country.

In conformity with the energy and exuberance of Californian disposition and habits, operations are conducted on a large scale. The farms are large, and machinery is of the most advanced and combined form for cheap and rapid plowing, seeding, and harvesting.

The increased appreciation of California fruit and wines has at last matured the several petty excitements for these industries into a lasting and substantial development. For this the climate is particularly favorable, as it is also for the glutinous and self-curing grain, insuring rapidity of growth, heavy crops, and fine qualities. While of decided advantage to the greater part of the state, the dry summer is too severe for a redundant vegetation in the south; but the absence of a heavy fall is overcome by irrigation, which assures crops, as well as often doubling and trebling them. The new era implies subdivision of grants into small and wealth-producing holdings, with a farming community noted for its respectability and intelligence, intent upon creating here a semi-tropic paradise.

In common with other industries, manufactures suffered from a lack of enterprise, and an illiberal policy. The high prices during the flush times presented an obstacle, to which had to be added the irregular habits and inexperience of artisans, and the lack of hard wood and cheap coal and iron. On the other hand came decided advantages in the distance of foreign markets, high freights, the demand for repairs and urgent orders, which provided training, means, and capacity for a gradual preparation of stock for the trade. Cheap Chinese labor proved of value

in starting and maintaining several branches of industry, and in paving the way for others; and the union war gave an impetus to numerous enterprises, although the transcontinental railway undermined a proportion of them.

The possession of tallow, wool, and hides favored the establishment of soap factories, woollen-mills and tanneries, the latter aided by the excellent quality of our oak bark. The production of good wheat led to the grinding of flour for export. The vast operations in farming called for peculiar plows and harvesters. The demand for fish for canning gave employment to a fleet of boats and sea-going vessels. The expense of bringing beer from a distance, and the possession of good hops, gave rise to breweries, which again gave employment to coopers and glass factories. Good fruit and early vegetables sustained a number of canneries, and also several vinegar factories, sugar refineries, and box factories. New mining methods called for special machinery which could be made here alone, and valuable forests gave rise to saw and planing mills, flumes, and other contrivances. All help to increase settlement and traffic, and many more branches of industry are awaiting cheaper labor and trained hands, the increase of raw material and adjuncts, to enter a field for which support is promised by interior and adjoining tributary countries.

Brought thus face to face with the gorgeous and mystic east, the circle of civilization is completed, which, if earlier accomplished, might have engrafted in California the barbaric splendor of Asia on to the more refined enlightenment of Europe. Almost as rapidly as rose that fabled race of mailed men, celebrated in Bœotian story, a new and unique nation is here springing into existence, having its home in a climate for the most part as stimulating as that of Scandinavia, interspersed with spots as lethargic as that of Bœotia itself. United with the advanced present are phases of æsthetics which obtained only in the

remote imposing past; slumbering humanity we see to-day driven before the fierce enginery of science, yet enduring with all the philosophy of the stoic, and enjoying with the taste of the Sybarite and the relish of the Epicurean.

The thoughtful student of the history of material and intellectual development in California, during the first century of her existence under civilizing influences, cannot fail to observe that by far the most important episode was the popular uprising under the organization commonly called the Committee of Vigilance. And as the chief of that organization, William Tell Coleman, was likewise chief among merchants, chief among those who loved order and good citizenship, it is most fitting that his biography should fill this place, and that he should be forever held up to the present and future generations as the ideal man of an ideal movement.

There had been before this in various times and places public manifestations of political and social power inherent in every people fairly emerged from savagism, but there had never before in the world been any such demonstration as that made by the citizens of San Francisco in the year 1856. It was nothing like the feudal confederation of the knights of Germany in the fifteenth century, nor the secret tribunal of Venice, nor the French council of five hundred, nor the Spanish council of Castile, nor the holy brotherhood of Aragon, nor the vehmgericht of Westphalia, nor the burlaw of Scotland, nor Robespierre's committee of public safety, nor the witenagemót, or great national council of England, abolished by William the Conqueror; nothing at all like the hanging law of Halifax, Galway, or Lynchburg. Here was a people intelligent, free, absolutely self-governing, executing as well as making their laws; and though doing much as they pleased in every respect, it pleased them to obey the laws which they

made and executed. This was the rule, though there might be now and then an exception to it. If laws were not obeyed, if punishment followed not quickly on the heels of crime, why spend time and money in making laws, building prisons, and running a government? Moreover, in this very year of 1856, they were perfectly satisfied with all the forms and principles of their government; they loved their institutions; and though they did not wish to break the law they were compelled to enforce its execution.

The vigilance committee was an organization far removed in its nature from mobocracy or lynch-law. Its ideas were revolutionary, not rebellious; its acts sprang from impulses of right and reason, and not of brute force, though the latter might be temporarily employed for the re-enthronement of right and legitimate authority unjustly overturned.

And not only were these merchants, mechanics, of 1856, lovers of law and promoters of peace, but they held almost as superstitious a veneration for legal courts and formulas as did those who lived by the law, and manipulated it to suit their purposes. But intellectual emancipation was rapid in those days, especially when not conflicting with pecuniary interest. It would not do for lawyers and judges to sanction the breaking of the law for righteous purposes by others, no matter how often they themselves might choose to wink at irregularities for the accomplishment of base objects, else were their occupation gone.

William Tell Coleman was born in Harrison county, Kentucky, February 29, 1824. His ancestors, who were English and Irish, and well conditioned, came to Virginia in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries. William Coleman, the earliest direct ancestor of whom there is any record, arrived in Boston in 1671; branches of the family extended into Pennsylvania and Virginia. Henry Coleman, great-grandfather, was born in Virginia, December 12, 1744, and his wife, Mary Ann Hutchinson,

January 22, 1748. He was a planter in Virginia, a man of fortune, and a soldier in the revolution; moved to Kentucky in 1788, and acquired large tracts of land. His homestead was in Harrison county. He was a prominent member of the convention which formed the constitution of the state. At his death, February 29, 1808, he divided his estates among many descendants, some of the lands still being in the family. The grandfather, William Coleman, was born in Virginia, December 5, 1768, married Ann Wood, in Mason county, Kentucky, in 1798, and lived and died on his portion of the estate. Napoleon B. Coleman, their first-born, and the father of William T., was born in Mason county, July 11, 1799, received an academic education, and began the study of law at an early age. He became prominent in his profession, and was an active politician of the Jacksonian school. He was also a civil engineer and the surveyor of his county; being, however, largely occupied in public life, he gave but little personal attention to this office. He stood in the front rank among his contemporaries at the bar, and was the leading lawyer in his district. He was a charming speaker, a man of letters, scholarly in his tastes, and possessed of wide general information. He was intellectual, laborious, and earnest, altogether a strong character, and was looked upon in the state as a man of unusual promise. At the time of his death, which occurred August 11, 1833, when he was thirty-four years old, he was the accepted nominee for congress from his district, which was more of a distinction then than at the present time. He impressed those with whom he came in contact as being well-poised, self-contained, and decided in his convictions. A methodist in faith, he was fairly religious; and he was actuated at all times, in his relations with others, by a refined sense of honor. His disposition was kind and sympathetic. He was high-spirited and sensitive, but dignified and urbane in expression and manner. He was generous to a fault, more disposed to

consider his family, his friends, and his neighbors first, and himself second—too open-hearted and free with his money, ever ready to help the poor, to lend without security, and to indorse his neighbors' notes. He had no misgiving as to his ability to take care of himself, though this course often embarrassed and finally impoverished him. When he died his estate was greatly involved, and with the exception of some property in litigation, was all swept away. It is not singular that one of such intelligence and amiability should have many warm friends. His personal appearance was handsome and agreeable. He lacked only a little of being five feet eleven inches tall; was well built and graceful, and weighed one hundred and seventy-five pounds, which also his son William weighed when grown.

In 1821 he married the daughter of John Chinn, whose family was directly connected with that of Washington, and many of the old families of Virginia; that is to say, Raleigh Chinn, William T. Coleman's mother's great-grandfather, married Esther Ball, the elder daughter of Colonel Thomas Ball, of Lancaster. Augustine Washington married Mary, her youngest sister, and George Washington was their son. In the traditions of the family, Washington was very often called cousin George.

William T. Coleman's mother was a woman of pronounced character, very handsome, tall, with a fine physique and noble presence. Her family were leading people, and devout baptists; and she reared her children in the baptist faith. Parents were much more strict then than now, but she was not over-rigid; her disposition was sympathetic and tender. William, a precocious, sprightly, aggressive boy, was fairly indulged. Very self-possessed, and having a retentive memory, he got a number of speeches by heart almost before he had done learning his letters, and being called upon occasionally to declaim at hotels and other public places, he acquired village fame as a juvenile

orator. Among his earliest recollections was the birth of a younger brother, De Witt Clinton, when he was four years old, and the election of General Jackson in 1828. At the age of six years he was sent to school, as were all the children. The family lived at Cynthiana, but spent much of the time on their own farm and the grandfather's a few miles away. William, thus early put to books, went through the ordinary curriculum of the neighborhood schools, including a course in Latin and the almost daily castigation which he received rather stoically. Among his associates he was kindly and genial, yet independent, alert, and efficient in self-defence. The few fights he had established his prowess, and gave him immunity from much of the tyranny that boys of less grit and decision have to put up with. At the age of seven years he fell desperately in love with a little maid of eight, who sat next to him in school. The affair became the talk of all the boys and girls. One day, after considerable courtship, it was reported that he was going to her father's house at evening twilight to bear away his bride. He had never seen a marriage, and thought that all he had to do was to take the loved one to his home. Donning his best, he went to her father's house, and told him he had come to get his wife. The father tried to coax him off with sweetmeats, but he would none of them. "I have come for my wife," he said. Again the father politely put him off. The beautiful girl was expecting him, and ready to go. With patience at last exhausted, the boy crossed the street, and with brickbats smashed the only plate-glass window ever known in that village. He was severely punished for this piece of savagery, and thereby effectually cured of his infatuation. He could never speak to or look at his dulcinea again.

On the death of his father, William's maternal grandfather took him into his family. He worked on the farm, and worked hard. At the age of thir-

teen he did the work of a man, excepting the heaviest tasks. It was a regular Kentucky farm, on which were raised grain, stock, hemp, and tobacco. He was a dashing young fellow, a favorite with the family and neighbors; and what people usually called a promising boy. He was fond of reading, particularly history, reading the history of Rome almost entirely by firelight, often lying on his back to catch the flickering rays. Entering Sunday-school, he was given as his first lesson some pages of the book of Matthew to memorize. The next Sunday he recited the whole book, having committed it to memory during the week, mostly while holding the plough with one hand and his testament in the other. At a quilting party he took occasion to criticise a preacher in the neighborhood, who, he thought, did not know how to preach. "Could you do better?" asked an aunt. "I think I could," was the reply. "Try," said she. Opening the bible, he poured forth his thoughts with fluency and fervor. It cost him a severe flogging at the hand of his grandfather, who wrongly attributed the effort to irreverence. This was his final attempt at preaching.

Two winters at school carried this now well-grown boy, who was vigorous in health, clear-minded, extremely industrious, and often honored with special mention and a gift as one of the first pupils in the school, well along through the usual studies, and into algebra and rhetoric. Naturally a leader, he took his place at the head of his comrades almost unconsciously, his influence over them exciting the jealousy of his teacher. Among other pastimes he formed a military company and drilled it every day. While on the farm his grandfather gave him a little orphaned colt, for which he built a stable of fence rails, roofing it with hemp-stocks. He took good care of the animal, and trained it so that it became a fast pacer, finally selling it for $200, a large price for

a young horse in those days. This was the first stone in the foundation of his fortune.

Young Coleman grew up an expert horseman; active, strong, and fearless. On the farm there was a finely formed cream-colored horse, but ill-trained, and so vicious that no one wished to ride him or work him. Coleman solicited the privilege. He would play Alexander to this Bucephalus. In a season or two, he became known as the most skilful and boldest hurdle-racer and steeple-chaser of the whole country around. Rider and horse, both lusty and game, kept closer to the hounds in a fox-chase than others; always in the lead, they were favorites in every field.

There was an uncle, Marcus Chinn, chief engineer of certain railroads in Illinois, who had several times written for William to come to him, and he now concluded to go. Giving his sister $150 of his money, he bought a trunk for $1.50, put into it his two suits of clothes, and with $50 in his pocket started off. He travelled alone—stage to Louisville, steamer to St Louis, and thence to Jacksonville, where he made his home at the house of Porter Clay, brother of Henry Clay. He was assigned to duty, first as rodman, afterward to carry the levels, and such was his proficiency that he received $500 dollars a year, an unusual salary for a youth at that day. And his earnings were not lessened when, in 1840, he went to St Louis, where good introductions brought him into friendly relations with worthy people who gave him a position, first in an insurance office, and afterward in the lumber business. These are the first of his self-helpful efforts in a career of far-reaching activity and influence. There were some longings ungratified, of course; he would have gone to West Point and become a soldier; he would have liked to be a lawyer; what he did was to take $300, saved from his earnings, and enter the St Louis university, where he accomplished the full commercial and scientific four years' course in two years, and re-

ceived the degree of bachelor of science. It was a remarkable feat, but unwholesome. Entering as freshman at the age of eighteen, with fine health, full of vigor, splendid memory, with far more ambition and enthusiasm than time or money, he came out at twenty jaded and worn, and threatened with consumption as the result of a neglected cold. After a visit to Florida for health, he spent the winter in Louisiana, where he had many relatives and friends, among them his uncle, Richard Chinn, at New Orleans, former law partner of Henry Clay, and Thomas Chinn, United States minister at the Sicilies, who owned a plantation at West Baton Rouge, of which William was for a time placed in charge. The following spring he went to St Louis, where he earned a little money. Thence, in order to acquire a further knowledge of lumbering, he proceeded to the reservation of the Menomonees and Chippewas in the Wisconsin territory, a wild region with immense areas of pine timber just then being opened to lumber manufacturers. The result was further experience in that direction, one episode in which I will permit Mr Coleman to state in his own words; for besides the light thrown upon the traffic of the time, we have here manifested capabilities and qualities which he afterward displayed in the popular tribunals in California.

"My old friends," he says, "Morrison and Boswell, lumber dealers of St Louis, owned large timber tracts and saw-mills at the great falls of the Wisconsin river, where the town of Waseau now stands. As their agent and representative, I made the round trip every year, starting from St Louis in the early spring, and returning during the summer. The last year I was so engaged, 1847, I had a rough experience. The timber lands and mills were rented to a Mr Pierson, rental payable in sawed lumber, 500,000 feet per annum; I was commissioned to receive that lumber at the mill, and raft it to St Louis.

"Pierson was successful with the mill, but refused to pay his rent, determined if possible to defraud my friends; he thought he was beyond the reach of the law, or the power of the owners to enforce a contract, and that he would manufacture and sell the products as long as practicable, and then leave the country. When I asked payment, he put me off, and would not even discuss the matter, gave me no hope, and I could see no prospect. His scheme soon became evident. I made a formal demand in writing, and required immediate compliance; he defied me. Prompt action on my part was necessary, in order to take advantage of the high waters of the summer to float the timber down the river; delays would carry the business over into another year. Finding that I could do nothing with him, and get nothing, not even encouragement or a hope, I matured my plans. I determined to invoke the aid of the law, and failing in that, to use force, but in no event to return to St Louis without my rent. I started early, walked to the nearest station, fifty miles distant, there took a horse, and rode day and night to Madison, the capital of the territory, and seat of the United States court. I applied for an injunction to prevent Pierson from running the mill, and an order enforcing payment of dues. My lawyer drew a strong petition and accompanying papers, and waited on the judge. After reading and considering the question, he refused to sign the instrument, saying my authority was sufficient for mercantile purposes, but not in form for such legal proceedings, and raised other objections which were technical. I was left without aid or hope from that source, but I was not without other resources, of which I resolved to avail myself.

"I took the petition, and some red tape and wax, and made the document look as formal and as formidable as could be to a frontiersman, and straightway returned to the mill, caused it to be understood that I had the injunction papers, and that force would soon

appear, take possession, and collect all that was due. I then determined to finesse, and try negotiations with the view of a settlement with Pierson, but I soon found that this was impracticable. He would do nothing, and gruffly suggested that it would be better for me to go back home at once, as I was not needed there any longer, and could do no good. I thereupon concluded definite arrangements with, and enlisted for the season, the services of the two leading men on the river, both pilots and both champion fighters in the district. I also quietly and promptly secured several others of the best men in the camp. I had money, which was not a common commodity at that time, and could pay my men promptly in cash, instead of in promises. It was a strong point. They also saw and appreciated my position with Pierson, whose course they conscientiously condemned. I soon arranged for a sufficient force which I was sure I could rely upon. Everything being ready, I determined to take possession of the mill, take the lumber already sawed, some 600,000 feet, run the mill as long as the water would admit, and make the best success possible in carrying out what I had undertaken. My first move was to take possession of the lumber already in rafts, and put my men upon it. He saw the attack and came for me at once. He was heavier than I, but older, being thirty-five to my twenty-three years. I reminded him of the difference; he said he waived all differences, and we came together; he had greater strength, I greater activity; I was better equipped for the encounter. After a few complimentary remarks between us, we came to blows, then clinched. We had a severe engagement; I got the better of it, acquitting myself as well as I could. He finally begged, declared himself done and satisfied. He quit, thoroughly vanquished; I suggested his leaving the premises and neighborhood within an hour, which he promptly did. I entered the mill, called in my men, arranged my forces, took possession of everything,

lands and works, and my right was promptly acknowledged by every man present. Being short-handed, I took part in the work myself, and stood what is called a tour of twelve hours a day. Finally I rafted my lumber, got it ready in every way, hired my rivermen, ran the rapids, and took out that year's product as well as a large portion of that of the year before. which had been held over, amounting in all to 800,000 feet.

"While I was at this work, Pierson tried to raise a force to regain possession of the mill, but did not succeed. I had captured the fort with all the forces, and the entire body had sworn allegiance to me, and remained steadfast. I had heard that he had threatened me with vengeance, to which I returned the message of 'good morning.' He threatened to take me on my way home and try and replevin the lumber at some convenient point, for all of which I was fully prepared. Enabled thereby to take the lead of the fleet, I continued with my men the whole distance down the Mississippi to Alton, which was twenty-five miles above St Louis, never once leaving the property."

There were few young men in the year 1848 with whom William T. Coleman would have wished to change places. With health reëstablished and fortune at his feet, a clear, well-balanced, and disciplined mind, a symmetrical body seasoned to work, a face expressing energy and will, he was a fair sample of the thorough-bred, progressive American youth. His portrait at this time, though that of a beardless boy, shows a reserve force remarkable in the character of one so young. His face is a picture of the thoughtfulness of power in repose, with no shadow of pride, vanity, or egotism. Of medium stature and well proportioned, head oblong though well squared, and solidly placed on broad shoulders; forehead high, fairly Grecian nose and chin, brown auburn hair

worn longer than present fashion; clear, calm, penetrating grayish blue eyes; mouth and lips showing courage and determination, here, as elsewhere, denoting that strength whose prominent characteristic lay in the power of pleasing, we have before us a youthful personage who, while filled with lofty purpose, is still at peace with himself and his environment. Enjoying the friendship of prominent men of the day, a favorite and a conspicuous figure in society, he took his fill of pleasure, being now thoroughly in the mood to enjoy it. He was fortunate at this juncture in not being rich or poor; for if he had been rich, with his youth, and his adaptability for fruition, the energy, activity, and usefulness which he developed might have been greatly impaired, while to call a young American such as this, though without a dollar, poor, would seem absurd. Everywhere was fortune, and here was capability to grasp it. Whithersoever he turned himself, in whatsoever department he should put forth his efforts, whether in a learned profession or in plain business, he would probably succeed.

As early as 1844–45, after reading Irving's *Astoria*, Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, the reports of government expeditions, and the accounts of trappers and explorers of the Rocky mountains who had visited California, young Coleman thought seriously of that country, and partially organized a party to cross the plains for San Francisco, with the purpose of making it their home in the future. This would doubtless have been carried out, but for the failure of some of the party to join the expedition. The acquisition of California by the American government in 1646–47, the discovery of gold and the excitements in 1848, revived his desire to reach California; and although then well situated and with fine prospects in St Louis, he determined the following winter to cross the continent, and early in the spring of 1849 organized a second party, including his only and

younger brother and two friends. He realized on his little landed property, inherited, but not before available; had wagons built, bought provisions, mining tools, clothing, arms, tents, rockers for washing gold, and an ample stock of all sorts of supplies; proceeded to St Joseph, where he purchased animals, and early in May the expedition struck out across the broad plains.

"The trip embraced the usual vicissitudes," says Mr Coleman. "We moved up north through Iowa, which then had a very sparse population. We crossed the Missouri river at what was called Platte rock, now Platteville. We had two wagons heavily loaded with merchandise, machinery, and supplies. I was in command of our party and of a company made up in St Joseph. Between the Missouri river and Salt Lake City, where we stopped, we passed but one house, and that was deserted, excepting the military stations at forts Laramie and Kearny. At Salt Lake City I was ill with the mountain fever, and our party called a halt. In fact, all the emigrants taking that route rested at this point. As soon as I recovered I asked my associates to have a conference, and proposed that we abandon our wagons and take pack-mules the rest of the way. All objected except my brother; but we agreed to divide our effects, each being at liberty to pursue his own course. This arrangement made, we procured fresh horses and packs, and fitted out for California, where we arrived in due time, my brother and myself being alone and without arms, save an old Allen revolver, and knives. Meantime, in looking about Salt Lake City, I discovered many poor and needy people. I found whole families, Mormons, living in the wagon-beds in which they had crossed the plains the year before; sometimes two families were in a single emigrant wagon-bed. Some of these people had not for months tasted of what might be called luxuries. They were in need of the commonest necessaries of life. After reserving for

ourselves enough to last us to California, and keep us above want for a while afterward, I distributed to these poor people all my remaining supplies, which were considerable, flour, bacon, and, what was more eagerly craved by them, coffee, tea, and sugar.

"About the same time I proposed to a number of immigrants, our own company in particular, which was a large one, that we give Brigham Young a dinner, and express to him our pleasure at the courtesies we had received from his people, and the benefits we had enjoyed in the city. He accepted the invitation, and I was asked to do the honors. Procuring the best house we could find for the purpose, we ordered as elaborate a dinner as practicable, served in the middle of the day. There was but one chair in the house, and that we reserved for the guest of the occasion. We used benches and blocks, or whatever we might, for the rest of the company, and I took the end of the table. We enjoyed a rich repast, with very brief remarks. We had an excellent service of fresh vegetables, peas, beans, etc., which was a great luxury to us at the time, as we had had nothing of the kind since we left the Missouri river, and scarcely any since the year previous. We had, what was a luxury to them, good tea, coffee, and sugar. There were also supplies of game and fresh meats, these being plentiful. We had no spirits or wine, intoxicating drink not being allowed in the country.

"Next day my brother and I started about noon, with eight animals, to make Weaver creek for the night camp. We had given away our wagons, and in fact almost everything else. We could have sold our supplies, for they were valuable, but I could not refrain from giving them to the miserably poor people who needed them most. I did not need the money they would bring. In fact, I had prepared myself in St Louis with funds sufficient to carry me and my brother to China, and thence home, in the event of the failure of the gold-fields, the character of

which had not been fully determined, and which were still regarded as very uncertain. My brother and I carried this money about our persons. We were provided with a mormon guide-book, published by one who had become familiar with the overland routes during the Mexican war, and later by a trip to and from California.

"Being well equipped, we struck out boldly, and made the journey to Sacramento in twenty-one days, which then was rather unusual, but by knowing all the camping grounds, taking care of our animals, having one or two extra ones running loose all the time without pack or burden, we came on without accident, and every animal in good condition. We stood guard every night, my watch being until about two o'clock. My brother stood guard from then until morning, and had breakfast ready and the animals packed before calling me. I usually ate breakfast in the saddle. Arriving at the sink of the Humboldt, we found the water there strongly alkaline, and unfit for man or beast. The moon was at the last quarter, and it was several hours before daybreak when we broke camp at that point. As we rode out in the utter and almost palpable stillness of night, the bright moonshine revealed chiefly carcasses of animals that had perished on the desert trail; no vegetation whatever or any other form of life was visible. About three o'clock in the afternoon a fine mule which I was riding sniffled in a very suggestive manner, then stopped and brayed. I said to my brother, 'That means water.' We were then seven miles from the Truckee river, and when we reached the stream the famished animals plunged their heads up to their eyes and even up to their ears into the swift current. It was delicious. We had had but little water, and none so good as this for several days.

"Resting one day at the mouth of the Truckee river, our animals luxuriating in the rich grasses and pure waters, we determined not to cross the mountains

on that route, but instead moved in a southeasterly direction to the Carson river, and crossed the Sierras by the Carson route, passing to the eastward of lake Tahoe, and coming in by Strawberry, all of which involved about three days."

Their entrance into California, a land attracting them by its promise and its mystery, was an event calculated to impress itself upon these young men.

They camped on the night of Saturday, August 13th, at a muddy spring some forty miles from Sacramento. The dried grass, which would have filled their beasts with gladness if only they might have had it, their masters forced them by as unfit for food, and gave them instead a meagre remnant of oats packed from the Missouri river. They had seen scarcely any one since leaving the Mormon country, but here they found in the dust the imprint of a multitude of bare feet. Can it be, they thought, that the pilgrims hither have been reduced to going barefoot? Not so bad as that; the tracks were those of Digger Indians. Presently they saw coming toward them a fine, dashing fellow, splendidly mounted.

"Is this California?" Mr Coleman ventured to ask.

"Yes," was the reply, "this is California."

"How about the gold; are the mines a success?"

"I will show you," he said, as he drew from a leathern bag a handful of gold, in which beautiful specimens glittered beside the finer dust. "This I dug two miles from here; take some."

"My dear fellow," exclaimed Coleman, "is it not a little hazardous exposing your wealth in this way?"

The cavalier laughed. "Oh, no; people don't steal here now. They used to, but we strung a lot of 'em up over at old Dry Diggings—they call the place Hangtown now."

In answer to inquiries about the road to Sacramento the Colemans were told to turn to the right on passing Sutter's fort, and cross the American river; there they would find water and grass, and could

make their camp two miles nearer Sacramento than at any other available place. On the way they met a dozen parties pushing toward the mines. They were chiefly Americans. They looked to the incomers pale and bleached compared to the men they had been with for three months. Hailing some of them, it was ascertained that they were passengers by sailing vessel and steamer, and had not been exposed to the scorching sun of plain and desert. There was also a company of Chinese, the first they had ever seen; two groups of Spanish-Americans, and others.

"After a day's rest, on August 14th," Mr Coleman continues, "I visited Sacramento. I found it like an old-fashioned methodist camp-meeting on a grand scale; there were long ranges of tents, with a number of indifferent buildings, and a few of more dignified appearance. The town was laid out regularly, and lots had been sold. I met a number of acquaintances from St Louis, and before night was crammed with information regarding the condition of the country, particularly the mines. I had come to California to dig gold; had no other idea; but being now pretty well informed of the vicissitudes of that labor, and especially of the sickness pervading most parts of the mining country, and seeing, as I thought, prospects of a greater certainty in Sacramento, I determined to abandon for the moment my idea of mining, and try my fortunes there. I had come to stay in California, if there was anything to stay for.

"The second day I spent in exploring the town for something to do, meanwhile renewing old acquaintances and making new ones. The third day I determined to buy some town lots, in which there was then great activity. I selected a fine tract at the corner of K and Seventh streets, where the trees and underbrush were being cleared away for business purposes. After obtaining the lowest price, I asked the owner if he would take some live-stock in part payment. He

replied that he would—an ox team and wagon. I had horses and mules, but no oxen. Yet I felt that if I was to do business in California, I might as well begin here as anywhere else; so without hesitation I agreed to deliver him a wagon and three yoke of oxen for $550, the remainder of the money for the land, $250, to be paid in cash, which I had. I went up to the emigrant neighborhood, where there were a great many cattle-teams, and more constantly arriving. I bought a fine wagon and five yoke of oxen for $550; took out the two extra yoke, and sent them to auction, where they brought $225. The other three yoke and wagon I delivered, according to contract, as the price of the land. My choice tract thus cost me but $575.

"My next requirement was a house of wood or cloth, not for myself, for I had not slept in one for months, but for business uses. The man who sold me the cattle had two large fly-tents, which he wished to dispose of, as he was going to the mines. He had also a lot of luggage to be stored. I saw here an opportunity for a transaction of profit to both of us, and a convenience to him. I bought the tents, set them up on my land, and took his traps on storage at a dollar a month for each package. Returning from the mines in six weeks, the owner of the articles called for his property, which he found all right; but in settling with me, it figured itself out that he owed about twice as much for storage as he received for the tents. This he thought a hard bargain, though he did not deny that it was fair. I proposed to cancel the difference and call our account square, which he was well satisfied to do.

"When I first pitched my tents, I had in my party two young men, carpenters, from St Louis, whom I had known there slightly, and who were without money or any other means of support. They had failed to get work; they begged me to put them at something. 'Well,' I said, 'I am no architect, but if

you can handle the tools I think I can build a house.' I went to the St Louis Exchange, a hotel then kept in Sacramento by Oliver Garrison, brother of Commodore C. K. Garrison, and wrote out a placard: 'Wm T. Coleman and company, Contractors and Builders; Anything from a dry-goods box to a block of buildings put up with neatness and despatch. References: Oliver Garrison, St Louis Exchange, and Mr Gillespie, merchant, J street.'

"I then went to Gillespie's store, and put up a similar notice there, calling his attention to it, and asking him to refer applicants to me. I heard next day that John Merrill, of the schooner *Gazelle*, from New Bedford, lying in the river, wanted a small building put up, the lumber for which he had just landed. I called on Mr Merrill—later of J. C. Merrill and company, California street, San Francisco—and made a bargain with him to put up his house for $100. He pointed out the ground, and I set my carpenters to work. By noon the next day the house was finished, and I handed the key to the owner, who gave me the money, which I divided among the men who had assisted in the work.

"Encouraged by this beginning, I pushed on and soon obtained further work of different kinds, among which was a building for the New Bedford company, of which Ephraim Leonard, of San Francisco, was the head. The contract price was $600. It was tough work, as the lumber had come round the Horn, on deck, and was thoroughly saturated with salt water; then the structure had to be set upon blocks cut from large trees felled on the ground, as Captain Sutter had informed us that the whole region was periodically overflowed from the river. Meanwhile I kept on at my new business, building fences, bridges, gold-rockers—anything which offered. For common sheet-iron I paid a dollar a pound, and for the use of a punch and block to make holes in it, for rockers, a dollar for each sheet, of about one foot by

two in size. The rockers were of wood, like a child's cradle, very plain, with cleats for catching the gold, and cost us, including what we had to pay for material, from six to ten dollars each. We sold them as rapidly as we could make them, at an advance of a hundred per cent. The business increased, until we had become the first manufacturers in the town. Yet I felt all the time that it was rather more of a makeshift than a legitimate business for me, as I did not know a fore-plane from a jack-plane, and was in no sense a carpenter, builder, or architect.

"I had heard of a finished mechanic and draughtsman from Cincinnati, and hunting him up, I explained my position and offered him a partnership, or a cash payment of fifty dollars a day, at his option. He declined, saying that he could make a hundred dollars a day digging in the mines, and that was what he came out here to do. He went up on the Stanislaus, and died there within a month. I determined to close up the business, although offers were being made to me for large undertakings, buildings, and other work. It was rather a traffic in talk, in which I could no doubt do well enough, but I did not care to engage in it permanently.

"One day I was at Stevens' store, where was prominently displayed a lot of Osgood's India cholagogue, a fever and ague remedy, popular in the Mississippi valley at that time. I inquired the price.

"'Eight dollars a bottle,' was the reply.

"'How much if I take the lot?'

"'Nothing less; it is cheap enough at that price.'

"'Perhaps you would like to buy some at $5 or $6?'

"'I will take all you can bring at $5 a bottle,' Stevens testily replied.

"I closed the bargain with him, and told him I would deliver several gross within an hour. He fancied I was bantering, but I remembered to have seen some at the store of Leonard, Potter, and Delano, which they were selling at $3 a bottle. I immediately

proceeded to the store, where I saw Mr Potter, for whom I had built a house. I asked him how much of the cholagogue he had. He said three gross. I told him I would take the lot. He hesitated, and finally concluded that he could spare but two gross, which I might have at $3 a bottle. I told him to turn it out immediately, as I had a customer for it. I looked about for a cart to take it down to Stevens', and not being able to find one at once, I borrowed a wheelbarrow, piled on the four boxes containing the two gross, and trudged off with them to the purchaser. Stevens was petrified at seeing such a stock of the commodity presented to him. I told him there it was. He wanted to look at it, and we opened a case. He then pretended that it was not genuine. I took a bottle of his and one of my own and compared them, and asked him where was the difference.

"'O, every difference,' said Stevens.

"'You evidently want to back out,' I said, 'but it will not do. You made a bargain, upon which I acted in good faith, and here are the goods, which I tender on the contract, and demand the money. And, sir,' I said, 'if you don't settle fairly and quickly, I will have the sheriff here in fifteen minutes, and furthermore, I will burst the cholagogue market on you.

"Stevens and a neighbor in the trade who had a supply agreed to divide it, and sustain the market. They paid me five dollars a bottle, thus netting me $576 for an hour's work, and no money invested. This was the first mercantile transaction of my life. It set me to thinking in a new direction—to weighing cholagogue against carpenter work, and I concluded that the mercantile business was more in my line than house-building.

"The field being pretty well occupied at Sacramento, I determined to try merchandising at the mines; so selling all I had, including my lots on K street at a fine profit, I bought a six-horse team, loaded it with goods, threw my tent on the wagon,

and directed my brother to drive it to Placerville. Mounting a horse I took a short cut for the same place. To show the cost of things then, I bought one bushel (60 pounds), of half-shrunken Sandwich islands potatoes, for which I paid $60. I have seen better potatoes sell at thirty cents a bushel. I paid for a half-barrel of pickles $90, and was glad to get it at that. The cost in New York was perhaps $3. Some other things were cheaper, proportionately, but when I came to sell my stuff, the lowest average price was about one dollar a pound. I set up my tent, fixed the prices which my brother was to ask for the goods, took the team myself, and made three trips to Sacramento that season. Being quite successful, and keeping well up with the trade, I built a large log house for protection against the winter weather, and gained money very rapidly.

"Everybody knows that the winter of 1849 was exceptionally rainy. A heavy storm came on early, and the roads were almost impassable. Looking about me, I saw that there was not enough flour in the mining towns to carry the people half through the winter. It was then selling at a dollar a pound, and the fear of starvation was even at this time frightening many persons. Mounting my horse, I hastened to Sacramento, and with no little difficulty secured two large wagons, with a long line of oxen before each one—all the transportation facilities that could be had. I agreed to pay $50 a barrel for hauling flour to Placerville, forty-five miles, the same that I paid, per barrel, for the flour itself. I remained with the teams during the entire trip, which was successfully made. It was the last load that went into camp before the heavy rains set in. I could have sold all my flour, which had cost me $100 a barrel, or fifty cents a pound, immediately in one lot, for $1.50 a pound, but I was thinking of three or five dollars a pound before the winter was over. I sold sparingly at $1.50 a pound, until news of the scarcity having reached Sacramento,

and the weather temporarily clearing up a little, such a flood of flour was poured in upon us that I was finally glad to get twenty-five cents a pound for my stock. This experience taught me a life-long lesson —never to grasp for too much, but to be satisfied with reasonable immediate success.

"We had in the mining towns the same spirit of speculation and combination that was more extensively developed in the larger places. I bought this same season all the barley I could get, which consisted, however, of less than a dozen sacks, paying $1.50 a pound, and selling it readily at $2.50 a pound.

"During the depression in trade I tried mining. Finding an unoccupied space, I staked out a claim ten feet square, took a little rocker, pick, and shovel, and went to work. Adjoining me was a company of Irishmen under the leadership of a man from Charleston, South Carolina, who, as he plied his rocker, kept up a lively whistling of Norma, but to the rhythm of which the nuggets did not seem inclined to move. The first day I panned out $40, and although I was accustomed to vigorous exertion, and fancied myself equal to any ordinary labor, I found my system wonderfully racked by picking in the hard roadway and rocks. The second day I got two ounces; the third day I got only a small prospect. With this I retired from digging operations, being satisfied that my brain would carry me through the world better than my sinews. After I had abandoned my claim, the Norma whistler went onto it, and his first day's work was twelve ounces, or about $200; and it afterward averaged sometimes a pound of gold a day for his entire company. Such are the vicissitudes attending mind and muscle, the results of labor by hand or head being, at times, equally uncertain and speculative.

"While at Placerville I met many men who were later prominent in the affairs of the state. Among them was Lloyd Tevis, whom I had known in St Louis as a boy, and who had crossed the plains that

same year and was digging at Weaverville with considerable success. He visited me at Placerville almost every Sunday, and it was a great pleasure to both of us to talk over the days of our youth, of the old associations, as well as to discuss current events appertaining to our new country. One night after we had retired, one sleeping on the counter in the store and the other under it, a fire of pine knots brightly burning outside, Tevis asked me what was my ambition in regard to the future, what plans I had, if any, and what I would like to do. I told him I would like to go to San Francisco, become a leading merchant there, and pictured to him very fully the place in the world I would like to fill. He in turn told me what kind of a career would best please him; and it is a singular coincidence that each of us afterward pursued the course of life almost exactly as we had foreshadowed it that evening, realizing even more in fact than we had anticipated in our castle-building.

"Leaving my brother to close up the business in the mines, about the 1st of January 1850, I proceeded to San Francisco. It was an interesting period in the history of the city. The rush was over; the year's immigration had practically ceased; the harbor was filled with vessels bearing various cargoes, many of them ill adapted to the wants of the people. Heavy, drenching rains continued to flood the country. North of California street, the road was almost impassable. Temporary causeways were laid with boxes of tobacco, or any packages the contents of which were for the moment unsalable. The inhabitants of the town entertained widely different views regarding the situation and prospects, some being cheerful, many discouraged, a few full of hope, but all generally making the best of the situation. Trade with the interior was entirely cut off. All kinds of business were practically stagnant, except such small transactions as arose from the daily necessities of the people, some of these being of an interesting and curious nature. For

example, the heavy rains and deep mud created a call for big boots, and I have seen men attend the auction sales, where such goods were sold, and buy boots at ten, twelve, or sixteen dollars a pair, which they would take to the corners of the streets and promptly sell at fifty, eighty, or a hundred dollars a pair. I have seen fine wine sold at auction at five dollars a barrel, and the purchaser take samples of the same to the leading saloons and sell it by the package at five dollars a gallon. There were many articles almost worthless in the market, as tobacco, fine brandies, very fine wines, etc., on account of overstock, and lack of demand. Some of these in unbroken packages were used in the construction of street crossings; some were bought up on speculation and shipped back to the place whence they came; some were kept a week or a month and sold at an enormous profit on the spot. Great quantities of goods were sacrificed at auctions, the importer being compelled to receive his cargo from the vessel when he had no place in which to store it. It was a grand opportunity for a small dealer so situated as to step in and take advantage of the opportunities arising every day. But while great profits were realized in some instances, the average run of trade was not more profitable than in other countries under a more settled state of affairs, and losses often overbalanced these excessive profits. Each day's business was like playing a new game of hazard. I recollect once writing home, while Moore's Lalla Rookh was running through my mind:

> "Ah, Zelica! there was a time, when bliss
> Shone o'er thy heart from every look of his.
> . . . . . .
> Too happy days! when if he touch'd a flow'r
> Or gem of thine, 'twas sacred from that hour."

which I parodied in my letter:

> "Now is the time
> When if we touch a barrel of flour,
> Or pork, 'tis doubled from that hour."

"But the doubling would not keep on; it would too often halve itself instead.

"I established myself on the east side of Sansome street, near Jackson, then the water front, the rear end opening on three feet of water at low tide. Most of the ships then arriving with assorted cargoes came consigned to the captain, who generally had an interest in the venture, and was his own merchant. Enterprising San Franciscans, a few of them, regularly visited those ships. I soon had a splendid whaleboat and two stalwart oarsmen in my service. There was often more humor than profit in my visits to and negotiations with the burly ship captains. One day, the American ship *Manchester*, from Nantucket, Captain Job Coleman, with an assorted cargo, was reported off north beach. I hauled away and boarded the ship. The captain had gone ashore. I left my card, with the request that he should see me before doing any business. When on returning to his vessel he found this message, he came again on shore and visited my place. He saw my partner, made some inquiries about me, and then quoted some doggerel, well known in Nantucket, about the Colemans, a rather numerous family there, the gist of which was that they never amounted to much. I had not yet seen the captain, but from the description I was rather pleased. I finally met him and found him to be a tall, grave, dignified, almost austere, man, who knew his business and had a fair appreciation of self.

"He had a large invoice of pickles, then scarce and very desirable in the market as anti-scorbutic. I told him frankly that I wanted the lot. He asked me for an offer, but I told him to go into the market everywhere, to every store, and get the views of the trade, to inform himself fully about everything, and then come and see me and we would do business; that I would not make him an offer to trade on, but when he had completed his inquiries, I would take his goods. He went his way, and after two days returned and sold me a large invoice, including half-barrels of pickles at $15 each, which cost $3 in New York,

cases of pickles, one dozen each of gallon jars, for $16, which cost $3.50 or $4 in New York, and other things in proportion. These were the cream of his cargo, very desirable, and I knew I could make a profit on them, but he compelled me to take some articles in the same purchase which were not desirable. He agreed to deliver them on the platform at the east end of my store, bringing them in his long-boats. I advertised these articles freely in the next morning's papers. He had his loaded boats there, and half an hour later the platform was crowded with customers asking the price of pickles—pickles in half barrels and pickles in gallons in cases. I replied for the latter, $36 a case. Before another half hour had passed by I had sold the greater part of my purchase for over one hundred per cent profit. The captain, standing in the store, saw it all, and when he fully realized how the thing was working, his figure rose to its full height, six feet two, while his countenance expressed his amazement. 'Coleman,' said he, the next day when he came on shore, 'I wrote my wife in Nantucket last night, saying that there was a Coleman here who did not belong to the Nantucket family, and I am sure I was right.' We were close friends ever afterward.

"At that time this country was importing from the Hawaiian islands and Australia nearly all the potatoes and onions used, as from Peru and Chili came flour and feed grain. In our dependent position, delayed shipments, or a scarcity from any cause, sent up prices, while an over-supply brought them down correspondingly. I have known onions to find quick sale at fifty cents a pound on one day, and to be a drug on the market the next day at twenty or twenty-five cents, and if the supply increased dropping to half that price, or less.

"The early bird was eminently successful in those times. Ships arriving overnight with desirable cargoes, the doors of the consignees would be besieged at six o'clock next morning by the more active

people in the trade, awaiting the arrival of the owner. Sometimes a dozen would be in a line, those coming first having the preference of the first interview and opportunity to trade. It was often a severe experience for both buyer and seller. The seller, seeing the buyers outside, would naturally feel that in case the first did not accept his terms, the second one would, and consequently he might put up his prices to suit himself. But it sometimes happened that the consignee did not know what articles of an invoice were most desirable, when the buyer would have the advantage. I have frequently seen the first person in line leaving without making a purchase; or, on the other hand, he might secure every desirable article on the vessel, leaving those in his wake to get nothing, and the consignee with a large quantity of unsalable goods on his hands. In all this there was little of sharp practice, very little of trickery or dishonorable dealing. Business was carried on to a great extent upon honor, men regarding their word as sacred as their bond. But of course the shrewder sort, and those having the best knowledge of their business, the most active and intelligent, would make money where others would lose."

In 1852 Mr Coleman began business in New York, increasing his shipping interests to such an extent that in 1856, after closing the work of the vigilance committee, he started a regular line of ships to San Francisco, the enterprise being attended with signal success. At this time California was considered an outpost of civilization and of commerce. Merchants there were regarded as adventurers, worthy of some credit perhaps, but not ranking at all in responsibility with those of the Atlantic seaboard, or even of the southern or western states. Means of communication with the west coast were limited. It was the part of prudence in the California merchant having obligations to meet in the Atlantic states to keep there a reserve fund, as large as possible, to draw upon in

case of an emergency. During the financial panic of 1857, however, the moneyed men of New York began to regard the San Francisco merchants at somewhat nearer their true value, the Pacific coast being less affected at such times than the Atlantic coast. All through this period of stringency, Mr Coleman had in bank at New York money sufficient to pay all his obligations, discounting many of them sixty or ninety days before they became due. Further than this, rates of discount being at one time very high, four or five per cent a month, he bought some first-class paper of other houses as an investment. No man ever did more than Mr Coleman to elevate the standard of California credits in New York. For example: while this panic was at its height, he had some acceptances in Boston, which he was especially desirous of retiring. They were held by the City Bank, of which Samuel Hooper was president. Mr Coleman went to the bank and saw the president.

"You hold some paper of mine, Mr Hooper, which I should like to retire."

"At what rate?" asked the president, with an air of surprise.

"Well," said Mr Coleman, "good New York paper is selling at three per cent a month, but I do not want any such rate."

"Do you really desire to purchase your paper?" he asked, still incredulous.

"I do; that is why I am here."

"Then I will not sell it," said the bank president. "If there is any good paper about I want it."

"Not at seven per cent per annum?"

"No."

"I would like to have it, Mr Hooper, and I would like it at six per cent per annum."

"I will not sell it at all," he replied.

A few hours later, meeting Mr Coleman on 'change, where he stood talking with several friends, Mr

Hooper came up and said: "We must have a glass case made for this man," putting his hand on Coleman's shoulder, "who is ready to buy his paper in the midst of this panic at six per cent per annum interest." "You may dispense with the glass case," Coleman replied, "but I would like you to understand California a little better, and give her merchants their due, for there are men and resources there that the people in the Atlantic states and Europe do not yet appreciate."

Indeed, Mr Coleman's course throughout this financial episode was not without premeditation and purpose. He saw here an opportunity to raise the credit of California to a higher plane than it had ever before enjoyed. In no other way could he better make her true strength understood, and he resolved that he would embrace every similar opportunity to increase her credit and exhibit her strength. Hence, in the panic of 1861, he further strengthened the reputation of California; and so in every subsequent disturbance, until the panic of 1873 brought California credit to the front rank, and placed it above that of any other state in the union.

But it was not alone in times of anxiety in the money market or of bodily danger at the hands of banded ruffians that Mr Coleman has shown himself available and helpful. In the presence of that most appalling of pestilential horrors, yellow fever, before which ordinarily stout-hearted men and heroic women flee with terror, his courage, self-possession, and readiness in devising expedients brought him to the relief of hundreds of his fellow-beings.

In January 1853, being *en route* from New York to San Francisco, he took passage at Panamá on the steamer *Tennessee*, Captain Totten. It was a boisterous winter, but warm. They laid in the usual stores at that point, and, among other things, Mr Coleman's party bought all the ice there was remaining in Panamá, about a ton, for which twenty-five cents a pound

was paid. There were about seven hundred passengers on board, and among the more prominent was a bishop of the methodist church.

Two days from Panama the yellow fever appeared, first attacking a young lieutenant in the United States army. This naturally caused great uneasiness. The next day several new cases were reported. The surgeon of the ship, a very good man, was entirely unacquainted with yellow fever, and these being his first cases, and seeing the terror spread around him, became demoralized, and losing sleep, resorted to stimulants, and finally arrived at such a condition that his brother officers felt it necessary to put him in irons. He was, in fact, from excitement, almost a maniac.

Here was truly an alarming state of affairs. On a small ship, out at sea, with no relief possible, no port of refuge near by, with seven hundred passengers, of all grades of society, crowding every nook and corner, a long run before reaching their destination, fully ten days' exposure to tropical influences, without a doctor or medical man on board except the surgeon, and he totally incapacitated, the whole ship became terror-stricken. Several deaths occurred. The first funeral was attended with much solemnity; a long and solemn service was read, and the body, wrapped in sheets, was committed to the deep. The second was alike solemn; the third less so; the fourth still less so, and so on, until the living hastened to get the dead out of the way as soon as possible. Neither the good bishop nor the passengers seemed inclined to give much time, if any, to further funeral ceremonies. The gloom of a charnel-house settled over the vessel; deep melancholy prevailed; mothers gathered their children to their arms, fathers drew their families together, friends whispered or talked only in subdued tones. The captain of the ship himself, a good sailor and a good man, was, because of impaired health, much alarmed and unequal to the occasion. What was to be done? There seemed to be no one who had any

confidence in his ability to assist, or who was willing to assume any risk that might be shunned. There was the greatest solicitude to avoid contact with any fever-stricken patient. It was evident, then, that a crisis had come, and that prompt measures were necessary to prevent still more serious results. At this point, Mr Coleman canvassed the ship thoroughly, to find some one who could act as surgeon. The nearest approach was Mr Tilotson, who had seen some service as an apothecary. Coleman urged him to take charge. Tilotson declined, but said if Coleman would lead, he would follow. They consulted the captain, and were asked to act quickly. Coleman had no medical education, and little experience, except such as a thoughtful and observant person acquires in malarial regions. He overhauled the ship's medicine-chest and library, studied the few books on fever symptoms and remedies, and soon became able to prescribe simple remedies and suitable régime and diet. He appropriated the ice purchased at Panamá, to the sole use of the fever-stricken; organized corps of nurses and assistants, divided the ship into wards and watches, labored to make each one as valuable as practicable, and to divert the minds of passengers, by keeping them usefully employed. His equanimity, matter-of-fact activities, and sympathetic attention gave hope to the sick and encouraged all others.

The captain, appreciating the work done, gave Coleman complete control of the hygiene of the ship, ordered his deck officers and stewards to promptly obey his directions in everything. The work of cleanliness and fumigation was made complete, and temperance enjoined on every one.

The happy effect thus produced was marvellous; the alarm subsided; those who had looked despondent began to brighten up, and hope blossomed out of despair. The number of deaths decreased rapidly, but few new cases appeared; there was an encouraging improvement throughout day by day; yet it was

nearly a week of lingering fear and doubt before the worst was safely over, and passengers and crew felt they were freed from the plague. There were several days when only seven persons appeared regularly at the cabin dining-table. Among them were the late William Barron and an old ship captain and Mr Coleman, but no ladies. But as the ship approached the northern latitudes there was notable improvement, and after passing Cape St Lucas it was very marked, and when the steamer arrived off San Francisco there was very little evidence of the fever left. A few persons, however, were still ill or complaining.

To bring out more fully the character of the man on this occasion, I trespass upon the bounds of a private reminiscence of Mr Coleman, and give an extract from his own modest writing in reference to this incident: "I was not a doctor, and probably no more fitted to take charge of the ship at this critical period than many other persons who were on board. But I had a little more energy, possibly, or something which impelled me to do what I could to better the state of things around me. I did not want to run the risk of yellow fever any more than anybody else. I knew the danger; but I felt that shirking or desponding would do me no good, and certainly do no one else good, and I met the occasion promptly, and, I may say, almost cheerfully. I never missed a meal, though living lightly and carefully; I slept my regular hours, as nearly as the work in hand would permit. Above all things, I cultivated a cheerful spirit, and although nursing, watching, and handling those ill, and some who were probably in the pangs of death, I fortunately escaped entirely."

While Mr Coleman was finding his way across the plains to California in 1849, the associated "Hounds" were holding high carnival in San Francisco. Honesty was now no longer universal. In fact, before the dawn of the memorable year just mentioned, it was whispered that villany was banding in Califor-

nia. I have given the history of the origin and development of the association of "Hounds" in volume one of my *Popular Tribunals*. Organized first as a kind of benevolent and relief society, the character of its worst members was not long in reasserting itself. The temptation to live in idleness and take advantage of the pastoral condition which then prevailed was too great for them. By the spring of 1849 these non-producers, in open organized lawlessness, were subsisting as thieves. They had their Tammany Hall, from which they sallied forth. With threats of violence they extorted money or goods from whomsoever they thought prudent to attack. Stores they would enter, and selecting such goods as they fancied, carry them away, or help themselves to whatever they required from exposed piles of merchandise; and so strong did they become that no one dared oppose them. As might be expected, these "Hounds" directed their early attention to politics, the school in which some of the worst of them had been brought up in New York city. Yet, even to-day, such men as these, under a different semblance, have much to do in shaping our affairs, national, state, and municipal. San Francisco has had continuously to provide for and suffer from other parasitic hounds. Largely on account of the apathy of the better class of citizens, tricksters and bosses are allowed to pervert the administration of affairs. It is almost a truism that the American people will tolerate this sort of tyranny to a degree which would drive people living under monarchical rule to desperation.

With increased numbers and opportunities, the Hounds Association put on new dignities. Becoming thereupon somewhat ashamed of their canine appellation, they changed their name to that of the San Francisco Society of Regulators, and organized and officered their body upon the usual respectable models. The main difference between the Hounds and the Regulators was, that the latter were more pretentious,

more diplomatic, and worked more generally through politics as their instrumentality than the former.

Prior to the admission of California into the union in 1850, while there was ample law for all the requirements under the régime which had prevailed until the gold excitement, peace reigned supreme, and the potency of the law was shown in this, that it was seldom invoked, and was administered with the minimum friction. Except at a few points where military discipline and Mexican forms held sway, Californians were governed with little more legal restraint than the aborigines.

From the beginning crime in California had an individuality. Deadly weapons were worn as ornaments, and theft was more wicked than murder. In the race for wealth loss of life was expected; the sacredness of property was beyond question; if half the gold-seekers were killed there were enough of them left. The characteristics of crime grow out of the conditions. Where rope is scarce, and gunpowder plenty, and time limited, and everybody generally impatient of the hypocrisy, subterfuge, and injustice of law-courts, naturally the revolver is the favorite code, placing as it does the vicious and brutal on the same plane with the righteous and humane.

A pastoral innocence attended the gold-diggers of 1848. Crime came to the front the following year, increasing in 1850, until in 1851 hanging for stealing was in order. Here arose the vigilance principle—in San Francisco in the year 1851. There were law-courts then, fairly honest, but justice was an uncertain quantity, proceedings tedious and costly, and jails small and insecure. The principal crimes which caused the popular uprising of 1851 were incendiarism, robbery, and murder; the people arose and executed the law which the court satellites refused or neglected to do. In 1856 it was entirely different. There were law-courts enough, and law was strong, and the prisons were in fair condition. But the min-

isters of the law were exceedingly corrupt. Murderers, thieves, and gamblers saw and seized the opportunity, seating themselves upon the judicial benches left exposed by preöccupied merchants, mechanics, and miners, unblushingly stuffing ballot boxes to secure their reëlection. Hence it was for the protection of outraged law, and the purification of the courts, that the people of San Francisco organized in 1856, as well as for the direct punishment of crime. The last uprising, that of 1877, grew out of a conflict between labor and capital, wherein low foreigners, and kindred American spirits, thought to kill or drive away the Chinese who did too much work for the money they received.

From about the first to the last, William T. Coleman was prominent in all these movements. He saw at once, and never thereafter had reason to change his opinion, that not only was the material prosperity of the time and place in jeopardy, but the vital interests, social, political, and industrial, of the present and future generations were at stake. The monster that preyed upon the life-blood of the commonwealth must be seized by strong hands and strangled, and the longer the delay the more difficult would be the task.

Two full volumes of my historical series are devoted to an account of the popular tribunals of the Pacific coast, and I shall be able in this sketch to give but a brief description.

Mr Coleman first appears upon the scene, in a leading part, in the Burdue–Stuart affair, just prior to the organization of the San Francisco committee of vigilance of 1851. There was already much mobocracy in the mines, and the antics of justice were free and peculiar throughout the entire country. Mr Coleman was even now little more than a boy in years, though a full-grown man in that wisdom which comes of experience. And it is a little singular that this chief among the men of vigilance, among those who later

were so freely denounced as breakers of the law, mobites, and stranglers, should make his first appearance in an endeavor to save the law from an excited rabble who sought to overthrow the actions of a court of justice. In this he was clearly on the side of right, as he was later, and as we find him always.

A poor fellow named Thomas Burdue, whose unfortunate resemblance to the noted criminal James Stuart had brought upon him no small trouble, was in danger of his life from the mob, when Mr Coleman stretched forth his hand to save him, at the same time advocating organized popular proceedings for securing the justice which courts of law failed to provide. Robbery and murder had now become so frequent, and punishment so rare, that, when Burdue was arrested for the robbery of Jansen's store, the people were determined to make an example by hanging him forthwith.

It was on a Saturday night that Burdue was brought up for examination, and after the evidence was heard, the court was adjourned until Monday. Scarcely was this done when a rush was made by the crowd upon the prisoner, fully determined to hang him forthwith. Turning to *Popular Tribunals*, I find there given the action of the future chief of vigilance in this trying emergency.

"Like many others, Mr William T. Coleman had been attending to business up to Saturday night, and although interested in current events had given them no special attention. Wending his way Sunday morning after breakfast toward the old Graham house, on the corner of Pacific and Kearny streets, in the basement of which the prisoners were confined, he saw in the faces of the citizens bent in that direction unmistakable evidences of anger, which as he walked became somewhat contagious. Considering the possibility of a rough turn in affairs before the day was over, in which perchance he might participate, the

thrifty young merchant returned to his room, laid aside his Sunday suit, and put on plainer apparel. When he reached the scene of action, the mayor from the balcony was urging the people to disperse, and proffering the strongest pledges that proceedings in this trial should be prompt and decisive. Others spoke in the same strain.

"It soon became apparent to Mr Coleman that these speeches tended to irritate rather than to allay the excitement. Some laughed at promises; others remained sullenly silent. Many had their small-arms, and from almost every eye shot angry impatience. Though without leadership, without concert of action, the heterogeneous throng seemed possessed of a common purpose. There appeared to be real danger that this sense of burning wrong would break out into excess, that the people would take possession of the building and hang the prisoners.

"Coleman hastily revolved the matter in his mind and determined to try a middle course. Next to downright villany he hated mob violence. He respected the law; even the bloodless skeleton of the law he had ever regarded as preferable to anarchy. Was it not possible to organize a court of the people, *sub colore juris*, if the law would; if not, without the sanction of the law, and so maintain the integrity both of the law and of the people? He would try it.

"Entering the building and making his way to the front balcony, he waited his opportunity, and just as one of the speakers closed an urgent appeal to the people to disperse, go home, and leave everything to the officers, he swung himself well out, and with a wave of the hand cried, 'No! We will do no such thing! The people here have no confidence in your promises, and unfortunately they have no confidence in the execution of the law by its officers. This state of affairs has gone too far. Patience has fled. I propose that the people here present form themselves into a court, to be organized within this building

immediately ; that the prisoners be brought before it that the testimony be taken, counsel on each side allotted ; that the trial be begun by twelve o'clock, and conducted fairly, dispassionately, resolutely ; and if the prisoners be found innocent let them be discharged, but if guilty let them be hanged as high as Haman, and that before the sun goes down !'

"For an instant there was silence, breathless, almost painful ; the street was waiting for the next word ; but it was only for an instant. Then burst forth loud and long applause, which brought relief. The clouds cleared from men's faces. The words had been spoken which each wished to speak. In the abrasions of this impetuous society the steel had struck the flint, and kindled the spark which should liberate its smothered wrath. From a thousand tongues the shout went up, 'Yes ; that's it !' 'You are right !' 'That's the remedy !' Already the great heart of that tumultuous assembly was won ; now to the quieting of it. 'We don't want a mob !' continued the speaker. 'We won't have a mob ! Let us organize as becomes men ; here ; now ; as a committee of citizens, and insist on the right. All is ready ; the witnesses are at hand ; let not justice be further cheated.'

"The proposal was put to vote, and a unanimous 'ay' was the answer. Every good citizen who could was then invited to enter the building; the rest were to stand on guard without in patient quietude. Coleman then entered the inner hall, which was used as a court-room, followed by a crowd. Mounting a chair, he asked them to choose from among their number one who would act as judge, to impanel twelve jurymen, and select counsel for the prosecution and for the defense. He also recommended that those without should organize and surround the building, which was done. J. R. Spence was appointed judge, and C. L. Ross and H. R. Bowie associate justices. Wm T. Coleman was called on to act for the prosecution, and Hall McAllister, Calhoun Benham, and D. D. Shat-

tuck volunteered their services for the defence. The twelve jurymen were sworn in, and after a short adjournment, about half-past two all was ready and the trial proceeded.

"Judge Shattuck entered his official protest against the proceedings, but no attention was paid to him. Coleman opened the case briefly for the people, and was followed by McAllister. The latter asked that a *nolle prosequi* should be entered, and remarked that it ill became men to trample underfoot the high dignity and sacred rights of that law the blessings of which they had all their lives enjoyed. Coleman replied that for the Roman code, and for the law as executed in France and England, and for the great lights of the law, he entertained profound respect. But while the world from time immemorial has had its just ordinances and able advocates, unfortunately there have always been parasites, men who are now-a-days called pettifoggers, and they with the unworthy agents of law had unhappily brought it too often into contempt, had thwarted its wise and just designs, and thereby hazarded the lives and property of the people. It was not laws, but the criminal breach of them, that he complained of; for the vindication of the law, not for its overthrow, the people were there gathered.

"Every exertion was made to calm the passions of the multitude, and except occasional outbursts, general good order and quiet prevailed. The prisoners were kept out of court lest their presence should fan the excitement. Witnesses were examined and the case submitted. About nine o'clock the jury retired, and after a long absence returned with the announcement that they could not agree.

"It was well that the bleak winds and fatigue had chilled the impetuosity of the morning, and that many had in consequence withdrawn to their homes. Nevertheless there were yet remaining those who for twelve consecutive hours had stood massed against

that building waiting to see what this new-fashioned tribunal would do. Their patience now gave way. 'Hang them anyhow!' they shouted when they learned the result. 'They deserve it!' But Coleman said, 'No! Though I feel the mortification and chagrin no less keenly than you, and though I believe these men guilty, there must be no violence. We have done our duty; we cannot afford to make a mistake; our judgment is not superior to that of others, and we must abide the decision.' The jury was discharged, the remainder of the crowd dispersed, the prisoners were left with the county officers, and remanded to jail.

Burdue was finally found guilty by the court, which was sufficiently aroused from its indifference by this popular outburst to condemn a friendless and innocent man to fourteen years' imprisonment. But before the sentence of the court was executed, Burdue was taken to Marysville and narrowly escaped with his life from a charge of murder committed by this same James Stuart.

In the organization of the first San Francisco vigilance committee in 1851, shortly after the Burdue–Stuart affair, Mr Coleman took a quiet but determined position. While he would shirk no responsibility, he would not crowd himself forward. It was not power, prominence, or personal consideration of any kind which actuated these social reformers. Hence the hanging of Jenkins, Stuart, and others was consummated while Mr Coleman was serving his apprenticeship, I might say, in the organization and administration of enforced popular justice. As member of the executive committee of this first organization, he rendered the most efficient service, especially in the prevention of excesses on the part of hot-headed associates like vehement Sam Brannan and others who were in favor of hanging first and trying afterward. Throughout his entire career as apostle and high priest of popular justice, Mr Coleman

would never permit punishment until after a fair trial, and cool, dispassionate sentence, all conducted and arrived at under the usual forms of law and court proceedings, and such alone as would result in condemnation in any of the legally established tribunals of justice inclining toward honesty.

It is not until we come to the grand tribunal of 1856, however, that we are enabled fully to appreciate the man in all the fullness of his genius and self-devotion. Here we behold that consecration to a noble purpose which marks, first the patriot, and if destiny should so determine, the martyr. In him was found in an eminent degree that happy union of qualities without which success would have been impossible. Patriotism and self-devotion, as I have said, first; then clear-sightedness, penetration, and rare executive ability, with a directness of aim and honesty of purpose seldom found outside of the mercantile profession. He made the extinction of crime and the regeneration of the courts a business, and lent to the accomplishment of these purposes the same powers which he would apply to the accomplishment of results in any other direction.

The immediate cause of the explosion of popular indignation, destined to cleanse for many years the social and political atmosphere of California, and save the country from anarchy and ruin, was the killing of James King of William by James Casey, on the 14th of May, 1856. King had been a banker, and was, at the time, an editor, writing reformatory and inflammatory articles, partly upon principle, partly through spite, and partly to build up a newspaper. But, however hot or vehement in language, he was generally on the right side, and the *Bulletin* had not been long established before it was evident that public iniquity or its editor must go. Casey had also been an editor, and was now lawyer, ballot-box stuffer, buyer of votes and verdicts, judge and senator maker, and general

manipulator of judicial and legislative villanies for whomsoever would pay.

Immediately upon firing the fatal shot, and satisfying himself as to the result, Casey proceeded to deliver himself into the hands of the law as the surest method of escaping justice—that justice which, had he not hastened his steps, would have overtaken him ere he had reached the jail.

The shooting occurred about five o'clock in the afternoon. After a hasty dinner taken between six and seven o'clock, Mr Coleman appeared upon the plaza, where he found himself in the midst of a surging mass of men wildly determined on violent demonstrations. Meeting several members of the committee of 1851 they said:

"We were looking for you."

"For what?" asked Coleman.

"To organize the vigilance committee."

Mr Coleman admitted that the necessity existed, but declined the offered leadership, preferring to serve in the ranks. "I went my way among the people," he says, "comparing the various sentiments expressed, and doing everything in my power to allay the ever-increasing excitement. I urged upon my friends not to allow the city to be disgraced by any rash act. Recklessness did not seem to me the remedy, nor hasty action needful."

That is to say, if it was a mob the citizens of San Francisco were determined to make of themselves, Mr Coleman could not join them; if in the most momentous interests affecting the commonwealth passion was to usurp the place of reason, no reasonable man would join the madness; but if time, money, or even life itself were necessary to sustain the arm of justice and vindicate the honor and integrity of the city, whatever Mr Coleman had was at the city's service.

And a feather would turn the scale. Such were the conditions of things, of society, law, lawyers, judges,

legislators, mobocracy in the mines, and justice prostrate in the city, that the voice of one man, and such a man as William T. Coleman was now recognized to be, could not fail to exercise a powerful influence in this centralized and highly wrought community—even to the saving of both city and country from the rule of ruffianism, from the legal trickeries of harpies of the law, and from final disunion from any respectable confederation of states, particularly from the northern United States in their coming struggle.

It soon became evident to the better class of thinking people that in Mr Coleman, more than in any other, were united the essential qualities of leadership in the present emergency—courage and prudence, boldness and discretion, respect for the law, unswerving faith in the integrity of the American people and the American government properly administered, and an abhorrence equally of criminal rule and mobocracy. This they again made known to him, insisting upon his taking his place at the front, which he finally consented to do, stipulating only on behalf of himself and his associates absolute secrecy and absolute obedience.

"It is a serious business," he remarked to his friends. "It is no child's play. It may prove very serious. We may get through quickly, safely; we may so involve ourselves as never to get through."

But his mind once made up, thenceforward to the end there was no hesitancy, no thought of turning back; it must be victory or death. He wrote a call, and signed "The Committee of Thirteen," under which name the organization of 1851 had been disbanded. He asked a friend near by to secure a good hall. This was late at night, and after every effort by others to organize had seemed to entirely fail. The next morning this call appeared in the *Alta* and other papers, and by eight A. M., a large crowd had already assembled in front of the hall named, among them a number of prominent men, all of

whom greeted Coleman cordially when he appeared, and asked him if he would organize a committee, and take the lead. He answered, "Yes, if it must be so," and provided they would pledge themselves loyally to do as he said, and adhere to it to the death if need be. The answer was, "You lead, and we will follow to the end." He then dictated a very solemn obligation under oath, embracing good faith, strict secrecy in all things, true loyalty to one another and to the entire organization, risking life, liberty, and fortune, if need be, with implicit and unfaltering obedience to their leader at all times and under all circumstances. It was agreed to, promptly and unanimously. He suggested, further, that after signing this obligation, and at all times thereafter, instead of using the names of the individuals, each had better, for obvious reasons, be known by a number. The answer was, "Then, Mr Coleman, yours is number one," and he signed as such, the others signing with avidity, their names and following numbers, seriatim, each one reading the oath and affirming it. Enrolment was rapid, fifteen hundred taking the oath the first day. A military organization was decided upon, and an executive committee selected, of which, as well as of the general committee, Mr Coleman was always president. He was de facto commander of the forces, as well as supreme in all things; for which reason, having more than he could do, he afterwards asked Doane to take immediate command of the troops, as he was an experienced soldier, and could devote his whole time to the work. Subscription lists were started, and money flowed in freely. More permanent quarters were established; a breastwork of gunnybags filled with sand was thrown up, giving name to the place, Fort Gunnybags, and cannon were planted there. All this was assuredly significant of sincerity on the part of plain, hard-working merchants and mechanics, accustomed to say what they meant and do as they said. And thus was effected an organization of the good

citizens of San Francisco for self-protection against the wicked ones; an organization of those who lived honest lives and labored for their bread, for protection against the dishonest, who preferred living on the labor of others; an organization in size and significance such as the world had never before witnessed, its number soon swelling to ten thousand strong, active, and intelligent young men, who spent of their own money hundreds of thousands of dollars for the vindication of the integrity of the country in which they had cast their fortunes.

It is due to Mr Coleman to say that he called, and more than any one else, crystallized and organized the committee, and conceived and carried out most of its important measures. As head of the judiciary, and chief justice, he presided at all trials. He stood steadfast always, encouraging and stimulating his associates, although his health and his business suffered severely in consequence. "I urged and directed prudence," he says. "Our effort must be to avoid the commission of an error or commission of an excess in anything; be sure that no injustice be done to any one; better a thousand villains escape than one innocent person perish. If they escaped and decamped, the country would rejoice in their absence. Then, as in all subsequent occasions, I served the public for the public good. I had no selfish, personal aims. I thought only of duty, and in the face of danger—physical, political, and pecuniary—never hesitated a moment, changed my course, or slowed my step. I always defrayed my own expenses, contributed much to the expenses of others, and unstintingly to the public enterprises, which I afterward espoused, and never in any of them would receive directly or indirectly one cent in compensation for all I did or aided in having done."

Mr Coleman's definition of vigilance is as follows: "The forlorn hope of good citizens who, in military form, organize quickly in the face of danger threat-

ened by banded criminals, storm their strongholds, overpower their forces, organize courts, and deliberately and dispassionately dispense justice in legal forms where other forces have failed, and leave the good people free from further fear or embarrassment to resume their normal positions and pursuits."

In 1856 he reannounced what he had said in 1851, as a basis of the proposed work, in the following words:

"Who made the laws and set agents over them? The people.

"Who saw these laws neglected, disregarded, abused, trampled on? The people.

"Who had the right to protect these laws, and administer where their servants had failed? The people.

"The people are the power; it is theirs by birthright, and when they delegate it, it is expressed and implied that upon wrong-doing the servants shall be pushed aside, formally or informally, and their places promptly filled by other and better agencies."

What Mr Coleman most feared was that some of his men would act unadvisedly, rashly, or injudiciously, perhaps harshly. Often he was obliged to remove what seemed to be developing jealousies. In the beginning, there was on hand no money, yet he never lacked means. Some men he pushed forward, and caused others to make motions, and offer suggestions, or volunteer to lead in movements, so that no one, himself in particular, should appear too prominent.

While the men of vigilance were engaged in effecting their organization, securing arms, and drilling for active duty, their enemies were not idle. The day after the shooting, there was scarcely less activity in law-and-order circles than at the rooms of the vigilants. The military companies were called out, the police force was increased, the armories were replenished and put in order, and recruiting and drilling were prosecuted vigorously.

The governor of the state, J. Neely Johnson, was a politician of no very pronounced character, the little that was firm or consistent in him being susceptible to the influence of stronger minds rather than to the good. Coming down from Sacramento, he sent a message to the president of the vigilance committee, asking for an interview at the Continental hotel. Mr Coleman immediately called upon him.

"What do your people want, Coleman?" demanded the governor.

"Peace," replied Coleman; "and we would like it without bloodshed. Outrages are of constant occurrence; our suffrages are profaned, our fellow-citizens shot down in the street, our courts afford us no redress; this state of things we will endure no longer. You are asked by the mayor and others to employ the militia to crush this movement. I assure you it cannot be done. We ask not a single court to adjourn; we ask not a single officer to vacate his position; we demand only the enforcement of the laws which we have made. You know the necessity of this measure; you know the men engaged in it; you know that this is no mob, no distempered faction, but San Francisco herself that speaks. Issue your proclamations, if you feel that the dignity of the law may be best maintained by frowning on justice; declare your manifestoes, if the government can maintain its self-respect only by public protestations against virtue; but leave us alone in our righteous purposes; leave us alone in our shame and sorrow; for as God lives, we will cleanse this city of her corruption, or perish in the attempt. So we have sworn."

"Sir," said the governor, taking Coleman by the hand, "go on with your work. Let it be done as speedily as possible, and my best wishes attend you."

Had the governor held himself to this promise, all would have been well, and ten days would have seen the reform accomplished. But the pressure brought upon the weak official by the men of law and their

satellites was too much for him. They wanted immediate operations; they wanted to fight.

Reliable information soon after coming to the committee that the governor was about to order out all his forces, which he had promised not to do, on the following Sunday the committee met at the jail, and in the presence of twenty thousand people took thence Casey, and another notorious character named Cora, and conveyed them to their rooms, where after a full and fair trial, such as they would have received in any honest court of justice, they were hanged at the hour the body of James King of William was being conveyed to its tomb.

So runs the record to the end of a volume, to which the reader must be referred for particulars. The committee continued its calm but determined course, finding it necessary to execute but four persons, all told, and send from the country some twenty or thirty. The criminal element for the most part became frightened and fled. Similar committees were formed elsewhere, though few acted with the coolness and discretion manifested throughout by the grand tribunal in San Francisco. The whole country was purified of its moral pestilence as if by magic. Honest men breathed more freely, and many a dishonest one quickly reached the conclusion that rascality would no longer pay.

A notable incident of the period, and one which tried the temper of the president and executive committee to the utmost, was the arrest and trial of Judge Terry, of the supreme court, for stabbing an officer of the vigilance committee while on duty. The governor, after having exhausted all his resources to exterminate the mob, as he called it, invoked federal aid, though to little purpose. Yet these impolitic and wholly unnecessary proceedings on the part of officials and their satellites tended all the more to complicate affairs, and render the dangers and difficulties of the reformers all the more arduous.

The federal authorities at San Francisco bay were at first disposed to side with the committee, under the persuasion of Mr Coleman. Later the pressure of the law-and-order politicians caused some of them to waver. The labor and responsibility of treating with General Wool and Captain Farragut was thrown entirely on Coleman, who described to them the movements, ambitions, and intentions of the vigilance committee. They first sent their aids to him, interviews being held at the old Oriental hotel; he also invited each one by turns to drive with him, so that he could speak to them entirely alone; this he continued until they came to a perfect understanding.

Finally, after three months of active operations, the committee adjourned. There was a grand parade of the entire body, a review of the troops by the executive; then the fortress was dismantled, and the military quarters abandoned, the predictions of the law-and-order party as to mobocratic reaction falling to the ground.

But although to most of the members of the committee this was the end, to Mr Coleman it was not so. The law had been broken, and limbs of the law made to sit in sackcloth. Some wicked ones had been illegally hanged; others had been illegally expatriated; many more had been made to suffer in mind or estate, being deprived of the profits on crimes they were illegally prevented from committing. For these sins some one must be made to suffer.

By the steamer of the 28th of August Mr Coleman sailed for the east, laden with the heartfelt gratitude of all good citizens. In New York, suits for damages were brought against Mr Coleman by the expatriated, aggregating a million and a half of dollars, in all of which the complainants were nonsuited and defeated.

After the close of the war between the states, Mr Coleman, who then spent a portion of his time in New York city, was zealous in his efforts toward a

reconciliation between the north and the south, and the cementing of peace on the basis of sympathy. He realized that it would require a new generation to come forward before there would be perfect accord, in spirit and reality, but that much could be done, and in fact good will engendered at once by magnanimity and liberality on the part of the north. Unorganized and fugitive attempts had been made by charitable people to furnish material aid to the destitute people of the south, but with limited success. Mr Coleman conceived the idea of organizing a general and popular movement in New York for the double purpose of benevolence and reconciliation. He waited on the Brown Brothers, bankers, and other leading capitalists and philanthropists. Dr Bright, an eminent minister, with whom he first discussed the plan of the grand charity, waited on Mr Greeley and Mr Beecher, and represented to them that there was a great work before them, not only of beneficence, but of patriotism; that nothing could more speedily and surely reëstablish the actual union between the two sections of the country than kindliness and sympathetic aid and support to those who were in need and were not too proud to accept assistance, of whom there were many. A large mass meeting was held in a few days in Cooper institute, in which Mr Greeley did himself undying credit in the few generous words he uttered. Said he: "It is needless to talk about the war, its faults or failings; recrimination now would be criminal; we must look to the fact that there are in the south two hundred thousand widowed women, and five hundred thousand orphans, in extreme need of food and raiment; houses and fences destroyed, farms despoiled, cattle and all implements gone; poverty, pain, and distress everywhere; in contrast, the north is luxuriating in a superabundance of everything goodly. If the southern people were enemies, and distant enemies, it would become the people of the north to help them now; but we

are all of one nation, one blood, and one faith; we shall be recreant to our duty if we do not come to the rescue generously and at once."

This meeting and similar efforts caused a revolution of sentiment in the city of New York and vicinity; the movement to supply the necessities of the south became general, and popular, and fashionable; it became the furore. Individuals vied with each other in generous rivalry; charitable institutions labored in the cause. Several hundred thousand dollars were raised, and ship-loads of corn, bacon, and other staple supplies were sent south, the Freedman's Bureau being selected as the vehicle for disbursing a large portion of the shipments, ministers of the gospel and other proper agencies doing the remainder. The most touching and perhaps the most effective feature of this activity, in its moral influence, was that it was purposely confined, as far as practicable, to persons who were well known to be most pronounced and uncompromising in their hostility to the south during the war. Those conversant with the workings of this plan subsequently reported, and satisfied all parties of the wonderful good accomplished by it, not only as a charity, but in revolutionizing public sentiment in the south with regard to the people of the north.

When the war broke out, Mr Coleman was among the first to take an unequivocal stand for the preservation of the union at whatever sacrifice. Throughout the struggle he was known and accepted as a vigorous war democrat. He took an active part, and contributed liberally, in raising and equipping troops in the state of New York, and otherwise practically and efficiently demonstrated his loyalty and spirit. Yet, born and bred among southern people, and knowing their virtues, he has never ceased to cherish for them the fondest regards.

Again, in the labor agitation of 1877–8 Mr Coleman was called upon by his fellow-citizens to render them important service by permitting himself to be placed

at the head of a safety committee for the protection of life and property from threatened violence and destruction.

The insurrectionists complained of hard times, reduction of wages, and lack of work; while enterprise languished and manufactories were closed, the rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer. Something or somebody was at fault—some evil influence outside of the complainants themselves; otherwise such a state of things could not exist. The fault could not be in the European, the natural lord of all, nor in the African, the natural servant of all; the mischief, therefore, must lie at the door of the Asiatics, midway between the others, and neither high enough nor low enough to become good American citizens, vote at elections, and govern men. Hence the standing cry against the Chinese became in the streets of San Francisco, as heretofore in the mines, fierce and brutal; and next to the Chinaman the rich man was a bad element in the community.

The country was deeply agitated over the labor question. The great riots on the railways east, and especially the outbreak at Pittsburg, which was the centre of the severest émeute had extended to this coast. The spirit of disorder flew across the continent and settled on San Francisco.

On July 24th a circular was issued by Brigadier-General McComb, calling a meeting of merchants and property-holders that afternoon at two o'clock, at the chamber of commerce. McComb called the meeting to order. It was well attended. William T. Coleman was afterward called to the chair. He did not think great danger was imminent, but the moral effect of organization he fully appreciated. Mayor Bryant expressed the fullest confidence in the law-abiding citizens of San Francisco, but the number of ruffians was larger than was generally supposed, and an increased police force he deemed desirable. The result of the meeting was the formation of a general Com-

mittee of Safety, to assist the civil and military authorities in protecting life and property from the bad element of the city. The police force at this time numbered 150, and the militia under General McComb 1,200; this force was regarded as inadequate for the work in hand.

Mr Coleman had come to this meeting in common with other good citizens, not to take any prominent part in it, but to contribute his aid in a quiet way, his hands being full of business, and hoping no occasion would arise for serious effort. But the occasion was here and fortunately the man. Mr D. O. Mills moved that the whole organization in all its outlines and in all its details be entrusted to Mr Coleman, and the motion was carried unanimously. Mr Mills then told them that a work of that kind required promptness and harmony, great activity, the use of resources without stint, a single head with absolute control, or it would be liable to miscarry. The response was, that such was the object of the meeting and of the movement. Mr Coleman then made a few remarks, in which he expressed great confidence in the people of San Francisco in protecting themselves, in protecting the cause of right, and not permitting wrong to go unchecked; but there must be united action and harmony; there was no time for delay or for lukewarmness. He expressed a faith that with a good organization properly conducted there would be little danger to the town. But that there was some danger every one knew. He expressed faith especially in the mechanics and the laboring classes. He disagreed with some of the speakers on the danger of communism or of mobocracy. He thought San Francisco was especially happy in the possession of an unusually large number of conservative people among the working classes—men who had education, who had property, and intelligence. There were relatively more property-owners in San Francisco to the population than in most other cities, and all knew

the conservatism of land-owners and of those who had established home relations.

Mr Coleman was assured of every support. He accepted the responsibility and quickly crystallized the organization, selecting committees on finance, arms, enrolment, and commissary. Being informed there was an inadequate supply of arms in the city, he applied to General McDowell, commanding United States forces, for the loan of 2,500 stand, but learned it was impracticable. None could be issued except by order of the secretary of war. Such application was immediately made by telegraph, supported by all available influences, which proved successful, and the needed arms were at hand within twenty-four hours.

"This," continued Mr Coleman, "of course was the greatest encouragement, and was a striking example of promptness, the effectiveness of the service, and the confidence the government had in us. The question then arose where to store them, and having prearranged in my own mind that they must not go into the hands of our volunteers, certainly not until they were organized and drilled, and in a reliable position, and even then not until absolutely needed, I sent for the chief of police, and asked how many of those arms he could take care of at his headquarters. His answer being satisfactory, I ordered a thousand stand placed in his charge at once."

Within forty-eight hours there were mustered in five thousand men in companies of 100; command of these was given not only to soldiers by profession, but to prominent citizens, some of whom had high military titles. The governor came to the city, and told Mr Coleman that the power of the city, so far as it could be given, was his, at once, and that the people looked to him. They had learned to know him in previous work of the kind, and they leaned upon him, and the military, in fact, was at his command. Coleman stated that he deemed it prudent for the state

troops to maintain a separate position from the volunteers, so as to promote harmony. His plan was to have the volunteers divided into two or three classes; first, the old soldiers, veterans, of whom there were in the city some two or three thousand, to be held as a reserve guard, to be called the old guard; the mass of the men to be enrolled as militia for prompt action if needed. He wanted a volunteer corps of cavalry; and such artillery as could be obtained and handled. He wanted McComb, then in command of the state troops, to look to him for orders in general, but not in detail. If the forces came into action, then of course the detail work would be his, but when to come to action, if at all, he thought that, as the executive, the determination of such points should be his. All this was accorded and agreed to by the governor. The volunteers were detailed as special policemen, and numbers of them received their badges.

They organized, drilled night and day, established a telegraphic department, with outposts and a staff of correspondents and operators, and went on with the work daily. Independent of the city police, which of course were only a few hundred men, and the special policemen which they enlisted under the immediate orders of the chief of police, there were on guard under general orders, but with coöperative orders of the city police department at all times, an average of five hundred men. General McComb and the militia were anxious for action. They appealed to Coleman to allow them to take the field, but he held them in the barracks, with only the pleasures of drill, and of general display and exercise at opportune times.

Such was the true inwardness, the personal and private workings of this important historical episode, now for the first time revealed to the public.

The proprietors of certain papers were ordered by

the mayor to take down their bulletin boards on which they were accustomed to post insurrectionary news items from the east. One Antonio Quanchi, arrested for violence July 23d, was refused bail, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the police judge.

At different hours of the day large crowds of vicious-looking men collected on the corners along Kearny street and elsewhere, and there was quite a gathering of them in front of the city hall. In the Chinese quarters there was the stillness of death. It was an ominous quiet. The theatres, gambling-dens, and all places of business were closed. Yet John was not dead. With a stoicism born of the centuries, he was preparing to meet the issue. He not only armed himself, but built barricades on the inside of his house, and was ready to fight, for his life or to the death, as the case might be. City, state, and federal authorities, and all good men, were on his side. The police were watchful and active. The methodist mission house on Washington street, where the Chinese were taught, was the object of their special care.

Two hundred rioters met in the vicinity of the mint about half-past nine. Dispersed by the police, they came together again on Eighth street, meanwhile demolishing four laundries. On the Presidio road two Chinamen were murdered and their houses burned. One celestial committed suicide by taking opium, on account of his losses and the troublous times.

Wednesday, the 24th, the riot assumed yet more formidable proportions. A feverish anxiety pervaded the community. Though opposed to club law, the law did not now object to the clubs.

About noon the mayor issued a proclamation:

"San Francisco, July 24, 1877.

"*To the People of San Francisco:* Whereas, great excitement prevails throughout the country, and has extended to this city, and there are present in this community a large class of desperate men and youths who are ready to take advantage of it, and commit crimes against the property and persons of the citizens and residents of the city, it becomes my duty as mayor of the

city and county of San Francisco to appeal to all law-abiding people to assist in preserving the peace, and thereby avoid the necessity of employing the power of the law for that purpose. I trust that in the performance of my official duties I shall not be called upon to suppress a riot, but I certainly shall not shrink from doing so if the occasion shall demand the duty; and in such event I will see that all offenders receive the punishment which the magnitude of such offences requires. But to avoid the exercise of this extreme power, I counsel the citizens to take measures of precaution, to prevent causes of excitement, and particularly to guard against assemblies on the streets and public places. I advise all persons to pursue their usual avocations, or to remain quietly at their homes, and not stand in groups on the streets, as in this way crowds are made, which aid the designs of persons who would promote riots, and also obstruct the movements necessary to prevent or suppress them. I would also say that there is no cause for undue excitement. The city has a force of ten thousand men ready for any emergency. It is only necessary for every one to be quiet and prudent, and aid the authorities when called upon. The city being forewarned and forearmed, any attempt to excite a riot will be crushed at the commencement. I hereby make known that all assemblies and crowds of persons will be dispersed, and should resistance be made, arrests and punishment will follow. In doing our duty, should unfortunately the criminals and rioters resist, and inaugurate bloodshed, on their heads rest the responsibility. The law is supreme, and shall be maintained at all hazards.

"A. J. Bryant, mayor."

In the evening papers Mr Coleman issued the following address:

"*Citizens of San Francisco:* The Committee of Public Safety, selected by yesterday's meeting at the chamber of commerce, are receiving additional enrolments of good people, and deem it wise to announce the motives and purposes of the organization. Recent events demonstrate that dangers environ us, which may render it necessary for the authorities to use more force than they have hitherto had at their disposal. The mere organization of this force will probably prevent any occurrence demanding its active efforts. Both as a preventive and as a remedy, its existence is absolutely necessary. We have encouraged all good citizens to enroll and prepare for action. The purpose of the organization is to sustain the constituted authorities, undertaking no duty not immediately connected with securing the safety of life and property. It embraces citizens of all sects and all parties, holding all shades of opinion, each ready, in the presence of danger to the public welfare, to lay aside all differences, and to refrain for a time from urging individual views. In common with all the inhabitants of the state, we are embarrassed by what is properly called the Chinese question, and are most desirous to see its early solution in a manner satisfactory to our whole people. We all realize alike the difficulties by which it is surrounded. But however desirable it may appear that this disturbing element should finally be withdrawn, and removed from our midst, we are unanimous in the conviction that violence will not hasten its proper adjustment, and may produce incalculable injury to all. The public peace, and security to life and property in this city, shall be maintained and protected at all hazards. In this purpose every good citizen must concur, and we seek the membership and active coöperation of all such.

"By order of the Executive Committee,

"Wm T. Coleman, president."

At two o'clock the committee met at the Merchants exchange. The large hall was crowded by men of all trades and professions, representing the

wealth and respectability of the city. The following pledge was signed by all present:

"We the undersigned, citizens of San Francisco, do hereby enroll ourselves as a General Committee of Safety, subject to the requiremets of the special committee of twenty-four, of which William T. Coleman is president; and we do hereby bind ourselves to act with this committee to preserve the peace and well-being of this city with our money and persons."

All day long six streams of applicants for membership poured in upon as many secretaries for enrolment, and before night the number had increased very largely.

There were several anti-coolie associations in the city and throughout the state, of which most of the rioters, as well as many of the workingmen's party, were members. These, in disregard of the mayor's proclamation forbidding such gatherings, issued handbills calling a meeting before the new City hall for this same Wednesday evening. Shortly after seven o'clock they appeared upon the ground to the number of about 800, with lumber and nails, which were speedily thrown together in the form of speakers' platforms. Unmolested by police or citizen, the pastime soon proved tame, and leaving their position, they rushed off on a raid in the direction of Howard street.

During the day and evening orders and reports were conveyed from and to headquarters at the City hall, where were the mayor and chief of police, by the boys of the District Telegraph company, who, mounted on their fleet ponies, commanded universal admiration for their skill and bravery in dodging the missiles of the rioters, and their success in the discharge of their duty. From Garratt's foundry five 12-pound Dahlgren guns and one swivel gun were sent to the City Guard's armory for safe-keeping. A battery of artillery was secretly stationed at the Mechanics' pavilion, to be employed in case the mob became too strong for the police, militia, and safety people. Men and officers were in attendance from six o'clock until two every night.

In Oakland a committee of safety was organized by prominent citizens, assembled for that purpose on the evening of the 24th at the Union club rooms. At San José the people held a meeting, which, though anti-Chinese in its character, expressed its sentiments as law-abiding, and offered its aid to the safety committee of San Francisco. It was determined that no public labor meetings should be held in Oakland until after the present excitement should have abated. The *Pensacola* and the steam frigate *Lackawanna* anchored at the foot of Market street. Archbishop Alemany issued an appeal to his people to preserve order. The associated firemen came to the front, thus doubling the force of the department during the crisis.

Thursday, the 26th, it was determined to resort to stronger measures. The rioters had been hitherto treated too tenderly. When they saw that their lives were not in danger, it became rare sport for them thus to hold the staid inhabitants of this great city by the nose. The board of police commissioners, at a special meeting held this afternoon, resolved to instruct the police to shoot down, without further risk or regard for life, all rioters and assailants.

The following further proclamation by the mayor also pointed in the same direction:

"San Francisco, July 26, 1877.

"*To the People of San Francisco:* The lawless and atrocious acts of the vicious and criminal class in this community, committed last night, compel me again, and for the last time, to warn all good citizens against appearing on the streets in large numbers or groups. The object of this caution is, that the innocent may not suffer, and that the streets and public places may be left free and unobstructed for the operations of the police, the military, and the committee of safety, who, I am assured, will see that order is maintained at all hazards. A. J. Bryant, mayor."

Likewise a warning of similar import was issued by Mr Coleman.

"July 26, 1877.

"The people of San Francisco are earnestly cautioned against being on the streets after nightfall, unless it be in connection with some of the organized companies under the direction of the committee of safety and the regularly constituted authorities. Parents are especially requested to keep at home their boys under age. This is deemed necessary, because more vigorous means

than have heretofore been used will be employed to suppress riotous proceedings, and innocent persons may suffer serious consequences if they do not heed this warning.

"WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, president com. safety."

The number of organized citizens was now 5,000. The day passed quietly. The safety men rendezvoused as usual this evening at horticultural hall, and the enrolment reached 6,500. Every ward, and almost every block, was under special protection. The safety men patrolled the streets, and guarded every dangerous place. There were not less than 4,000 men under arms during the night. Attached to the forces of the safety committee was a regiment of veterans of the war of the Union, placed under the command of Colonels Withington, Hawes, and Goodman, and held ready for severe service.

Money for the support of the movement came in freely, $48,000 being subscribed during the first two days. Several manufacturers, frightened at the demonstrations of the last few days, now discharged their Chinese, and placed white operatives in their place. An attempt was made to fire certain Chinese houses, and to demolish others.

Saturday afternoon the Pacific Mail steamship *City of Tokio* arrived from China, and landed 138 Asiatics, under guard of the committee and the police.

Night came on gloomy with mists portentous of dark deeds. Three thousand citizens were enrolled. The committee were to meet in the evening at Horticultural hall, as usual. Rumors were current throughout the day that the committee would be attacked at that point. At half-past seven all approaches to the building were strongly guarded, and at eight o'clock the room was thronged by a determined assemblage. It was evident that the army of volunteers were impatient for something to do. This impatience was manifested at first by pounding the floor with their pick-handles. Presently Mr Coleman came forward and said that a hundred men were wanted for immediate duty. Instantly to their feet sprang a thousand volunteers.

The hundred were selected, and the rest were directed to separate according to wards, and under their own officers. Calls from the City Hall for men were now more frequent. About nine o'clock the dock of the Pacific Mail Steamship company, whose vessels brought the hated Chinese to our shores, was reported on fire. This was a mistake, but the fire, the work of incendiaries, was raging at that time in the lumber-yards near the point named.

The first active work of the safety men was the clearing of the bluff overlooking the Pacific Mail docks. A bridge connected this hill with First street. The contents of the lumber-yards had been fired, and the bluff was occupied by about 1,500 rioters, who showered stones upon the firemen, police, and committeemen, who were trying to extinguish the flames. In an alley opening into First street a crowd was collected by the firing of a pistol, and there actual fighting began. One charge of the police, and the alley was cleared.

While four or five companies from Horticultural hall were taking their station round the fire to prevent its spreading, the rioters again collected on the brow of the hill, and began to hurl stones upon the citizens. Again the hill was cleared, and again the enemy rallied. Suddenly at half-past ten the cry arose, "Charge the cops!" and down the bridge to First street rushed the yelling throng upon the citizens below. They were met by the safety men, who in return for the pistol-shots fired at them laid about them lustily with their clubs, dropping the rioters on every side. For a few moments the battle raged fiercely, but the safety men being timely reënforced, the rioters were at length scattered. One of the incendiaries, caught cutting the fire-hose, was instantly shot.

During the evening there were several killed and many wounded; among the former A. H. Gudewell, bank clerk, and Samuel Scrouse, teamster. Many on

both sides received pistol and club wounds of a serious nature. It was not the purpose of the police to kill these deluded men, although many of them richly deserved it. There were two encounters on Market street, with about 100 on either side, after both of which engagements the street was strewn with the broken-headed. The Chinese were fully aware of the danger which threatened them. Few of them were seen abroad; their houses remained closed, and new stores of arms and ammunition were added by them to those purchased the day previous. Their pecuniary losses up to this time amounted to about $50,000, while that of the citizens aggregated half a million.

The plan of the rioters was to fire the city, and make their raids and assaults in different places simultaneously. To circumvent these their intentions, flying squads of police were improvised by Chief Ellis and Captain Lees, consisting of large express wagons holding twenty men each, drawn by strong, fleet horses, with outriders and messengers to scour the streets, each in a given direction. Thus they could search thoroughly, more quickly, and in such numbers as to do thorough execution wherever they encountered the enemy. In the vicinity of Tenth and Brannan streets, such a company had an encounter; also one near Folsom and Eleventh streets.

Meanwhile companies organized at Horticultural hall were doing excellent work in other parts of the city. It was a night of terror. Alarms of fire were sounded in various quarters, and stray bullets were flying in every direction.

Many arrests were made; among others two men caught distributing a circular, enclosed in an envelope, and addressed, A Warning. It read as follows:

"*Pro Bono Publico.* The attention of the 1001 will be drawn to any and all premises where Chinese are employed or allowed. Property owners, insurance companies, and employers may make a note of this while there is time, and before the avengers of oppressed labor thunder at your door. 1001."

The workingmen, through their officers, issued the following circular:

"San Francisco, July 27, 1877.

"*To the members of the Executive Board of the W. P. U. S.:* I hereby notify you that there will be no meeting of the board during the intense excitement in the city. The committees of correspondence and safety will meet according to programme. The members of our party are requested to abstain from all gatherings on the street, and observe strictly the requirements of the mayor's proclamation. James F. D'Arcy,

"Organizer W. P. U. S., 570 Howard street.

"Pat. J. Healy,

"Ex-organizer and chairman committee of safety, 303½ Fifth street."

On Monday the 30th of July, the committee of safety, like the vigilance committee, determined to adjourn, but not to disband. The executive head-quarters were retained, and telegraphic communication with all parts of the city continued. The following order was issued:

"Executive Headquarters, Committee of Safety, San Francisco, July 30, 1877. *To ward commanders, captains, and commanders of independent organizations:* The time having arrived when, in the judgment of the executive commander, the forces of the committee should be concentrated, reduced, and relieved as far as possible, therefore, for the public quiet and for the protection of the public property issued to the members of our organization, the following general orders will be complied with at once:

1. Forces, cavalry and infantry, are hereby relieved from active duty, save as hereinafter excepted.

2. All halls, rendezvous as at present hired, will be at once given up, save Horticultural hall.

3. All arms and ammunition issued to members will be at once turned in through the company commanders, who will turn in all arms as fast as received to the chief of police, taking receipts.

4. All clubs and badges now issued will be retained by the members who have them. All police stars to be at once turned into Chief Ellis.

5. No rations will be contracted for or issued by commanders after eleven p. m., July 30th.

6. All bills contracted for by commanders will be made out in duplicate, verified, and sent in to General Coey.

7. Books, papers, and records of any kind to be turned in to General Coey at chamber of commerce, save one verified roll of each company to be held by its captain.

8. Captains will send in a full written report to General Coey of all duties performed, and a general statement of all their official actions, and any information valuable to the public safety, or concerning the committee. Company commanders will arrange their rolls for convenient summoning of their force. On sudden call by messenger, or tap of the bell, the companies will hasten and form in front of their old headquarters, there to await orders. The organization of patrols in blocks, and the employment of watchmen by the neighbors in each square, is an admirable safe-guard. Members are requested to assist all such movements, but in case of general alarm to form at the designated headquarters. Wm T. Coleman."

Two hundred citizens of San Diego enrolled themselves a committee of safety after the San Francisco pattern, in view of a threatened attack on the Chinese by the bad element of that place.

An offer was made to the board of supervisors by

the bankers of San Francisco to advance a sum not to exceed $100,000 for the purpose of paying the salaries of 150 new policemen at $100 a month, to be selected by the committee of safety, the supervisors to pledge the faith of the city, laying the matter properly before the coming legislature, for its return. The offer was accepted.

On the afternoon of Thursday, the 31st, there was a joint meeting of the executive committee of the committee of safety and the board of supervisors at the chamber of commerce, at which it was suggested that 150 men be added to the police force of the city. The finance committee had collected $75,000, and reported that any further sum necessary could be immediately obtained. But more than was needed was already collected, and a large portion of it was returned to the original subscribers, twenty per cent being the first dividend returned. The question of appointing the extra police, and keeping up the ward influence of the association, was not without significance in political circles.

The following address was prepared in August 1877, by Mr William T. Coleman, to be presented to the citizens of San Francisco:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY,
SAN FRANCISCO, August 11, 1877.

"*To the Citizens of San Francisco:* The past month has been fraught with excitements on the labor question, particularly those of a socialistic character. There was much heated discussion in New York and other Atlantic cities, serious strikes among laborers, riots on the railways, which became serious.

"On the 20th of July, there was a very serious riot in Pennsylvania; on the 21st, another in Baltimore. July 23d, an alarming riot in Pittsburgh, when the railroads were torn up and partially destroyed, a portion of the city burned; the military was called out and repelled by the mob; the railways taken possession of by the mob, and destructions of a very alarming nature were developed. The United States troops were called upon, and there were several conflicts between the combined state and government troops on the one side, and the mobs on the other. On the 24th, there was an alarming riot in Buffalo, and the same day a renewal of the riots in Pennsylvania, and thirty-seven men killed. The same disturbing developments continued in Pittsburgh, and the whole city was threatened. These excitements extended all over the United States, reached San Francisco as quickly as elsewhere, but were not considered so alarming here, especially as the railway forces in this state were in a satisfactory position, and though the Chinese question was troublesome, fears of outbreaks were not at first as much felt as in the Atlantic and western states. Yet alarming reports increased; the papers were full of them; the thought of the country was absorbed in them, and the labor organizations,

and particularly those of a communistic character, were actively in motion. The mayor of San Francisco and the police department saw destructive demonstrations that caused much uneasiness. On Monday, July 23d, the mayor and the chief of police, viewing wild excitement and appreciating the strong feeling of distrust and uneasiness prevailing throughout the community, called on General John McComb, commander of the state forces, and requested him to hold in readiness his entire force, to support the peace officers. After earnest consultation with the mayor and chief, the general felt it his duty to call together our leading citizens, and ask their organized aid in case of need to support the peace and public interests. Their apprehensions were of the gravest character; in case of serious outbreak, their small police force of 150 men, supplemented by a single brigade of the national guard of 1,200 men, could not have maintained order, and strong additional aid would be needed. There were two great wants, men and money. The mass meeting of Tuesday, 24th, resolved unanimously to offer to our civil officers most vigorous support, with one actuating motive, the public safety. Having been called to the chair and by that meeting appointed president, I was charged with the grave duty of directing the entire movement, with absolute control, and asked to appoint a finance and executive committee to aid me in details.

"To the unexceptional character of the members of both of these committees, the self-sacrificing spirit, zeal, and diligence displayed by them at all times in serving under the authority so given me, and by me extended to them, I am able to congratulate the community upon the complete success of the movement thus inaugurated.

"I quickly selected committees on finance, arms, and enrolment, and asked Mr C. Adolphe Lowe to take the chairmanship of the first committee, and proceed with Messrs Spreckels and Bee, to gather the sinews of service.

"The collection of funds was speedily inaugurated, and in a few hours I was able to announce that the liberal response of the public justified me in commencing the organization of a strong force. The gross amount finally collected, as per report of finance committee, was $75,000. As a committee on arms, federal and state troops, I appointed General Coey and Colonels Preston and Sedgwick; on enrolment, Messrs Torrey and Scott.

"I immediately ordered a canvass of the various gun-shops, as to the number and kinds of arms that could be obtained in the city. The answer was, that there had been a large demand for arms by different parties during the past week, many of the best absorbed, and there was only a small quantity remaining, and they were of different construction and gauge, and not very desirable. I despatched Colonel Preston to wait on General McDowell, commanding the United States forces on the Pacific, with a request to advise me what support he could give if we should have a violent outbreak. He said that in view of the absence at the front of most of his small regular garrison, he could at best only furnish a few hundred men, under any circumstances. Colonel Preston was instructed to ask if he could furnish us, in case of need, say 3,000 stand of arms, with equipments and munitions. The general's reply was that he could not issue even a cartridge without orders from the secretary of war, and as his recommendation and request for arms for citizens during the Modoc war had been ignored and refused by the department, he begged to decline telegraphing or asking for arms for us, yet was willing to assist us in any manner possible within his power. This answer caused me great anxiety. I wired Governor Irwin at Sacramento the conditions of affairs here, and urged his immediate presence, and before leaving for San Rafael that evening to prepare my wife and family for my continued and uncertain absence, I gave a few general orders on different matters, and urged upon General Coey a renewal of our efforts to secure arms direct from the government. If General McDowell could not give them we must appeal to the secretary of war direct, and through friends of California. This gentleman, learning from General McDowell that he would not consider it discourteous if an appeal were made direct to the department, immediately communicated with Hon. A. A. Sargent, United States senator, and explained

to him the necessities of the situation, and the vital question of arms and supplies of all kinds, pistols, carbines, rifles; and at my request also several of our prominent citizens wired representatives and senators, asking an appeal to the secretary of war for immediate action in our behalf. On my way to San Rafael that evening, I reviewed the rapid work of the past few hours, considered the outlook and the prospects before us, and briefly laid out the campaign as I thought it should be inaugurated and conducted. I believed we would get the arms from the government; but without them, I felt that we would yet make a success by throwing a large force of citizens into the ranks of the police department, with clubs and small arms. The character of the men, and the numbers that they could rally and put in motion, would have a grand moral effect, and with a known courage and discipline that was displayed on previous occasions, I felt that we could overpower any force that would be brought against us; and supplemented as we would be by the state troops in reserve, and the forces of the government being near also, that we could make a brief and successful campaign. On my return to the city, I found that the answers to and result of the telegrams to Washington the evening before showed the keen appreciation of the government of our situation, and the confidence reposed in our representations, and that a despatch was received during the night by General McDowell from the war department, instructing him to cause to be issued by the proper officer at Benicia supplies of whatever kind the committee of safety might require. General McDowell had wired Colonel McAllister, and McAllister wired me that a requisition for arms and supplies had been made, and that 1,700 rifles and 500 carbines, with ammunition and accoutrements, had been shipped direct to me, and would that night be in the harbor of San Francisco, off Market street, and be issued on the receipt of the proper authorities. With this gratifying assurance, I felt strong, but the next question was, who was to receive and how to take care of these arms.

"The despatch of Colonel McAllister said the arms would be delivered 'on the receipt of the proper authorities,' and as Governor Irwin had just then arrived at San Francisco, in response to my telegram of the day before, I waited upon him, reported the position, and my proposed plans of action, and requested him to receive the arms as the governor of the state, the proper and only competent party to do so, and hold them subject to our requisitions, as necessities arose.

"I then suggested to the governor the advantage it would be to us of having the naval forces coöperate with us, or at least make a demonstration which would be valuable, and after a few moment's consideration and discussion, he wired President Hayes, requesting him to direct the United States vessels at Mare island to take position in the harbor in front of the city, and place the forces thereon subject to his call, to be used in quelling disturbances in case of necessity. In answer he received this dispatch:

"'WASHINGTON, D. C., July 25, 1877.

"'*To Governor Irwin:* I have ordered Commodore Calhoun to place all the vessels at Mare island, with all the forces he has, in the harbor of San Francisco, and to report to you. R. W. THOMPSON, Sec. Navy.'

"And also this to Governor Irwin:

"'I telegraphed Admiral Murray and Commodore Calhoun to same effect. R. W. THOMPSON.'

"As a result, the *Pensacola*, with Admiral Murray aboard, immediately got under way, the *Lackawanna* followed under command of Commodore Calhoun, and the tug *Monterey* followed with Gatling guns and other arms.

"It will thus be seen that within twenty-four hours of the meeting of the committee the secretary of war had amply supplied us with arms and munitions, and within the next day the secretary of the navy had given us three ships of war, fully manned, ready for active coöperation.

"The object and intent of our assembly being to reinforce the civil authorities, and in no way to assume any other power than that of a citizen posse

under their formal control, it was my duty to at once provide men, and fit them for the service. Rolls of membership were prepared and opened for signature, a pass-word was given, badges marked 'committee of safety' were ordered distributed to the men, and under a general authority, given by the mayor and chief of police, our members sent on duty were sworn in as special police. It was my specific aim, and I made it my duty to confine the powers of each member to aiding the police, and in the whole action of the force and patrol I allowed no step to be taken except as by the directions and request of the peace officers, conveyed through me. The membership rapidly increased.

"The governor instructed his adjutant, General P. F. Walsh, to receive and give vouchers for the arms then in charge of Captain Rexford, ordinance officer U. S. A., and to deliver to the proper forces, as I should request and direct: *First*, 600 rifles and ammunition therefor under escort to General McComb, for use of such volunteers as might now enroll in the national guard; *Second*, 1,000 rifles, 300 carbines, 30 pistols, and ammunition for the respective arms, were received at ship's side by Captain Lees, and conveyed under strong guard to the city hall, for our forces and for the special policemen of the city. The balance to remain aboard the government vessel, and until we would require them. The adjutant-general had already, on the 23d inst, responded in behalf of the state to requisitions made by General McComb for 10,000 rounds of ammunition, and by Captain Ranlitt of Oakland guard for 2,000 rounds, Captain Lehe of Stockton guard for 1,000 rounds, and Captain Turner of Chico guard for 500 rounds. Thus at all of those points, as well as our own, provision was made for impending contingencies.

"On the morning of the 25th, I established my general headquarters at the large horticultural hall, Stockton street, arranged complete telegraphic communications, ordered all forces to rendezvous there, and begin the work of military and semi-military organization and discipline. Although it had been my object to first provide arms to cover every necessity, I at the same time determined to dispense with their use as far as possible. I appreciated the difficulties often arising by having military forces in the presence of mobs, excepting only as a dernier resort, when they are needed for actual and effective service. This was in harmony, too, with the nature of our call and organization, to be and act in support of of the police, and not of the military. I accordingly gave orders for the purchase of 6,000 hickory pick-handles, to be shortened and converted at once into large, first-class police-clubs, and to arm every man as a special policeman with clubs and side-arms. I then ordered the entire force into company organizations of 100, to select their own officers and report to me for confirmation, intending their service to be in companies or in detachments, and as soon as these were approved, were ordered under drill and instructions and general discipline, and kept busily at work within the hall, when there was sufficient room, and in the streets adjoining if room were needed. Before night we had a large and effective force, and rationed by the commissary committee, Dempster and Gutte, appointed that morning, and sent out details for active duty, under direct orders of the chief of police, all of which were performed in a creditable and efficient manner. Thus the committee continued increasing its number, and with the rounds of duties, showing that the general plan was correct and effective. An intense feeling existed throughout the city on the night of the 25th, and as the criminal and lawless element were gathered in crowds and squads in every part of the city, causing much annoyance and fear to citizens, I consulted with the chief of police as to the propriety of gathering the crowds and keep them in confinement during the course of the trouble, but found that the prisons and jails would accommodate but few, and there was danger to those already confined there for various offences. I consulted with the commanders of the vessels of war lying off the city front, and they offered to care for and confine on board their vessels such as would be sent to them, to the number of 1,500, and if more, to place them on Goat island, and patrol the island with their small boats. The idle and lawless element, hearing of this movement, and

fearing to be gathered in by the police and naval forces, left the city in large numbers, and for days the authorities were in receipt of telegrams calling their attention to the great numbers of strangers, evidently rough and lawless men, that were reaching the villages and suburbs near San Francisco. Meantime I learned that if these arrests were made immediate legal action would be taken in behalf of the arrested parties, the *habeas corpus* would be brought into play, complications would arise that would give us greater trouble than to meet these forces in the face, treat them effectually on the spot, and thus greatly simplify and shorten the work, and render it much more effective than to have this class thus pose as martyrs of deportation.

"Hearing there were more arms in the city than had been reported to me, I caused a careful and reliable survey to be made of the gun-shops, so as to secure control of the arms and munitions from the access of the mob, and shipped load after load of material to the men-of-war in the harbor, also the guns that were lying in various foundries and chandler-shops along the city front. In the establishment of Little & Keadings I found such a large quantity on storage that I deemed it best not to attempt to move this supply, and therefore, with their consent and approval, I left heavy guards in and around the building, with careful and considerate officers in charge, and imperative instructions, as a last resort in a case of need, to blow the building up.

"Tuesday night passed in these general labors of organization and supply, and on Wednesday, the news from the east still continuing alarming, in our plan of action it was decided to effect ward organizations, to divide the forces now enrolling into companies, to officer them, give them orders to patrol the city, and to furnish such assistance as the chief of police might from time to time require. Following a general plan of ward organization, adopted at a meeting of the executive committee, the city was divided into twelve ward districts, company organizations were effected, halls and rendezvous were selected and opened, clubs and arms were supplied under proper requisitions, and telegraphic communication was established and maintained with the ward headquarters and the chief's office; wagons, couriers, and rations were supplied, and on Wednesday night, as shown by our records and despatches, an average active force of 1,500 members were on duty in outside patrol, or waiting as reserve the call of the chief of police at the headquarters, while the total available force of 5,438 members could, under this effective organization, have been rallied in an hour by the general alarm. It was my plan to keep the bulk of the committee within the ward limits, so as to render local aid, and to act under the telegraphic communications as established and shown by a map.

"Reference to the files of despatches herewith presented will show the feeling of alarm, which was general in the city on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights. Much of the information was received through the chief of police, and as such information of disorder or reports was communicated to me or my adjutant, I either sent telegraphic orders to ward commander to act, or despatched strong bodies of men from the hall to the supposed scene of action.

"The first danger feared was fire, and the second, the gathering of excited crowds which might be arrayed against the police at any moment.

"It was clear that a very general excitement pervaded all classes, and the most careful officials and prominent citizens made frequent reports to me of alarming occurrences or suspicious matters during the three days referred to. From the fact that the criminal classes were in motion, that secret meetings were held, that political agitation was attempted, and the many alarms of fire, together with the continual calls of the chief of police for detachments, I am assured that the public use of the committee on these occasions checked the violent classes, and showed them a large force ready to quell any positive disorder. In our prohibitive capacity, the patrols of the committee undoubtedly prevented lawless gatherings and possible fire and tumult, especially in the more lonely portions of the town. The cavalry forces of the committee, numbering nearly 300 men, patrolled on Thursday

and Friday nights, 26th and 27th, the manufacturing portion of the city and the outskirts. The immense value of exposed shipping and property along the city front naturally suggested precautions against fire, especially as many threats had been made to burn the Pacific mail wharves, Captain Stewart Menzies generously offered to cruise along the city front with the steam yacht *Elaine* and two smaller craft. Crews of special police and committeemen on board these vessels rendered most valuable services.

"It will be thus seen that our precautions against fire were complete. I will make no special reference to the many disorders quelled by our detachments, and where arrests were made and reported at the city hall. The reports of the ward commanders will give these particulars, reference to reports of the chief of police and fire marshal Scannell for details of the many arrests and fires, especially those at Beale and Brannan streets and Pacific mail wharves on the night of the 27th, where companies and detachments of our committee supported the police in the largest and severest engagement of the campaign. We were informed of the enemy's movements, including a proposed attack on our headquarters and barracks. The main attack was designed against the Pacific mail steamship company's properties, because of its connection with the Chinese immigration, and began by firing the large lumber-yards and surrounding combustible material. Their attacking force was large. The firemen and fire brigade were soon in action with all the available police, our forces soon after, numbering seven hundred men, arriving on a double quick in good order, a detachment under General Cobb in the van. The engagement became general, and was stubbornly contested for about two hours, at the end of which time the united forces had cleared the field, routed the rioters in every quarter. Our men displayed coolness, discipline, and courage throughout. Our success was complete, and by midnight the city was quiet and safe. The next day showed general demoralization and discouragement of the lawless element; they were subdued, and the backbone of their movement was broken.

"Beside my duties and labors at our headquarters, and with our own forces, I had nearly every night, at a late hour, a private conference with the governor, chiefs of police, and General McComb, and sometimes the mayor. We reviewed what had been done, and discussed the future. Our views were generally harmonious. The governor, always courageous, cool, and clear, encouraged me with his full approval and support in all my views and plans; the chiefs of police accorded the support of theirs. General McComb, a good soldier, was impatient of his position in having his forces held nightly in the barracks, without participation in the work being done; but I insisted upon our right and duty to prove beyond question that the citizen volunteer with the police forces could and would successfully protect the city and suppress any outbreak without aid of the military, and if so proven might hereafter serve as a useful precedent in the economic systems of American administration. The condition of affairs as they existed on the 28th had fully confirmed this, and justified us then in a cheerful compliance with the wishes of the national guard. Beyond this also, the active forces of our committee were entitled to respite after the arduous and continued labors since our organization, and I suggested to the chief of police that we both withdraw our forces as far as practicable, and ask General McComb to bring his men into the field, and take care of the city for that night, which would indeed from all appearances be the practical end of the active duties of the campaign. I then caused the most careful orders to be issued to all ward commanders to guard their headquarters, secure the arms and property, and to leave the duty of the night to the militia. I arranged that the patrol duties of our cavalry and infantry be discontinued, but that the whole force should be considered as held ready at a general alarm to rally at their headquarters and to report to me by telegraph. I next ordered that complete rolls of each company be turned in to General Coey, that the surplus arms and ammunition be put in order and turned into the city hall, and afterwards that all arms be so turned in and receipts of Chief Ellis to be taken for the same. This was done successfully, and it was

most gratifying to find on the final accounting for all of these arms by the returning officers that every piece received from the government was faithfully accounted for and returned, excepting only one pistol, which could not be traced.

"The night passed quietly. Early Sunday morning, the 29th, General McComb sent following despatch to Chief Ellis:

"'I have reported for duty in accordance with your order, have sent cavalry men to all the telegraph and ward stations, who have reported to me constantly during the night, and report no disturbance. Have sent infantry details to all the headquarters, and they have been relieved at different times during the night. I have three companies on guard here, and strong guards in all the armories. The men in the central hall are sent out to relieve those other stations, thus making a complete patrol of the city. I have received a message from your office signed by Mr Coleman saying that services would not be required after five, A. M.'

"The day proved peaceful and restful, a great boon to our citizens. The storm had passed, and the calm was reassuring. Within five days from the first call, we had organized, armed, gone through successful action, completed our undertaking, established peace, order, and security, and as the signs of danger which had called us out were now passed, we resolved that the returning quiet should see us relinquish our extraordinary powers and public position. The chief of police advised me that he had made a tour of thorough inspection of the different wards, and was satisfied he could then take care of the city. We therefore ordered all ward headquarters broken up, and clubs and material belonging to the committee turned in at Horticultural hall barracks, which alone we retained, closed all outer telegraph offices and the whole commissary department, relieved our men from active duty, authorizing members to retain their committee badges and clubs, and return to the chief all police stars, but notified our entire membership to be watchful, and on call by messenger or tap of our bell to hasten and form in front of their headquarters, and there to await orders, and thus our general activity ended and ceased in quiet.

"The committee is yet alive and in full organization, but the great body is resting; and in event of need, is ready to respond to-day at public alarm, and appear as strong as the occasion may demand. The executive committee continues its labors, in classifying records and gathering the many detailed items connected with the service, closing up its accounts in the various departments, maturing plans for the future safety and good order of the city.

"On the 28th, the governor, after a conference, telegraphed the secretary of navy, tendering thanks, on behalf of the state and the city, for having the naval vessels anchored in the harbor, and announcing that the danger being practically passed, the vessels would no longer be needed. The secretary then ordered them to Mare island. Before sailing, however, we received an intimation that the marines and sailors would, if admissible, like the privilege of a landing and a parade through the city. This was promptly and cheerfully acceded to, and an invitation extended. They landed in force, fully officered, paraded through the principal streets, made a fine display, attracted much attention and hearty applause, and received the civilities and hospitalities of the hour. This was the only parade of troops through the streets during the week, excepting the forces of the committee and of the city police. Even our veteran guard, an organization which is here entitled to special notice, had not appeared on the streets. This was the formation of a strong body of veterans of the late war; tried soldiers from all sections of the country, north and south, numbering about eight hundred men, now mingling harmoniously and fraternally, and forming a strong regiment, fully armed and equipped, with headquarters at Dashaway hall, held as a grand reserve, under the command of Colonel Withington and other distinguished officers, and in their personnel equal to any regiment on the continent to-day.

"This blending of the gray and the blue, in full harmony in a common

cause, without one thought of former differences, presents to us one of the most charming aspects of the day. A field full for fruitful contemplation. I believe that this is the first instance where such cordial relations have so existed, and where former lines of divergence have been so completely obliterated, and esteem it as a matter of earnest congratulation, and eminently Californian.

"From experience and mature study, we are all impressed with the conviction that the future interests of this city demand largely increased police force, equalling at least two men to each thousand of the population, and to this end our committee have devoted most earnest and assiduous attention. We have had much discussion and active correspondence with the authorities, who agreed with us in the main question, but difficulties have arisen in the want of funds or power of the city government to raise funds for extra police, and for this purpose our finance committee have cheerfully contributed $6,500 in cash. The bankers of the city, who with the insurance companies and the members of our own committee, were our chief subscribers, generously offered to further advance funds needed for additional police, provided the officers of the safety committee could and would examine and approve applicants as fitting and qualified. This work has progressed chiefly under the immediate charge of McDonald, Menzies, and Halliday, who have, at a continued sacrifice of their private interests, given their entire time to this arduous duty, while others have rested, and for which they are doubly entitled to the thanks of the community.

"A pleasing feature of our work is the good condition of our finances, which have been admirably administered. The committee, without moneyed aid, directly or indirectly, from the state or city funds, have collected from our own people volunteer subscriptions sufficient to defray all our own expenses, and contribute liberally to the needs of the police department, as well as the militia, and to have now remaining a considerable share of the moneys collected. The committee, at my suggestion, returns this balance to the several subscribers, ratably. My interpretation, which they have been good enough to accept, being that the subscriptions were for a definite object; and that object being accomplished, the remainder of the funds belong to the subscribers, and rightly revert to them.

"And now for our membership. The results prove that your executive committee, their officers, and the great mass of men enrolled in our ranks, were generally alike moved by an unselfish devotion to public duty, and faithfully, diligently, and intelligently wrought out the problem we had to solve, and now merit your highest commendation. Some, of course, with more aptness than others, have been of more relative value to the cause, and of these I desire to make special mention of General Coey, whose services throughout have been invaluable. His sound judgment, quick decision, and untiring activity have proven of immeasurable importance in the position which he held as my adjutant-general and chief aid, and after him, scores and hundreds of others, in their respective positions, have competed closely and worthily, and merit similar approbation, for approbation and a sweet consciousness of having done their whole duty are their chief rewards. Their services have been entirely volunteer, yes, purely a generous offering, without a penny's pay or other moneyed compensation. They have deemed it their high privilege and their imperative duty as Americans to promptly give their physical, moral, and financial aid as tributes for maintenance of peace and good order, and all this being secured, returning quietly to their families and their business affairs, their normal avocations and pursuits. WM T. COLEMAN."

This is what the New York *Times* says about it:

"It will not be charged to the discredit of San Francisco that as soon as there are symptoms of riot and lawlessness the old vigilance committee is revived. It was this voluntary organization which twice saved the golden city from anarchy and ruin. The police of San Francisco showed their

efficiency in checking the riotous demonstrations on Monday and Tuesday. It was perfectly well understood, however, that behind the municipal authorities was a determined, solid element, which would, at the right time, reorganize the old committee of vigilance, and hang the ruffians with whom it might prove powerless to cope. The hoodlums, unemployed vagabonds, and bummers who infest society thought this a good time to exterminate the Chinese, and burn the docks of the Pacific Mail Steamship company, which as common carrier brings Chinamen there. The prompt action of the vigilance committee prevented a great outrage. The city ought to have done this. It did not; but there is no young ruffian so young that he does not know that the vigilance committee, by whatever name called, would hang him in 1877 as it hanged other brigands in 1856."

Says Mr Coleman: "Among the phenomena notable in California annals, from pastoral days up to the present industrial epoch, none possesses greater sociological interest than the vigilance committees of 1856, and the committee of safety of 1877.

"The full significance of the movement of 1877 has not been appreciated. The causes were very much broader, deeper, and more potent in their influences than has been generally understood.

"It was an agitation among the workingmen, and of a socialistic nature, aggravated by disagreements between the railways and their employés, manufacturers and operators; aggravated further by financial disturbances and hard times, culminating in various serious outbreaks in New York, in Buffalo, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and other places in the east. These all occurred within the space of a week.

"The vigilance committee was a new departure in the jurisprudence of the world. It may be called a compromise between the regular course of law, and the action of the people without regard to it. It was seizing upon the forces of a mob, arresting them in their mad course, harnessing them quietly, and utilizing the powers in the regular form, systematically, coolly, and deliberately. While the law was lying dormant on the one hand, and trampled down and disgraced on the other, the people—the power of all government in our system—determined to execute in form what their servants had neglected to do and had disregarded. It was reserved for California to effectuate a system of *imperium in imperio* altogether unique and untried.

The history of that is written. In 1877 the same people, in the same place, under different conditions, and yet in some regards similar, finding danger from the same elements, but on a grander scale in some respects, determined to act in the spirit of the law, but in a different mode. The state government was in better hands than in 1856; the city government was in better hands. The country generally was in better condition. The effects of the vigilance committee of 1856 had continued and prevailed all the time. The ethics of the state were of a higher order than at the earlier date. The experiences were valuable to individuals as well as to the masses, and when called up for self-government, they demonstrated a capacity again that has few parallels. The men acting in 1877 believed, and still believe, and acted with confidence in the proposition, that of all the peoples in the world the Americans are best fitted for self-government, that of all the portions of the United States, California was the best fitted.

"First, because of the general character of the people that constituted the state from 1848 down. Next, because of the value of the experiences of those people, coming from every state of the union, and from the old world, developing independence of action and thought. Moved always, as much as people can in ordinary conditions of life, by the spirit of patriotism, expediency, and general intelligence, they harmonized, and formed a character of composite citizenship remarkable for breadth and strength. Unhampered by old local influences, and cosmopolitan in their judgment, they had the courage to carry out whatever they conceived to be right. This spirit has been appreciated not only in California, but has gradually overcome conventional doubt and dislike in other parts of the world. The agitation and disturbances of 1877, beginning outside of the state and afterward reaching San Francisco, begot the safety committee, the younger sister of the vigilance committee, in whose name and

under whose banner the people of California sprang at once to the support of the government, and by the prevention and punishment of crime with a promptness, decision, and forbearance rarely equalled, if ever excelled, maintained and established quiet and good order.

"Citizens enrolled themselves with alacrity, in the regular way, as state troops or city guards, much preferring to be volunteers for a brief campaign, as sub-militia or special police, under the constituted authorities than to be compelled, as in the former emergency, to assume independent functions.

"The people of the world know little of this movement, and there are many persons, even in California, who do not regard it in the light in which it ought to be considered. The recent troubles at New Orleans exemplified and illustrated the value of this work, and the estimation in which the vigilance committee of 1856 and the safety committee of 1877 should be held by the country at large. Those organizations held the power of peace in their hands, the first without the continuous approval and, at times, in opposition to the state and city governments, the second entirely in harmony with the state and city governments. Men of the same city accomplished, by different methods, results essentially alike; first, righting wrongs and establishing law, by unstatutory means; and, second, by working hand in hand with the executive departments of city and state; and then retiring, desiring only that the effect of their work might be permanent. It was seen that these efforts left no political shock, no moral damage, and practically no legal difficulties; that they did not demoralize the community; that so far from making or being a spirit of mobocracy, they have in this community obliterated or effaced mobocracy or mobocratic feeling. The mob in San Francisco has not been known in thirty years, except that in 1877, which was stifled in the beginning. The better class of people in California do not look to the

contingency of the mob, and are determined against it. They are ready and prepared to organize and form military forces, if necessary, to deal summarily with a mob, and if the civil and judicial authorities are not sufficiently active, they will furnish the power required.

"Referring to the affair at New Orleans in 1891, there surely was cause enough for prompt and severe action, but the mode adopted was frightfully at fault. Californians may and must forgive it, and tacitly pass it by, not with approval, but with regret. Under the same circumstances the people of San Francisco would have met as the people of New Orleans did. Under stress of similar outrages they would have organized in full force, and in military form if necessary; would have taken quarters; formed a court; appointed a judge and selected a jury, all of good men; called for evidence in the cases that had been before the recreant tribunals; analyzed it carefully; put on trial the people who had been discharged by the perjured jury, taking additional testimony if practicable; given the accused good counsel, the benefit of all doubt that occurred, weighing it carefully, and finally executing those whom they found guilty, deliberately and in regular form. Those found entitled to the least reasonable doubt would have been discharged. If it required 5,000 men in this organization, or 20,000, they would have been found ready. California forms would have been scrupulously observed in the execution of sentence. The criminals would have been allowed time to arrange their worldly affairs, and have had the benefit of the clergy to make peace with their God, if they were disposed to do so. Certainly, this opportunity would not have been denied them, and the execution would have been carried out with such gravity, deliberation, and firmness as to secure therefrom the advantage of a moral as well as a legal triumph, which is all lost by the wild, stormy, heedless action of a mob. The rule of the leading persons comprising the vigilance committee was, that it is

better that a thousand guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should perish.

"It is to be feared that although the world is for the moment condoning this affair, and it is meeting with the approval of a great many people, largely on account of the character of the victims, and because of the surroundings, that very approval, given under these peculiar circumstances, lending so much of assent to the proceedings in general, is likely to engender precipitancy and violence, by encouraging people in other quarters and in other cases to adopt the mode of procedure in the New Orleans lynching, whereas the California fashion, independent of all that has been said and discussed heretofore, has the great advantage of securing time for reflection and thorough investigation. A man in the heat of passion does many things that in the cooler moments of the next day he would be glad to modify or undo. None of the California executions took place within four days after arraignment, except that of Jenkins, in 1851. Every one who had a right to say anything was given an opportunity to do so; time was allowed for a close inspection of testimony, as to all pleas of innocence, justification, or equity, all the moral as well as of the general legal bearings. The New Orleans episode was a demonstration that could be made by any rude party, but the acts of California's committee could only have been matured by men who could govern themselves as well as others—men determined to do right, and to admit of nothing but right. I think that the behavior of the committees of 1856 and of 1877, if thoroughly comprehended and fairly chronicled, will form a record of permanent value, because of its inherent character as well as its unlikeness to other action under similar provocation. If we are to have a reformation in our criminal codes, if we are to have the continuation of the wholesome condition of affairs that has prevailed in California since those episodes in popular administration and self-control, let these

facts be fully comprehended. They suggest, at once, a check and a guide to people excited and in doubt, a stimulus to communities that are oppressed with maladministration to dare the right and forbear the wrong—that is, do as California has done. We will not be hasty, but we will not be turned aside from our purpose. If the administration by the judicial authorities fails us, we, the people, the inheritors of the right, the power, the sovereigns, will gather together, brush aside the men who are pretending to be public servants, and organize and do their work for them. We hold that we have as much intelligence as our representatives. We have placed them in office to administer affairs for us, not for themselves: performing their duty, they continue where they are; failing in their duty, they have but a fixed term at the most, and if their failure is too gross, too complete, we will displace them in a day, in a moment, if necessary. The rights of persons must be respected and the community protected; the law must be executed; and the people themselves will do it if their servants will not. In the brisk progress of the world under present tendencies, the servants of the people manifest a deplorable lack of honesty or comprehension in allowing crimes and fraud to continue unchecked until private citizens, impatient of the evils existing, take the control in their own hands, seize and execute criminals without form, appeal to the world for justification, and are vindicated. The uprising at New Orleans really illustrated this, because, as wild, hasty, impatient as that demonstration was, involving immense liabilities in different forms, it met with the quiet, silent approval of a large portion of the people.

"God forbid we should ever again need vigilance or safety committees. The people of California do not want them. Those who organized and controlled these movements appreciate the undesirability of all such proceedings as fully as any one can, and would never have recourse to them except in extreme

necessity. If the officers of law but do their duty, there will be no occasion for them, and mobs will be told in history only. But so long as our system continues cursed with the legerdemain of the courts, and the law is delayed in the most harassing manner in rehearings, new trials, technical appeals, and other schemes in vogue to thwart justice, hope is liable to lapse into despair, and serious danger follow. The extent of these dangers no one can foretell. The wrongs endured, the forces brought into action, the circumstances surrounding them, may produce results much less satisfactory than those that fell to the lot of the people of California.

"In this state, which is young, and covers such an enormous and thinly settled territory, persons and property were, as a general rule, secure to a degree unsurpassed anywhere else under like conditions. The citizen was safe wherever he went; women and children could walk the streets of the city at any hour without molestation. One might roam over the state with confidence, undisturbed except by some wild mustang of a Mexican, or some convict who had crept away into a corner. From 1856 to 1877, California was exempt from popular disturbance or fear. From the time that the committee of safety gave up their organization up to the present, we have had no general or local disorder necessitating immediate and heroic remedy. And much the same may be said of the Pacific coast at large, the sentiment and influences affecting which are apt to take form in San Francisco. But while Californians, by asserting the popular supremacy, accomplished all that could be hoped for in the restoration of law and order, the manner in which they proceeded was their chief gratification. The fact that the committee of safety acted in complete harmony with and were the ally of the government renders it absurd to stigmatize their organization as moboeratic. If the state authorities had lived up to their promises, the committee of 1856

would also have performed their functions in concert with the representatives of the government. It was the pride of the safety committee that they were able to bring into action, in consonance with existing law, practically the same powers that had crowned the vigilance committee with success. An incident not now often recalled affords additional evidence of the California spirit in dealing with disturbers of the peace. In October 1851, a large crowd of sailors and sailors' friends got together in a rage, and would have wreaked their vengeance on Captain Waterman, of the ship *Challenge*, for alleged cruelty to his crew. The mayor of San Francisco, finding the municipal forces inadequate to cope with the mob, asked the services of the vigilance committee, as a *posse comitatus*, and in a few minutes the mob was dispersed. Other communities can be relied upon to maintain peace and good order if the state authorities have the discretion and good judgment and the breadth to incorporate the people as active aids in crises; the grand result being that every good citizen can thereafter consider himself a part of the practical working of the machinery of the state, and however occupied, at his bench, his plough, or desk, be ready to stop and enter the service of the commonwealth, if only for a day. I look upon this feature of adaptability as a source of infinite strength in Americans."

With our cosmopolitan population, holding strata of heterogeneous and unassimilated elements, we may expect occasional disturbances. Efforts at agitation under different pleas and pretences may be put forth. The disaffected may assemble and proclaim their varied grievances, but all such are historically warned to pause and reflect; to be sure that their course is just, and that their action will not be a trespass upon the rights of others.

During Mr Coleman's later business experiences, the character of trade in California became greatly changed. From grass to grain, and from grain to

fruit was the general course of traffic, with precious ores intermingling; and Mr Coleman's being the leading business, naturally took the lead in handling whatever the country produced.

From the very first he had great faith in the agricultural resources of the state. As he came from the sandy plains, over the Sierra, and down into the valley of California, and saw the great oaks and thick underbrush, although the grass was dry, and unfit as he supposed for fodder, he said, "Wheat will grow here." Venturing a similar remark later, in the mines, his listeners laughed at him. "How do you expect grain to grow where there is no rain in the summer?" they asked. "Where wild oats grow six feet high, and ripen, you may be sure wheat will grow," Coleman replied. "Besides, did not the missionaries grow grain, and Sutter, and the Russians at Bodega?" Likewise when he went down to the bay, and saw only Chile flour and Sandwich island potatoes, he said, "Some day I will handle products of California, and load ships with them." Few, however, had the inclination or ability to see or reason on the subject, having come to the country to dig a season or two and then go away; so that it made little difference to them if flour fluctuated between $25 and $300 a barrel, between San Francisco and the mines, or if cured meats were 25 cents or a dollar a pound, and vegetables from 50 cents to two dollars a pound, while at their very door was soil which would produce the best wheat in the world.

"I had the pleasure," says Mr Coleman, "of presenting at the grain exchange in New York the first samples of California wheat ever seen there. I was a member of the exchange. This was in the early fifties. It attracted much attention and commendation. Mr David Dows asked me how much we could raise, and I told him that our product would be more than that of any state in the union in a comparatively short time."

"What will you do with it?"

"We will send it to Liverpool in competition with New York."

"How can you do that?" they asked, while ridiculing the idea.

"First, we can deliver grain in San Francisco as easily as it can be delivered at Chicago or St Louis. The freight from Chicago to New York ranges from 25 to 45 cents per bushel. We can lay it down in Liverpool at about what it costs to get your grain to New York."

"That is impossible."

"No, it is not, for the reason that California is now an importing state, and nearly all the vessels trading with us take nothing from San Francisco but ballast, or a cheap return cargo. Grain freights thence become very cheap."

The proposition was plain and true to a point. The best vessels in the world were sent to California; the Pacific trade evolved the fast-sailing clipper, with her sharp prow and trim sails. Crops, for the most part, could be brought by water from the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, and from the country around. These facilities of course were confined to points near water navigation. The Coleman line began in the fifties, and did a very large business during the sixties. It was not a wheat line. The vessels of this company took from California return cargoes, for the most part, of ores, manganese, wool, and hides. Ores came from Nevada, some from California, and went to the smelting-works in New Jersey, Baltimore, and other points east, and to Swansea. At the beginning, not only in their business, but in all business, ships coming to San Francisco depended on their inward cargo to repay them for the round voyage. Some received sailing orders in San Francisco to go to Manila for sugar, to China, India, and divers ports of the Pacific. Some of the ships returned via the gulf of Mexico, taking woods. Long lines of vessels went

direct to the Chincha islands, off Peru, and other islands and cities, for the Atlantic ports and other places.

In due time small shipments of wheat were sent with the ores, until enough was raised to make full cargoes of grain alone. Soon wheat had reached the foremost position in exports. Yet every vessel leaving obtained if possible other goods to make a mixed cargo, especially minerals, which they used as ballast or flooring, so as to raise the cargoes above damage from the water in the lower part of the vessel, but then, as now, while there are many wheat cargoes that go without any other merchandise, many ships take as a portion of the cargo the productions of the coast which are not prejudiced by nor prejudice wheat in turn. Prominent among these is salmon in cans, and preserved fruits in cases, which are stored in the upper part of the vessel.

Meanwhile the business of William T. Coleman and company assumed gigantic proportions. They had houses at Astoria, Los Angeles, Riverside, and in New York and London. They acted chiefly as factors, making advances in money on bills and shipments to New York and other Atlantic ports, and to Europe. They occasionally made ventures on their own account, but not to a large extent, excepting on cargoes of wheat, which they often owned entirely.

Mr Coleman practically inaugurated the foreign trade in Pacific-coast salmon, and held the leading place in it for a long series of years.

Wool, as a product of California, at one time held a very conspicuous position in our traffic, but now the lands have become not only too valuable for sheep-raising, but for most kinds of agriculture; fruit now is king. Hides were also prominent and profitable before tanneries were established on the coast. In early times the country about Hollister and Santa Bárbara had large sheep ranges, and indeed all along the coast range. So in regard to wool, the woollen

mills in due time established on the coast absorbed a portion of the product. Of many articles Coleman and company assumed control, not as manufacturers, but chiefly as agents for others. But it was with a view more especially to the proper distribution of canned, dried, and preserved fruits, that their several agencies were established, in which products as the yield continued to increase, more and more, they dealt in very largely, handling the entire crop of large areas, and the output of many of the canneries.

The line of sailing ships between New York and San Francisco, known as the California line, which Mr Coleman established in 1856, was well supported by his California friends; within twelve months from the sailing of the first ship his house was at the head of the shipping business between the two coasts, doing more than any other, and in fact the majority of the business. He also included in this enterprise a line of vessels from Boston, not as strong as that from New York, and had vessels also from Philadelphia and Baltimore. These lines were continued for several years, as long as it was profitable. He did the largest share of the export business from San Francisco by sail during the latter part of their activity on this line.

In 1858 there was a great outcry on the part of California against the Pacific Mail Steamship company. The charges for passengers and freight, and the imperious manner in which the business was conducted, made it extremely unsatisfactory. Indeed the company declined to receive any freight whatever from New York, unless it went through the hands of the express companies, and at a cost of from five to fifty cents per pound. Mr Coleman was then very active and prominent in New York. His office at 88 Wall street was the headquarters of Californians. He kept a register, and most Californians called and left their address. He was a general reference on all matters Californian. The people of San

Francisco discussed frequently the project of a line of independent vessels, say screws, between New York and San Francisco, via Panamá. These discussions crystallized one day in the meeting at his office of a number of leading Californians who were present in New York, and he was asked if he could not get up a line. He answered that he could do so with proper support; this was pledged, and he was requested to go forward. He laid out a plan for a line to consist of eight screw steamers, each of 3,000 tons capacity, five of them to be on the Pacific, and three on the Atlantic side. They should be run for freight exclusively. Then, instead of carrying from San Francisco and from New York, in each ship, the coals for the outward as well as return cargo, he determined to retain that space for freight, so far as possible, by having coal-hulks in reserve at Aspinwall and Panamá, so that the steamers could coal there afresh. This was a new idea to the P. M. S. S. Co., as far as related to Aspinwall. Coleman gave considerable time to arranging an elaborate pamphlet, which he issued, introducing a number of economies, and differing from the methods of the old line. All large shippers were met on even terms, with rates reduced to one fourth, and in some instances to one tenth, of the rates charged by the old express company. The policy was approved without qualification. The plan was sent to San Francisco, and there met with commendation. Then came the question of raising the money; and another one: "Who is to be the agent of this line?" Answer, "Coleman." "Oh, well, he is getting it up for himself." He then said "Gentlemen, I do not want the agency; give it to some one else; I have enough to do; I will subscribe what I can, but carry this through like men, and don't be children over it." Soon after Captain Comstock, the captain of the port for the Pacific Mail company, called on Coleman, and asked for a pamphlet of the new line. He gave him one. Then Mr

Hoadley of the Panamá railroad wanted one. Provisional rates of freight over the railway had been arranged; it was the chief difficulty and expense. Then Mr McLane, president of the Pacific Mail wanted a pamphlet. The result was that they held a conference; were alarmed at the outlook; were awakened to the reforms that were possible in their mode of business. The next trip of the Pacific Mail steamer saw the adoption of some of these reforms; they despatched vessels with coals to Aspinwall, and kept them there. They reduced the rates of freight. The result of the movement was that within a year the administration of the Pacific Mail company was entirely changed, and its steamers were taking freight from New York to San Francisco at reduced rates, which have since then fallen at times to ten dollars per ton.

Mr Coleman has done much in different ways toward the material improvement of the state. As early as 1851–2, he bought, filled in at a great expense, and reclaimed the tide-lots at the corner of California and Front streets, and built the large, fireproof warehouse which he long occupied. He was his own architect, selected the best material obtainable, and finished what was at the time the largest and confessedly the best warehouse on the Pacific coast, at which he could, at moderate rates then, obtain full fire insurance, which at the time was difficult to do on any building within the city. He did much other similar improvement, but his grander works were probably his enterprises in Marin county, when in 1871–2 he bought for cash some eight thousand acres of land, four thousand of which lay in a solid body, reaching from the heart of San Rafael to the bay on the eastward. He there projected an extension and addition to the town, employed the best landscape engineers in the state, laid out Magnolia and other parks, with broad avenues and streets and roads, about thirty-four miles in extent, and planted about

275,000 trees, 75,000 wine grapes, and built on the north side of Tamalpais mountain the Marin county water-works, which supplies the entire country around. He took the leading part in building the Sonoma and Marin railroad from San Rafael to Petaluma, afterwards in building the Hotel Rafael, and in other general improvements, thus creating one of the most beautiful and desirable suburbs on the coast.

Numberless incidents might be cited where Mr Coleman has given his time, money, and energetic efforts for the promotion of the interests of California and Californians, some of which efforts were appreciated and remembered with gratitude—it were hardly to be expected that all of them should be. No one man ever did more than he in this direction, and it is safe to say that no one in the community has more friends than he; no one who has lived through his times and experiences, and who has undergone trials by which men's integrity, character, and manhood are crucially tested, such as he has passed through, has survived the ordeal with brighter record or better name.

It is worthy of remark that in none of Mr Coleman's public efforts did he ever gain a penny, directly or indirectly; under no consideration would he accept pecuniary reward. His efforts were all for the good of the community, though they cost him much money, time, and labor. He would not, in any of his public enterprises, handle money at all. He always selected a good man for treasurer, and paid his full share of all expenses, frequently the larger share.

During the times of the vigilance committees Mr Coleman had been called a law-breaker, mobocrat, and strangler; but he was no more deserving of such epithets then than now, when assuming the leadership of law and order against open violence. He was as much in accord with the law and the existing form of government in the one instance as in the other.

A friend has written of him: "From early youth Cincinnatus was his model, a preference for home life,

with a sense of duty, and fitness to take the field, fill the forum, or lead in council. Prompt to offer life and fortune for needs of the state, he was ready to retire as soon as duty would permit. Once having entered on a work, he would see it finished, but when accomplished no temptation could induce him to remain, except absolute public necessities, the duties of which no one else present could satisfactorily perform. In great emergencies he thinks quickly, acts promptly, all his powers of body and mind rush to the front with force, the perceptions are acute, the will strong, temper calmly cool, and heart without fear."

Fifteen years ago I wrote in *Popular Tribunals* the following words, which I find no occasion at the present time to modify in any degree: "His early life was the school of business experience, a hand-to-hand conflict with fortune, where lusty strength was guided by wits newly whetted each morning for the day's encounter. During this part of his career I find no trace of questionable transactions, of business aberrations, or of those double dealings, not to say fraudulent failures and downright swindles, which stain the early record of so many who have since achieved pecuniary success.

"On the contrary, Mr Coleman's life has been one of honorable example from the beginning. Brought into prominence by superior skill and application, both at home and abroad his good name has ever been a shining mark for calumny, yet always one from which the fiery darts of evil-minded men fell harmless. No man has done more to elevate the standard of commercial morals in California, or to strengthen the commercial credit of San Francisco. During the eastern financial panic of 1857, when confidence was shaken and California's reputation particularly low, Mr Coleman with a few others wrought in New York an entire revulsion of feeling concerning Pacific coast credits. If there be one whom it were safe to

hold up as a model Californian, this is the man. Throwing himself into the vortex of adventure with all the ardor of high ambition, and with a mind of that highly tempered metal susceptible of the keenest edge, carefully avoiding meanwhile the shoals upon which so many noble characters are wrecked, who was a fitter chief than he? In honesty, practical sense, and presence of mind, he was not surpassed by any of his associates.

"Combining in a remarkable degree moral and physical courage, he was capable of extraordinary success. Without the slightest approach toward rowdyism, without pugilistic proneness in heart or in manner, preferring to the last moment the logic of mind to the logic of muscle, keeping his fine physique under the coolest control of intellect, he could, nevertheless, upon the failure of argument, employ the ultimate appeal with consummate force. In the Burdue-Stuart affair, as we have seen, his preparation for the combat which he saw brewing on that Sunday morning was to go home and change his Sunday clothes for his every-day apparel; yet in the hot exercises of that day none were cooler, none mingled more earnestly in the exciting duties, and none did more to quiet the troubled sea.

"If there be one quality more detestable than another to the average Californian mind, it is the quality of meanness. A man may be lax in his payments, having a dull sense of honor, of integrity; he may be immoral, dishonest in a dashing way, or even a fire-eater with human blood upon his hands; if he be not niggardly, abject, or socially sordid, all else may be forgiven him. On the other hand, no matter how intelligent, how learned, or pious or wealthy or temperate, no matter how exact in the fulfilment of all monetary and other obligations, if he be what is currently called mean, reptile-blooded, selfish, soulless, let him be anathema. California is not his country; unless, indeed, as some seem to

do, he covets contemptible distinction, and revels in an atmosphere of odium. I do not say that this is as it should be; I say that it is as it is.

"Mr Coleman is a man of intellect, of sound practical understanding, of genius if you like, and if his path had led through the more abstract realms of mind he would have made his mark in any one of the various fields of intellectual ambition, of science, statesmanship, or jurisprudence. To a thorough education early acquired he added general information; he was eminently intelligent and skilled in all the ways of commerce.

"When work was to be done he was one with the workers; saying not 'Go thou,' but 'Let us go.' In non-essentials he was in all respects yielding, but on vital points of policy or principle he was as the rock of Gibraltar. He liked to have his own way, as we all do, but his way was usually the best way. When he could not have it, however; when his associates ruled against him, as was frequently the case, he yielded with as good a grace as any man I ever knew. Though conciliatory toward inferiors, and toward those who follow well, should any attempt coercion he could be as haughty as a prince of Persia. . . . .

"In physique he presented a figure which would be remarked in a senate chamber, or in any gathering of cultivated men anywhere on earth. Of good stature, large, symmetrical in form, with a high intellectual forehead, and eyes of illimitable depth and clearness, his presence was always imposing, and would indeed be felt as awe-inspiring were it not for the visible good-humor that radiates from every feature. He is a man; place him anywhere you will, and he fills the position. Yet with all his commanding presence he drops to the level of his associates, whoever or whatever they may be, with instinctive grace and dexterity. In him unite, more than in any other man I ever met, the dignity of

sincerity with genial affability. He is essentially the most natural of men; there is nothing artificial about him, nor is there the slightest trace of affectation."

Among the many positions of honor conferred upon him were the presidency of the California Pioneers, the presidency of the Chamber of Commerce, and the presiding officer of numerous temporary organizations. He was three times nominated as regent of the state university, was requested to accept the major-generalship of the state, and often urged to serve as mayor, governor, and United States senator, but declined them all.

William T. Coleman married Carrie M. Page in Boston on the 11th of August, 1852, and was blessed with seven children—four boys and three girls —only two of whom, however, attained maturity, namely, Carlton Chinn, now associated with his father in the management of his affairs, and Robert Lewis, graduated with honors in the class of 1891 at Sheffield, Yale.

Mrs Coleman came from an old and honorable ancestry both in England and in the United States; her father, Daniel Dearborn Page, was born in 1790 at Parsonville in the state of Maine. When still in his youth, Mr Page sought the advantages afforded by Boston, then as now the principal city of New England. Here he married, on the 11th of April, 1818, Deborah Nash Young, born in Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1792, and a lineal descendent from Peregrin White, who was born in 1620 on board the *Mayflower*. Peregrin's father, William White, was a son of John White, a bishop of the church of England.

Mrs Coleman's parents, after their marriage, crossed the Alleghany mountains and settled themselves at Louisville, Kentucky, where they remained about two years, then went to St Louis, and after a short visit to New Orleans, they returned to St

Louis, and there established their permanent residence. Mr Page displayed great business qualifications, building the first water-works of the town, and becoming largely interested in a number of manufacturing enterprises, and in the improvement of landed property. He was elected the first mayor, holding two terms. In 1845 he founded at St Louis the historical banking firm of Page and Bacon.

Little remains to be said. The history of this life carries its own moral. Dull, indeed, must be the mind that cannot draw lessons from it. A noble youth, developing into noble manhood, bearing along and being borne by trains of events in which were involved the most important issues of mankind—the biography of such a man is a gospel from which all who study it may find food for the better part of their nature, and draw therefrom the essence of inspiration.

CHAPTER VI

ADVENT AND AGENCY OF LAW

Evolution of Self-subordination — Popular Tribunals and Military Rule — Life of Stephen J. Field, the Great Apostle of the Law — Early Experiences — Founding of Marysville — Election as Alcalde — Controversies with Turner and Barbour — Course as a Legislator — On the Supreme Bench of California — Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States — Code Revision Committee — Electoral Commission — Sharon-Hill-Terry Litigation — Neagle-Terry Tragedy — Infernal Machines — Personal Appearance and Traits.

In our investigations concerning the origin and under-currents of progress, we have frequently found ourselves in the wilderness alone with the products of civilization, the adjuncts thereof, being absent. A community whose members, like the members of other communities, were born under the dominion of law, suddenly awakes to the fact that it is living without law; that individuals thus thrown unexpectedly together, in a country where no law exists, must as best they may, become a law unto themselves. Thus arose popular tribunals, being, in many instances the outcome of attempts to administer non-existent laws.

Prior to the ownership of the United States, the strip of southern seaboard which constituted all that was occupied by civilization in Alta California, was ruled by priests and soldiers, with a small sprinkling of legal lights, whose official status was seldom above that of the ordinary alcalde. Subsequently, and to the time when gold was discovered, the country was

Stephen J. Field

nominally under military rule, though the influence of Stockton at Los Angeles, Mason at Monterey, or Persifer Smith or Riley at San Francisco, was not felt far away from salt water. The great interior, the valley of California, and the Sierra foothills, were practically without law or the administration of justice.

Among the builders of our western commonwealths, there are none whose names are more worthy of being placed on record than those by whom were formulated the constitution and laws of California. It was not until two or three years after the gold discovery that law and justice existed in their proper sense. For the former we depended largely on the regulations framed by mining camps, and for the latter on the administration of Judge Lynch. For forms a few home precedents sufficed, and for the settlement of differences courts were improvised, in which judge and jury, selected from the miners by the miners themselves, rendered their decisions with promptness, if not always with equity. In 1851, however, there was enacted by the first legislature elected after the admission of California to statehood, a complete code of civil and criminal procedure, the provisions of which have, with slight modifications, remained in force until this day. To the author of that code, Stephen Johnson Field, not only as its author, but as the founder of our judicial system, and for the third of a century himself a member of the judiciary, it is but due that more than passing mention should be made of his career.

Mr Field was born on the 4th of November 1816, at Haddam, Connecticut, where his father, the Reverend David Dudley Field, was an eminent congregational minister. His grandfathers, Timothy Field and Noah Dickinson, were captains in the war of the revolution, the latter receiving his baptism of fire under General Putnam in the French and Indian war. It was playfully remarked among the members

of the family, that Stephen's mother, Submit Dickinson Field, had been wrongly named, since she was a woman of great energy and determination of character. She is described by those who knew her as a singularly beautiful woman, possessing a graceful figure, an expressive countenance, and a happy, buoyant temperament, so that Grace or Hope would have been a more appropriate appellation than Submit. Her children regarded her with the greatest affection, and felt that they inherited from her their ability to work hopefully in the midst of adverse circumstances. Doubtless, too, they owe much of their success in life to her training and example.

> "Happy he
> With such a mother! faith in womankind
> Beats with his blood, and trust in all things high
> Comes easy to him."

In the early half of the present century the minister's family was in most New England villages the centre of intellectual and social life. If he were the graduate of a college, he expected to entertain the alumni at his simple board when they visited the parish, and scarcely a month passed without some distinguished guest being admitted to the inner circle of the parsonage. When he travelled from town to town the abode of his brother clergyman was always open to him, as indeed was that of anyone with whom he chose to sojourn, for in every country house was one spare room at least, and in most of them were several. Thus, while his income was small, and the external conditions of life were rude, neither he nor his family were denied the advantages of social intercourse.

Perhaps a less thoughtful couple than Dudley Field and his wife might have allowed their children to sink below their own level in the little town of Haddam, where they lived during the first fourteen years of their married life, since it was neither a wealthy nor a cultivated place, its inhabitants being mainly composed of farmers, sailors, stone-cutters,

and ship-builders. But in this modest household, amid the stone-quarries of the Connecticut valley was always maintained as high a standard of culture and refinement as in the homes of the wealthy and long descended. A graduate of Yale, the minister not only maintained his connection with his alma mater, but extended them to other associations, becoming vice-president of the historical society of Connecticut, and corresponding member of the historical societies of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Stephen, his seventh child, was frail and delicate, and that he survived the period of infancy was due to his mother's tender and constant care. When he was three years old the family removed to a larger parish at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and it was probably due to this change to the bracing air of the Berkshire hills that he grew to be a sturdy, active boy. His life varied little from that of other minister's sons until he was thirteen years of age, when an event occurred by which his early career was largely determined.

At that time the Greeks had but recently thrown off the Turkish yoke, and Byron's death at Missolonghi, and Marco Bozzaris' struggle for freedom on the classic field of Ilatœa were events still fresh in the minds of men. It was then that his brother-in-law, the Reverend Josiah Brewer, for years a missionary to eastern countries, and one deeply interested in the education of Greek women, was about to set forth for Greece, the Ægean islands, and the coast cities of Asia Minor. At the suggestion of David Dudley, his elder brother, who had ever at heart the interests of the younger members of the family, it was arranged that Stephen should accompany him, with a view to prepare himself for a professorship of Oriental languages. Gladly did Mr Brewer and his wife consent, for with both of them the boy was a favorite, and with him at their side they would feel less acutely the bitterness of their voluntary exile.

Ever afterward Stephen retained the most vivid impressions of this trip to Greece, regarding it as one of the most interesting events of his life. Here he learned to speak modern Greek fluently, keeping a journal in that language, and also acquired the elements of the Turkish, French, and Italian languages. One of the effects of his visit to Athens and its vicinity were to make him tolerant of the religious opinions and customs of foreign nations, and to give him a breadth of mental vision which enabled him to comprehend and sympathize with the feelings and prejudices of alien races.

Young Stephen was also an eye-witness of the devastations of the cholera which raged in Smyrna about this date, visiting the sick and dying in company with Mr Brewer, and carrying medicines for their relief. His brother, Henry Martyn, in his *Record of the Family*, thus describes in a single paragraph the horrors of the dread epidemic. "In the terrible plague of 1831," he writes, "every one avoided his neighbor, as if the slightest touch carried contagion. If two men met on the street, each drew away from the other, as if contact were death. Sometimes they hugged the walls of the houses, with canes in their hands, ready to strike down any one who should approach. All papers and letters coming through the mails were smoked and dipped in vinegar before they were delivered, lest they might communicate infection. Even vegetables were passed through water before they were taken from the hands of the seller."

After residing for more than two years in the east, Stephen, by the advice of Mr Brewer, returned home to enter an American college and fit himself for life in an American community; for a longer residence abroad, while his character was forming, might not be of much advantage. Entering William's college, Massachusetts, in 1833, he was selected to deliver the Greek oration in his junior year and the valedictory in the senior year, thus winning some of the highest

honors in the gift of his alma mater. Doubtless his acquaintance with modern Greek materially assisted him in the acquisition of the ancient tongue, for as Schliemann, the archæologist, remarks, the study of that language is the master-key with which most readily to unlock the treasures of Homer, Sophocles, and Plato.

Fortunately the plan of the professorship of Oriental languages seems to have been abandoned soon after his graduation, for, in the following spring, he began the study of law in the office of his brother David Dudley. His legal training was interrupted by a severe illness, and for a time thereafter he was a teacher in the Albany female academy. But even while teaching he devoted his spare hours to preparing for his chosen profession in the office of John Van Buren, then attorney-general of the state of New York.

After Mr Field was admitted to the New York bar, his brother admitted him into partnership, and for seven years they were associated in pleasant business relations. Doubtless this partnership would have continued for some years longer, but that Stephen was infected with the restlessness of youth, feeling that he had not yet found his life-work, longing to revisit Europe, and lay aside for a time at least the cares of his profession.

It happened that in June and November, 1845, the elder brother had written two articles, entitled "The Oregon Question," and the "Edinburgh and Foreign Quarterly on the Oregon Question," both of which were published in the *Democratic Review*, a noted political and literary magazine of that day. While preparing these articles he had become familiar with the geography of the Pacific coast, and foresaw, in the event of the United States obtaining possession of California, the rapid development of the region around San Francisco bay, although the wildest imagination could hardly have foreshadowed the reality of

its marvellous growth. "If I were a young man I would go to San Francisco," he observed, offering to pay his brother's expenses and invest in property for his benefit. But Stephen was intent on going to Europe. Some time thereafter, while the New York regiment was preparing for its westward journey, the elder brother again referred to the matter, and proposed that Stephen should accompany it; but again he declined, for though strongly tempted by the offer, he was not yet ready to cast himself adrift in that direction. Strange as it may seem in one so young and with his way still to make in the world, Europe, with her wealth of historic scenes and associations, with her works of ancient and modern art, was more attractive than the native wilds of California, with all her golden possibilities. Thus, in June 1848, he again embarked for the old world.

But the fates had already spun the web of his life with invisible thread, and he could not escape his destiny. At Galignani's news-room, in Paris, he read in the New York *Herald* President Polk's message, officially announcing the discovery of gold in the newly acquired territory of California. Over and over again, he read it, regretting that he had not accepted his brother's offer; but even as Lord Howard of Effingham, when news arrived that the Spaniards were in the English channel, directed his officers to finish their game of bowls before proceeding to attack the armada, so did our young traveller quietly complete his projected tour, visiting all the principal capitals of Europe, and returning to New York in October 1849.

On November 13th of this year we find him on board the *Crescent City*, bound for Chagres, and crossing the Isthmus he continued his voyage on the steamer *California*, one of the patriarchs of the Pacific Mail company. Although the ship was only of 1,000 tons burden, she carried 1,200 passengers, and such was the demand for berths that some of the steerage

passengers sold their tickets for $750. To make matters worse, the Panamá fever in its worst form broke out on board the crowded vessel, and now, recalling his experiences in Smyrna, Mr Field went fearlessly among the passengers, ministering to their wants. By one of them, who later became a prominent San Francisco lawyer, it was never afterward forgotten that to his care and skill he owed his life.

It was on the 28th of December, 1849, when the future chief-justice landed in San Francisco, his worldly effects consisting of the contents of his trunk, and for capital, the sum of $10, of which $7 were paid for the transportation of his baggage to the single room, some ten feet by eight, which he shared with two of his fellow-passengers. For breakfast, and that the cheapest that could be had, he expended two of his remaining dollars, and then with a single dollar in his pocket set forth to make his fortune, a stranger in a strange land. But he was not in the least dismayed; in fact, he had seldom been in higher spirits, and soon caught up the refrain that was upon every one's lips, "Is it not a magnificent country?"

Certain of his fellow-passengers had barely stepped on shore when they were impaneled upon a jury, and received eight dollars each for their services. Thinking of his solitary dollar, Field lingered in the court-room, and placed himself near the sheriff, in the hope of being called upon to do the state some service as a juror; but in vain; his time had not yet come. So that day he spent in strolling through the town, by no means in disconsolate mood, but on the contrary, enjoying everything he saw. As he passed down Clay street and had nearly reached the corner of Kearny, his attention was attracted by the sign "Jonathan D. Stevenson, Gold Dust Bought and Sold Here." Then for the first time he remembered that his brother had given him a note against Stevenson for $400. He had been well acquainted with this man in New York, and at once entering his office,

they had a pleasant chat together, in the course of which Stevenson remarked: "Ah, it's a glorious country! I have made over two hundred thousand dollars here." When Field heard this, he again shook hands with his friend, and felt the note burning in his pocket at the glad news. A moment later he presented it. But the face of him who dealt in gold-dust lengthened when he read the document which bore his signature, and his appearance was by no means that of a man who could meet with unconcern so trifling an obligation. It is impossible to say what were the feelings of the other at that moment; but at last Stevenson exclaimed in a sharp voice: "that's my signature," and began to calculate the interest. Finally he paid Mr Field the principal and interest, $440 in Spanish doubloons.

Out of these funds Field paid $300 as one month's rent for a law office on the corner of Montgomery and Clay streets, but during that time his only client was a fellow passenger who requested him to draw up a deed. He was fortunate enough, however, to sell, through an agent, some New York papers at a dollar a piece, from which he realized $34.

Among his letters of introduction to various San Francisco firms, was one to the mercantile house of Simmons, Hutchinson, and company, who owned some property in the embryo town of Vernon, on the Sacramento river, and offered to sell him a number of lots on credit, giving him a ticket with which to proceed on their steamer *McKim* to Sacramento city. Reaching that point, on the following day he embarked for Vernon on the steamboat *Lawrence*, a craft so small and crowded that she sank to within eighteen inches of the level of her deck, while the passengers were requested to remain quietly in their seats.

It was the year of the great flood, and Vernon was under water; so the boat continued up the river to Nye's rancho near the junction of the Feather and Yuba rivers. At this point forty or fifty of the pas-

sengers left the boat, and among them Mr Field. Here he found some five hundred people, most of them living in tents. The travellers made their way to an old adobe building, in which was an office where a real-estate speculator had spread out on the counter a map of a proposed town which he called Yubaville. Addressing Field, he urged him to buy some of the lots. "Suppose a man puts his name down and then does not want to take the lots?" inquired Field. "Oh, you need not take them if you don't want them," was the answer. Thereupon he put down his name for sixty-five lots, the aggregate value of which was $16,250. At the moment he had exactly $20 in his pocket. Immediately the report spread around Yubaville that Stephen J. Field, a great capitalist from San Francisco, was investing heavily. Two of the proprietors of the place, Frenchmen, named Covillaud and Sicard, when they found that the San Francisco capitalist could speak French fluently, expressed for him the warmest admiration, and insisted on showing him the town. Mr Field was not slow to observe that here was a promising site, at the head of steamboat navigation, easy of access to the mining camps, and destined soon to become a point of distribution for mining supplies. In exchange for the courtesy extended to him, he handed the Frenchmen some copies of the New York *Evening Post*, in one of which was the following notice:

"Among the passengers leaving in the *Crescent City* to-day is Stephen J. Field, Esq., of this city, brother and law partner of D. D. Field, Esq., one of the commissioners of the code of practice. Mr Field is on his way to San Francisco, where he proposes to practise his profession and take up his future residence. If he should realize either the hopes or the expectations of the numerous friends he leaves behind, he will achieve an early and desirable distinction in the promising land of his adoption."

The next morning M. Covillaud came to Mr Field in

an excited manner, with the paper containing this notice in his hand. "Ah, Monsieur!" he exclaimed, "are you indeed the Monsieur Field, the lawyer from New York, mentioned in this paper?" It seemed that the two Frenchmen had purchased several leagues of land from Captain Sutter, but were obliged to wait for a lawyer before they could obtain a conveyance of their property. Thus they were delighted to find in the new-comer what they so greatly desired, and at once engaged him to prepare the necessary documents, meanwhile despatching messengers to Sutter. But, the deed being drawn, it was found there was no official before whom it could be formally executed, and no place or functionary where or by whom a record of real estate transactions might be preserved. With his promptitude and fertility of resource, Field at once pointed out to the members of the new community the necessity of electing an officer for such purposes, and also to maintain order and settle disputes.

His suggestions were made known, and immediately accepted with enthusiasm. It happened that the frame of a house had been brought upon the steamer *Lawrence*, and on the next day was erected. Here in the evening all the tent and cabin dwellers were assembled and Mr Field made them a stirring speech, in which he set forth the natural advantages of the place, and showed the importance of organizing and establishing a government. If one has ever watched the rise of a city in California and noted with what eagerness the inhabitants regard the increase of population, he will understand with what enthusiasm the project was received. It was agreed to call a meeting before the adobe house the following morning, and Mexican forms still being prevalent in California law matters, two candidates were nominated for the office of alcalde—C. B. Dodson and Stephen J. Field. Each of them had his supporters, and, while Field was the favorite, there was one objection which, for a moment, threatened to prove fatal. He was a new comer, having

been in the town but three days, while Dodson had been there six days! At this juncture, one William H. Parks, who was engaged in transporting miners' supplies, made a bet of a dinner with a friend that Field would be elected, and directed his eleven teamsters to work and vote for his man. The election was hotly contested, but Field was finally chosen by a majority of nine.

The next important question was as to the name which should be given the town. Yubafield, Yubaville, and Circumdoro were the most popular ones proposed; but the matter was decided by a plain, old-fashioned argonaut, who arose and gravely informed the meeting that there was an American woman in the camp, and that her first name was Mary; therefore he proposed the town should be called Marysville in her honor. It would not have been the California of olden times, had not this proposition been unanimously adopted. A certificate of election was made out in due form, and forwarded to E. O. Crosby, the prefect of the district, who advised Mr Field to procure his appointment as justice of the peace, and so Americanize his office, which was done. How far was the step from a Marysville justice of the peace to a Washington justice of the United States supreme court, the sequel will presently explain. Here it need only be stated that after his election Mr Field went to Sacramento, and was sworn into office as first alcalde by the judge of the court of first instance, on the 22d of January, 1850, just twenty-five days after his arrival in California.

Property in Marysville rose rapidly in price, and within ninety days Mr Field sold more than $25,000 worth of land, while still retaining the greater portion of his lots. Purchasing in San Francisco some frame and zinc houses, he shipped them to Marysville and soon derived therefrom a rental of $1000 a month. His income as alcalde was considerable, for though when acting as judge in criminal cases he received

nothing, and in civil cases but little, his fees for affidavits, acknowledgments, and recording of deeds amounted to a very good revenue. In the then disorganized condition of affairs, all sorts of questions were brought to him for settlement. Controversies over the rates of wages, the expulsion of squatters, trials of criminals, even disputes between man and wife were brought under his jurisdiction. Substantial justice was administered without strict regard to forms and precedents, which sometimes obstruct rather than promote the ends in view. In the peace and good order maintained, and the respect shown for law, Marysville was the model town of California during the entire period that Mr Field was chief magistrate. He continued to perform the multiform duties of his office until superseded by the new officers of the state government.

And now, as to the administration of justice, the quiet town of Marysville was destined to witness a new and somewhat lively dispensation. Upon resuming his practice at the bar, Mr Field paid a visit of courtesy to the newly appointed judge of the eighth judicial district, William R. Turner, who had lived in Texas in the rough pioneer stages of its history, and was a violent pro-slavery man, arrogant, ignorant, of bad manners and worse morals. Mr Field presented him with copies of the latest issues of the New York *Evening Post*, and from this fact Turner inferred that he was an abolitionist, then deemed by the southerners the vilest of created beings. Hence he deliberately determined to insult him whenever the opportunity should offer, and the occasion was not far to seek. It chanced that the ex-alcalde was employed by Sutter, as counsel in the suit of Cameron vs. Sutter, then pending before Judge Turner, and a preliminary motion in the case was made by Field's associate, which was denied. Surmising that a provision of the practice act applicable to the question had been overlooked by the

court, Field arose and asked permission to read it. But instead of according permission as a matter of course, Turner, in insulting tone and language, ordered the attorney to sit down; whereupon the advocate, in a respectful manner, excepted to the ruling of the court, and stated that he would appeal. This added fuel to the flames of Turner's wrath, and in a loud and angry voice he shouted: "Fine that man $200." "Very well," quietly remarked the other, and for this he was sentenced to an additional fine of $300, and imprisonment for eight hours. A similar response by the lawyer elicited another outbreak from the judge, this time with a fine of $400 and imprisonment for twelve hours. A protest from the victim, that it was his right to appeal from the order of the judge, and that to take exception to a decision and give notice of appeal could not constitute contempt of court, was construed into an aggravation of the previous offending, and the judge cried out: "I fine him $500 and commit him twenty-four hours—forty-eight hours,—turn him out of court,—subpœna a posse,—subpœna me!" Field thereupon left the court-room, accompanied by his associate in the case, and was followed by the deputy-sheriff, who, at the express order of Turner, put him under lock and key, —that is, he locked up the ex-alcalde in his own office. Being thus technically imprisoned, a writ of *habeas corpus* was sued out, and Field was brought before the county judge, Henry P. Haun, by whom he was discharged, the officer having no warrant for his arrest This proceeding coming to Turner's ears, he hurled vengeance upon all concerned, and particularly on Judge Haun, to whom he applied the vilest epithets, declaring he would teach that fellow his position as an inferior judge.

When the district court next opened, Turner made an order that Field be disbarred, for suing out a writ of *habeas corpus* to secure his own release from imprisonment, and that two other attorneys be also

disbarred for testifying upon the return of the writ before the county judge, whom he fined $50, and ordered imprisoned for forty-eight hours. Haun paid his fine, and left the court-room, while Field was taken into custody by the sheriff. Another writ of *habeas corpus* was issued, and Field a second time brought before the county judge. On this occasion the sheriff, by the direction of Turner, proceeded to the court-room, and while the judge was presiding over his own court, attempted to arrest him and drag him from the bench. But the judge rose to the occasion, and stepping to a closet drew therefrom a navy revolver, pointed it at the sheriff, and declared he would shoot him dead if he persisted in enforcing the orders of Turner. He also imposed a fine of $200 for contempt of court, and appointed a temporary bailiff, who promptly ejected the sheriff and his party. In due time the matter of disbarment was brought before the supreme court, and Turner's orders were annulled. During the interval, however, the effect of these disgraceful proceedings of Turner was to ruin the practice of Mr Field. Such was justice in the early days of Marysville and in the metropolis, and elsewhere in the state scenes equally outrageous were of no unfrequent occurrence.

Upon the reörganization of the judicial districts, Turner was transferred from Yuba county, and Field was no longer brought in contact with him. A few years later, when Mr Field had become a member of the supreme court and the validity of Turner's election to his new district came before the appellate tribunal for decision, the former refused to sit at the hearing of the case, but left the decision to his associates. Soon afterward Turner, who was surprised and overcome by the forbearance of one to whom, of malice aforethought, he had given serious and unprovoked offence, endeavored to effect a reconciliation; but the latter felt that the injuries and indignities he had suffered could not be lightly excused, and

repelling the advances of his old enemy, simply remarked to him who acted as mediator that the world was wide enough for both, and that each one would go his own way. In 1867, resolutions with a view to Turner's impeachment for gross judicial misconduct were introduced in the legislature, but action thereon was forestalled by his resignation, and soon afterward he ended his days an inmate of an inebriate asylum.

It might have been supposed that after such a controversy, the result of which so thoroughly vindicated Mr Field, there would be no similar experience in store for him. But law, like all things human, is founded on antagonisms, and there was much feeling in California in those days between men from the north and those from the south. In accordance with the provisions of the law of 1851, reörganizing the judicial districts of the state, the counties of Yuba, Nevada, and Sutter constituted the tenth judicial district, of which, through the influence of Judge Field, Gordon M. Mott was appointed by the governor the first judge. In the autumn of that year, an election was held, at which William T. Barbour, a lawyer of Nevada county, was elected to succeed Mott, who refused to surrender his seat, on the ground that his successor could not be legally chosen until the election of 1852. The views of the latter were upheld by Field, who appeared as his counsel when the question was brought before the supreme court. Hence was aroused the most bitter hostility on the part of Mr Barbour, one that was entirely unwarranted, was without fair ground of provocation, was without just cause or reason, for, as it will be remarked, Judge Field was acting only in his professional career, and as is the case with all reputable members of that profession, doing for the cause of his client everything that lay in his power.

In the following year Barbour was again elected, when he began to use the most violent and abusive

language against Mr Field, who had labored zealously for his opponent. The quarrel ran high, and finally the conduct of the judge became so utterly intolerable that there remained no alternative but to send him a challenge. An hour or two later Charles S. Fairfax waited on Mr Mott—the two being chosen as seconds—stating that, after consultation with his principal, the conditions proposed were a meeting that very evening in a room twenty feet square, the participants to be armed with Colt's revolvers and bowie knives. Both seconds agreed that these terms were barbarous and unprecedented, but Barbour would listen to no others. Judge Field, however, knew his man, and convinced that his bloodthirsty proposition was merely the subterfuge of a coward, instructed Mott to accept. This being reported to Barbour, Fairfax presently returned with certain modifications of the terms. First of all, his principal would agree to dispense with bowie knives; then for the first time it occurred to him that to fight in a room would be improper, because the firing might attract a crowd. Would the challenger consent to other arrangements, solely, of course, with a view to avoid a disturbance of the public peace? Finally it was arranged that the meeting should take place the next morning in Sutter county, Barbour taking one of the Sacramento stages, and his opponent proceeding by private conveyance to the appointed rendezvous. At the time and place agreed on, Field appeared on the ground, accompanied by his second, and soon afterward Barbour and Fairfax alighted from the stage, which then passed on some distance down the road. But now occurred another change in the programme. Instead of proceeding to business, Barbour declared that his judicial office forbade him to engage in a duel, but that in defense of his person he would kill his assailant! with which valiant proclamation, he walked down the road to the stage and proceeded on his way to Sacramento, leaving his second, Fairfax, standing

alone on the ground, in sore amaze at this unexpected but fitting conclusion to the drama.

But the end was not yet. Taking Fairfax into his carriage, Mr Field returned to Marysville, where the incidents just narrated soon became known, and the conduct of Barbour was the occasion of much humorous and sarcastic comment. A few squibs appeared in the Marysville *Herald*, at which Barbour was greatly enraged, and demanded the name of their author. To oblige him, Field instructed the publisher to credit the authorship of the obnoxious paragraphs to himself, although in fact he knew nothing of them until they appeared in print. A day or two afterwards, when in front of his office, he was suddenly accosted by Barbour, who placed a revolver near his head, exclaiming, "Draw and defend yourself." Nothing daunted Field calmly informed him that he carried no weapon, and that he could do as he pleased. But again, as in the case of his prototype, Bob Acres, the judge's courage failed, and like the Arab in Longfellow's poem, he "silently stole away."

There was a number of witnesses to this affair, one of whom, a friend of Barbour's, Mr L. Martin, wrote to Judge Field in March 1854, a letter, in which, among other things, he said: "Judge Barbour told me the night before that he expected to have a street fight with you, and wanted me to accompany him. I had heard of his conduct in the affair of his intended duel in Sutter county, and knew that there was bad blood between you; but I was astonished at his saying there was going to be a difficulty between you in the street. I consented to accompany him, but I supposed of course you had received notice of his purpose, and that there would be no unfair advantage taken by him. I was therefore surprised when I saw you in front of your office with your arms partly filled with small pieces of wood, apparently to kindle a fire. Barbour's drawing a pistol upon you under these circumstances, and calling upon you to draw and defend yourself,

was not what we call in the south very chivalric. It was not justified by me then, and never has been in any way or manner, and I told him he had acted badly. I was glad to hear you defy him as you did, and dare him to shoot."

About a year afterward Barbour attempted to explain, and as far as possible to excuse his conduct, and at a subsequent meeting between them expressed great regret at what had occurred. Although, of course, no real esteem could be felt for such a man, Field was perfectly willing that here the matter should end. When they met for the first time after an apology was made, he said, as they drank a glass of wine together: "Here is to an act of oblivion, but no explanations." Ever afterward Barbour spoke of him in the highest terms, both personally and professionally.

These episodes in the life of Mr Field, while displaying some of the strongest traits in his character, serve also, as he himself remarks, "to illustrate the semi-barbarous condition of things in those early days, and by comparison show out of what our existing condition has been evolved, and how far we have advanced."

Soon after the termination of his duties as alcalde, Judge Field received the nomination for the assembly from his district; and although not backed by any organized political party, made a vigorous and successful canvas. Immediately after his election to this the first legislature chosen after the admission of California to statehood, he began the preparation of the law subsequently to be enacted, relating to the judiciary. Upon the assembling of that body, which took place on the first Monday of January 1851, at San José, he was appointed a member of the judiciary committee, and to it submitted a carefully prepared bill creating the judicial system. The committee reported favorably, and it passed into law, remaining in force in all its essential features until the reörgan-

ization of the judiciary by the new constitution of 1879. In fact, it may be said that fundamentally it is in force to-day. Besides dividing the state into eleven judicial districts, in which the geographical and topographical conditions and relations of localities were carefully considered, the jurisdiction of the various courts, from that of justice of the peace to the supreme court, was specifically defined.

Following this, in due logical order, came the civil practice act, now called the code of civil procedure. The magnitude and importance of this work can only be appreciated by those who have studied the history of judicial procedure in England, and in the older states of the union. Law reformers, from Jeremy Bentham to David Dudley Field, have devoted the highest ability and the widest learning, with unremitting labor, to the accomplishment of those changes which they felt to be necessary to the adequate and speedy administration of justice. At this time David Dudley Field had been only partially successful in securing the adoption of the reformed methods of judicial procedure in New York, and the practice in civil cases in that state is still governed by rules drawn from different sources,—the code, the revised statutes, and the general principles deduced from decisions in common law and equity, besides the special rules promulgated by the various courts themselves.

To frame this bill, as the one prepared by Stephen Field, required not merely a theoretical knowledge of the subject, drawn from books, and a practical acquaintance gained by experience and observation in court, but the power of clear and concise statement and definition. The problem to be solved was to set forth the rules in language scientifically accurate, which should avoid metaphysical subtlety on the one hand and loose phraseology on the other. That it was successfully solved is proved by the fact that it stood forty years after its compilation substantially as it came from the hand of its author, and that it has

formed the basis of the codes of other states and territories.

Next came the criminal practice act, now in force under the name of the penal code. The object in view was to simplify the procedure, so that the community should be protected by the prompt and legal punishment of the offenders, while at the same time every safeguard was thrown around the accused, shielding him from the dangers of local prejudice and sudden popular fury. Like the judiciary bill and civil practice act, this required ample knowledge of the subject and the faculty of clothing it in apt scientific phrase. After devoting to this work the necessary labor, there was barely time to introduce the bill during the closing hours of the legislative session; there was not even time to read it, but such was the confidence reposed in its author, that the rules were suspended, and the bill was read by its title only and passed. It then went to the governor who said he had not time to consider it before the adjournment of the legislature, and was disinclined to approve it without examination. Thereupon Mr Field, knowing how important it was that the bill should become law, in order that the efficiency of the measures already passed might not be impaired, urged the governor to sign it, and to this he finally consented on the personal recommendation of the author.

Among the most beneficent provisions of the civil practice act were those relating to miners, and those exempting certain property from forced sale for the payment of debts. The first required the courts to recognize and enforce the customs, rules, and usages of miners in actions respecting mining claims, providing such customs, rules, and usages were not in contravention of the laws of the state, or of the United States. The second exempted from forced sale under execution furniture and books of $100 value; necessary wearing apparel, and provisions for one month; the implements, wagons, and teams of the farmer; the

tools of the mechanic; the instruments and chests of the surgeon, physician, surveyor, or dentist, and the articles necessary for the work of the miners and laborers.

"I never could appreciate," said Mr Field, "the wisdom of that legislation which would allow a poor debtor to be stripped of all needed articles of his household, and of the implements by which alone he could earn the means of supporting himself and family, and of ultimately discharging his obligations. It has always seemed to me that an exemption from forced sale of a limited amount of household and kitchen furniture of the debtor, and of the implements used in his trade or profession, was not only the dictate of humanity but of sound policy."

Besides these most important measures, Field drafted and secured the passage of an act relating to county sheriffs, declaring and defining their duties and responsibilities in the execution of process, in the detention of prisoners, and as keepers of county jails. To him is due the enactment of a law concerning divorce, in which, besides adultery, extreme cruelty, habitual intemperance, wilful desertion, and wilful neglect, were made sufficient causes. He also drew up the charters of the cities of Marysville, Nevada, and Monterey, all of which were adopted. Finally, he secured the passage of many necessary laws introduced by other members of the legislature, notably that concerning attorneys and counsellors-at-law, whereby they were effectually protected from the infliction of such injuries as he himself had suffered at the hands of Judge Turner, making it impossible to deprive a lawyer of his right to practice without notice of the charges against him, and full opportunity to be heard in his defense. The principles embodied in this statute he afterward thoroughly vindicated, when he had become a justice of the supreme court of the United States, in the case of one Robinson, reported in 19 *Wallace*, in which, while

fully upholding the courts in the just exercise of their powers to protect themselves by the summary process of contempt, he enforces the basic principle of all free government that no man shall be condemned unheard.

His legislative duties completed, Mr Field returned to Marysville, and declining all offers of political preferment, devoted himself exclusively to his profession. Owing to his troubles with Turner, which, as I have said, completely destroyed his practice, and to the miscarriage of some of his business ventures, he found himself about $18,000 in debt, upon which he was obliged to pay interest at the rate of ten per cent per month,—his creditors with one exception, exacting from him their pound of flesh. Many a man would have become disheartened, and have abandoned further effort; but he never for a moment faltered, denying himself all but the barest necessaries of life until he could say that what he possessed was his own. Gradually his practice increased, so that it became in time one of the most lucrative in the state, and in less than three years he had paid off all his debts, which, with the enormous rate of interest, aggregated the sum of $38,000. In no instance did he ask for a reduction of that rate; nor was it offered to him, except in the case of a brother advocate, who holding his note for $450, refused to accept more than five per cent a month.

At that time the Marysville bar included some names which have since become well-known throughout the state. Among them were Richard S. Mesick, afterward district judge of the state of Nevada; Charles H. Bryan, for a short time judge of the California supreme court; Jesse O. Goodwin, author of the Goodwin act; William Walker, filibuster, and grey-eyed man of destiny; E. D. Wheeler, subsequently judge of the 19th district court, and Thomas B. Reardon, who became judge of the 14th district court, and presided at the second trial of Laura D. Fair, in place of Judge Dwinelle.

Mr Field was a safe counsellor and a model advocate, and his clients soon learned to repose confidence in his judgment. He left nothing to chance, or to what has been facetiously styled "spontaneous combustion." He had no faith in the vulgar conception of inspiration; to him, success signified the legitimate consequence of logical thought and untiring industry. Not that he believed that thorough preparation was incompatible with such flashes of rhetoric as are evoked by the fervent heat of intellectual controversy. Such masters of forensic eloquence as Erskine, Pinkney, Choate, and O'Conor—not to speak of the living—attained their proud preëminence in their profession only through constant and well-directed labor. In a word, they had mastered the law, both as a science and an art.

Such was Stephen J. Field at this early day, when everything pointed to his successful career as an advocate, and if he had declined all offers of promotion to the bench he might speedily have amassed an ample fortune. But he had identified himself with the interests of the new state of California to such an extent that he preferred to take whatever position would best subserve the commonwealth. At that time California needed good advocates less than she needed good judges. Immense grants of land had been bestowed by the Mexican government upon a few favored individuals. Some of them were comparatively well defined, while others, like that of Las Mariposas, which included Fremont's claim, were undetermined, and afterward the subject of bitter and protracted litigation.

Settlers, squatters, and miners crowded into the state by thousands, taking whatever land seemed to be unoccupied, often evicting the true owners, whom the United States had promised by treaty to protect. In the words of Judge J. Black: "When the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo came to be ratified,—at the very moment when Mexico was feeling the sorest

pressure that could be applied to her by the force of our armies, and the diplomacy of our statesmen, she utterly refused to cede her public property in California unless upon express condition that all private titles should be faithfully protected. We made the promise. The pledge was not only that the government itself would abstain from all disturbance of them, but that every blow aimed at their rights, come from what quarter it might, should be caught upon the broad shield of our blessed constitution and our equal laws."

Statutes had to be framed in respect to miners, which should protect their peculiar industry, and at the same time have due regard to the rights of the tillers of the soil; charters had to be drawn for new cities, and, in a word, all that goes toward the making of a civilized state had to be crowded into a single decade. The condition of affairs when Field accepted the position of judge of the supreme court of California is thus described by a jurist of the day:—

"The calendar was crowded with cases involving immense interests, the most important questions, the most various and peculiar litigation. California was then, as now, in the development of her multiform material resources. The judges were as much pioneers of law as the people of settlement. To be sure, something had been done, but much had yet to be accomplished; and something, too, had to be undone of that which had been done in the feverish and anomalous period that had preceded. It is safe to say that, even in the experience of new countries hastily settled by heterogeneous crowds of strangers from all countries, no such example of legal or judicial difficulties was ever before presented as has been illustrated in the history of California. There was no general or common source of jurisprudence. Law was to be administered almost without a standard. There was a civil law, as adulterated or modified by Mexican provincialisms, usages, and habitudes, for a

great part of the litigation; and there was the common law for another part, but what that was was to be decided from the conflicting decisions of any number of courts in America and England, and the various and diverse considerations of policy arising from local and other facts. And then, contracts made elsewhere, and some of them in semi-civilized countries, had to be interpreted here. Besides all which may be added, that large and important interests peculiar to this state existed,—mines, ditches, etc.—for which the courts were compelled to frame the law, and make a system out of what was little better than chaos.

"When, in addition, it was considered that an unprecedented number of contracts, and an amount of business without parallel had been made and done in hot haste with the utmost carelessness; that legislation was accomplished in the same way, and presented the crudest and most incongruous materials for construction; that the whole scheme and organization of the government and the relation of the departments to each other had to be adjusted by judicial construction,—it may be well conceived what task even the ablest jurist would take upon himself when he assumed this office."

In 1857, Mr Field was elected judge of the supreme court of California for a term of six years, commencing January 1, 1858; but a vacancy occurred requiring an appointment for an unexpired term of three months next preceding the commencement of the term for which he had been elected. Judge Field was thereupon pressed to assume at once the duties of his office, and to this he reluctantly consented, receiving his appointment from Governor Johnson, who was a political opponent, and taking his seat on the bench on the 13th of October 1857. Some two years later, when Judge Terry, who in the mean time had become chief-justice, resigned in order to fight the celebrated duel with David C. Broderick, which created almost as much of a sensation throughout the land as did

that of Hamilton and Burr, Mr Field became chief-justice.

It is not necessary to give an account of the many important cases decided by Judge Field during his term of five and a half years as judge of the state supreme court. Among those decisions, however, may be mentioned the famous case of Biddle Boggs *vs.* Merced Mining company, in which was involved the title to a valuable portion of the Mariposa grant, claimed by Fremont. A most elaborate, learned, and interesting discussion, by counsel and court, of English, Mexican, and American law, is contained in the report of the case, which comprises more than one hundred closely printed pages of the 14th volume of *California Reports*. The legal acumen and close logical reasoning displayed therein affords matter of the deepest interest to the public, no less than to the professional reader.

Among other cases worthy of mention are those of ex parte Neuman, 9 Cal. 502, and ex parte Andrews, 18 Cal. 680, in which the validity of Sunday laws was the subject of judicial consideration. In the first case the court held that such laws were unconstitutional and void, as attempting to interfere with matters of religious belief. Judge Field wrote a dissenting opinion, in the course of which he said :—

"Upon no subject is there such a concurrence of opinion among philosophers, moralists, and statesmen of all nations, as on the necessity of periodical cessations from labor. One day in seven is the rule, founded on experience and sustained by science. There is no nation, possessing any degree of civilization, where the rule is not observed, either from the sanctions of law or the sanctions of religion. This fact has not escaped the observation of men of science, and distinguished philosophers have not hesitated to pronounce the rule founded upon a law of our race.

"The legislature possesses the undoubted right to

pass laws for the preservation of health and the promotion of good morals, and if it is of the opinion that periodical cessation from labor will tend to both, and thinks proper to carry its opinion into a statutory enactment on the subject, there is no power, outside of its constitution, which can sit in judgment upon its action. It is not for the judiciary to assume a wisdom which it denies to the legislature, and exercise a supervision over the discretion of the latter. It is not the province of the judiciary to pass upon the wisdom and policy of legislation; and when it does so it usurps a power never conferred by the constitution."

In the case of ex parte Andrews, the doctrines of his dissenting opinions, just quoted, were adopted and promulgated as the opinions of the supreme court, and have been followed ever since, despite the changing personnel and diverse political opinions of that tribunal. The Sunday law, which was nullified by the decision in the Neuman case, was passed in April 1858; the second, which was upheld, was passed in May 1861, and remained in force until repealed by the act of February 8, 1883, at the beginning of the administration of Governor Stoneman.

As in the case of Neuman, Judge Field deprecated any attempt on the part of the courts to interfere in any way with the exercise of powers belonging to the legislature, so in that of Houston *vs.* Williams, 13 Cal. 24, he vigorously repelled what he considered an encroachment by the legislature upon the rights of the judiciary. The arguments which he put forward in support of his views have never been answered, for they are in fact unanswerable.

Perhaps apart from establishing rules for the settlement of disputed land titles, of rights to mining claims, and of the powers of municipal corporations, his influence was most potent in the interpretation of the system of pleading and practice, which as we have seen he introduced as legislator. Especially in

the case of Green *vs* Palmer, 15 Cal., judicial sanction was given to the seminal principles of the reformed and rational system of pleading, and that case has ever since remained one of the prominent guide-posts in this branch of the science of law.

When a tenth United States judicial district was created, and an additional justice of the supreme court of the United States was to be appointed, the entire Pacific coast delegation, democrats and republicans alike, urged President Lincoln to appoint Judge Field. He was immediately nominated by the president, and his nomination was unanimously confirmed by the senate. Though his commission was dated March 10, 1863, he declined to take his seat until some two months later, for many important cases were pending in California which he considered it his duty to decide. The oath of office was administered on the eighty-second anniversary of his father's birthday, who, in full possession of all his faculties, rejoiced in the advancement of his son.

Of the many tributes of respect paid to him by bar and bench on withdrawing from the highest judicial position in the gift of the state, one only, and that of the briefest, will suffice. Said Judge Baldwin, for several years his associate: "He has, more than any other man, given tone, consistency, and system to our judicature, and laid broad and deep the foundation of our civil and criminal law. The land titles of the state—the most important and permanent of the interests of a great commonwealth—have received from his hand their permanent protection, and this alone should entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the bar and the people."

Since Field has been on the bench of the supreme court of the United States, Taney, Chase, Waite, and Fuller have occupied the positions of chief justice, and among his associates were Wayne, Catron, Nelson, Grier, Clifford, Swayne, Miller, and Davis. It is pertinent to give only a passing notice to the long list of cases that have been decided since 1863 by that

august tribunal. Among those of immediate interest and of far-reaching consequence, growing out of the war between the north and south, may be mentioned the test oath cases, in one of which a Roman Catholic priest was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of $500, because he had taught the doctrines of his church without taking the test oath. In the other, A. H. Garland was prohibited from practising his profession as a lawyer, because of his participation in the rebellion. In both instances Justice Field delivered the opinion of the court, holding the legislation under which these penalties had been inflicted to be in violation of the constitution of the United States.

In the suits known as the slaughter-house cases, he dissented from the view of the majority, and in the course of his opinion made an unexpected application of the 14th amendment of the constitution of the United States. A monopoly had been granted to a corporation composed of seventeen persons, to exercise the exclusive privilege of slaughtering cattle for the city of New Orleans. The attempt was made to justify the act under the pretense that it was a sanitary measure, and a proper exercise of the police powers of the state. We quote the following from his opinion, as it is one of the best examples of the clear, concise style which characterizes all his decisions:

"It is contended in justification of the act in question that it was adopted in the interest of the city, to promote its cleanliness and protect its health, and was the legitimate exercise of what is termed the police power of the state. That power undoubtedly extends to all regulations affecting the health, good order, morals, peace, and safety of society, and is experienced on a great variety of subjects, and in almost numberless ways. All sorts of restrictions and burdens are imposed under it, and when these are not in conflict with any constitutional prohibitions, or fundamental principles, they cannot be safely

assailed in a judicial tribunal. With this power of the state and its legitimate exercise, I shall not differ from the majority of the court. But under the pretense of prescribing a police regulation, the state cannot be permitted to encroach upon any of the just rights of the citizen, which the constitution intended to secure against abridgment.

"If exclusive privileges of this character can be granted to a corporation of seventeen persons, they may in the discretion of the legislature be equally granted to a single individual. If they may be granted for twenty-five years, they may be equally granted for a century, and in perpetuity. If they may be granted for the landing and keeping of animals intended for sale or slaughter, they may be equally granted for the landing and storing of grain and other products of the earth, or for any article of commerce. If they may be granted for structures in which animal food is prepared for market, they may be equally granted for structures in which farinaceous or vegetable food is prepared. They may be granted for any of the pursuits of human industry, even in its most simple and common forms. Indeed, upon the theory on which the exclusive privileges granted by the act in question are sustained, there is no monopoly in the most odious form which may not be upheld.

"A prohibition to him to pursue certain callings open to others of the same age, condition, and sex, or to reside in places where others are permitted to live, would so far deprive him of the rights of a freeman, and would place him, as respects others, in a condition of servitude. . . . . The counsel of the plaintiffs in error therefore, contend that 'whenever a law of the state, or a law of the United States, makes a discrimination between classes of persons, which deprives the one class of their freedom on their property, or which makes a caste of them to subserve the power, pride, avarice, vanity, or vengeance of others,' their

involuntary servitude exists within the meaning of the 13th amendment."

The decision of the supreme court in respect to the privacy of mail matter, in which Field wrote the opinion, is of great interest to every citizen of the United States. Travellers who have had their private correspondence tampered with by foreign governments will particularly appreciate the force of his reasoning. After showing that congress has a right to prescribe what kind of matter may be transmitted by means of the public mails, he states the rights of the people to a safe and secret transportation of matter entrusted by them to the post office, in the following words:

"Letters and sealed packages of this kind in the mail are as fully guarded from examination, except as to their outward form and weight, as if they were retained by the parties forwarding them in their own domiciles. The constitutional guaranty of the right of the people to be secure in their papers against unreasonable searches and seizures extends to their papers, thus closed against inspection, whatever they may be. Whilst in the mail, they can only be opened and examined under like warrant, issued upon similar oath or affirmation, particularly describing the thing to be seized, as is required when papers are subjected to search in one's own household. No law of congress can place in the hands of officials connected with the postal service any authority to invade the secrecy of letters and such sealed packages in the mails; and all regulations adopted as to mail matter of this kind must be in subordination to the great principle embodied in the fourth amendment of the constitution."

Not infrequently it has been the fate of Judge Field to render decisions which at the time occasioned strong feelings of resentment, but which the sober second thought of the people fully approved. A case of this kind, which excited the most bitter hostility on the Pacific coast, was that rendered in what is popularly styled the queue case, How Ah How *vs.*

Matthew Nunan, sheriff. At that time the wave of popular feeling against the Chinese had reached its highest point, and many outrages were committed upon them during the agitation. How Ah How had been imprisoned for violating the cubic-air ordinance, and the sheriff, in obedience to an ordinance of the board of supervisors of the City of San Francisco, cut off his queue. This ordinance, which purported to be merely a sanitary regulation of the municipality, required that every person confined in the county jail should have his hair cut off within two inches of his head, and although general in its terms, was directed specially against the Chinese. Every one knows that the deprivation of his queue is one of the greatest calamities that can befall a Chinaman, since it is considered as not only disgracing him in this world, but as endangering his happiness in the next. Suit was brought by the Chinaman, against the sheriff, in the United States circuit court, to recover damages for the injury caused by the loss of his queue. The determination of the case involved the validity of the ordinance referred to, and in deciding the question Judge Field delivered an opinion in which he declared the ordinance to be special legislation, directed against the Chinese, by which they were denied the equal protection of the laws; that it was in violation of the fourteenth amendment of the constitution of the United States, and therefore void.

In the United States supreme court he has, for more than a quarter of a century, borne his share of its labors. His opinions, among other things, relate to test oaths, military commissions, confiscations, pardon and amnesty, legal tender notes, legislative power of the insurgent states during the civil war, protection of sealed matters in the mails from inspection by officials, power of the state to control compensation for use of private property, relation between general and state governments, powers and liabilities of corporations, interstate commerce, taxation, trust character

of directors of corporations, and the use of running waters on public lands.

Among the more important of these opinions the following may be mentioned: In the test oath cases, *Cummings* v. *Missouri*, 4 Wall. 277, and *Ex parte Garland*, 4 Wall. 333. In cases relating to interstate commerce, *Welton* v. *Missouri*, 91 U. S. 275; *County of Mobile* v. *Kimball*, 102 U. S. 691; *Gloucester Ferry Co.* v. *Pennsylvania*, 114 U. S. 196; *Sherlock* v. *Alling*, 93 U. S. 99; *Escanaba* v. *Chicago*, 107 U. S. 678; *Miller* v. *Mayor of New York*, 109 U. S. 385; *Cardwell* v. *American Bridge Co.*, 113 U. S. 205; and *Huse* v. *Glover*, 119 U. S. 543. In cases on questions growing out of the civil war, *Williams* v. *Bruffy*, 96 U. S. 176; *Coleman* v. *Tennessee*, 97 U. S. 509; *Pacific Railroads* v. *United States*, 120 U. S. 227; *Dow* v. *Johnson*, 100 U. S. 158; and the *Tarble Case*, 13 Wall. 397. On constitutional questions particularly affected by the fourteenth amendment, *Barbier* v. *Connelly*, 113 U. S. 27; *Soon Hing* v. *Crowley*, 113 U. S. 703; *Missouri Pacific Railway Co.* v. *Humes*, 115 U. S. 512; *Hayes* v. *Missouri*, 120 U. S. 65. On state, city, and county bonded indebtedness, *Pillsbury* v. *Louisiana*, 105 U. S. 278; *Hartman* v. *Greenhow*, 102 U. S. 672; *United States* v. *New Orleans*, 98 U. S. 381; *Broughton* v. *Pensacola*, 93 U. S. 266. On patents of the United States for lands and mining claims, *Smelting Co.* v. *Kemp*, 104 U. S. 636; *Steel* v. *Smelting Co.*, 106 U. S. 447. On mining claims and water rights, *Jennison* v. *Kirk*, 98 U. S. 453; *Atchison* v. *Peterson*, 20 Wall. 507; *Dasey* v. *Gallagher*, 20 Wall. 670; on the power of a state to prescribe the conditions on which foreign corporations may do business within its limits, *Paul* v. *Virginia*, 8 Wall. 168; on proceedings in state courts against non-resident debtors, *Pennoyer* v. *Neff*, 95 U. S. 714; on the invalidity of contracts for the use of influence with public officials, *Oscanyan* v. *Arms Co.*, 103 U. S. 261; on federal jurisdiction over lands used for public purposes of the United

States government within the states, *Fort Leavenworth Co.* v. *Lowe*, 114 U. S. 525; on the protection of sealed matter in the mails, *Ex parte Jackson*, 96 U. S. 727; and many others of equal importance.

On the first day of January, 1873, the four codes of the state of California—political, civil, penal, and civil procedure—went into operation. Many defects soon became apparent, and the necessity for a revision by competent hands was imperative. In choosing a revisory commission, the difficulty confronting the governor was to find jurists qualified for the position, who would consent to serve. When it was learned that Judge Field would be one of those to undertake this important work, general satisfaction was felt by the profession and by the public. With him were associated Jackson Temple and John W. Dwinelle, who entered upon the performance of their duties with promptitude, and the beneficent results of their joint labors have been enjoyed by the people of this commonwealth to the present time. Defects were supplied, ambiguities removed, and important changes and additions recommended, most of which were adopted by the legislature.

Among those taking a prominent part in the settlement of the disputed presidential election of 1876, when the country seemed, for a time, to be on the verge of revolution, Judge Field holds an honorable place. It will be remembered that at that election Tilden had received a majority of about a quarter of a million of the people's votes, and if to these were added the electoral votes of either Louisiana, South Carolina, or Florida, in all of which states he had received considerable majorities, he would have had a majority in the electoral college. To avoid this result, the returning boards of those states proceeded to canvass the votes, and by rejecting the suffrages of entire communities, which had given large majorities for Tilden, the will of the people was set aside, and certificates of election given to the Hayes electors.

Other certificates were given by the proper officials to the Tilden electors. Votes were cast by both sets of electors and forwarded to Washington. The question soon arose as to which were to be counted, and who was to decide between the two. The senate being republican and the house of representatives democratic, the difference in opinion upon these questions were irreconcilable. Hot-headed partisans on either side were urging extreme measures, and bloody conflicts seemed imminent.

As a means of peacefully and lawfully determining the matter, an electoral commission was created, to which was confided the exercise of all the powers of both senate and representatives. The commission was composed of five senators, five representatives, and five judges of the supreme court, among them being Justice Field, and to it was entrusted the right of determining which of the two candidates, Tilden or Hayes, was lawfully entitled to the electoral votes of the states mentioned, and also of the state of Oregon. Of the opinions delivered by the members of this commission, upon the questions considered by it, none were more learned in constitutional law, or more judicious in tone, than that of Judge Field, whose vote was cast with the minority.

And now comes an episode in the career of Judge Field, which, though reflecting the utmost credit on himself, I would, on account of its painful character, have fain expunged from the story of his life. In the celebrated case of Sharon *vs.* Sharon, the plaintiff, Sarah Althea Hill, claiming to be defendant's wife, and suing for a divorce, with a division of the community property, a decision in her favor was reversed in the supreme court, and the case was afterward dismissed by Judge McShafter, in the superior court. Meanwhile, another suit was instituted, in which William Sharon, a well-known capitalist and ex-congressman, asked for a decree declaring the mar-

riage contract, produced at the former trial a forgery, and enjoining Miss Hill from asserting any claims thereunder. After a full hearing and consideration of the case, David S. Terry acting as counsel for the defendant, judgment was given for the plaintiff.

But before this decision was rendered Mr Sharon died, after conveying the bulk of his property to trustees, and appointing his son, Frederick W. Sharon, executor for the remainder of his estate. A few months later Miss Hill was married to Mr Terry, and not only refused to surrender the marriage contract for cancellation, as ordered by the circuit court, but continued to assert her claim under it as before. Thereupon the executor and the trustees of the estate of Sharon filed bills of revivor in the circuit court, whereby they sought to revive the suit in their names, that the decree already rendered them might be employed for the protection of the estate of which they were custodians. Resistance was made to these proceedings by Terry and his wife, who attempted to assail the validity of the decree, on the ground that the circuit court had no jurisdiction to hear and determine the original suit. Upon hearing of the bills of revivor Judge Field presided in the circuit court, though he had nothing to do with any of the previous suits or proceedings between the parties. With him sat judges Sawyer and Sabin. After a patient hearing of the case, Mr Field prepared an exhaustive opinion, which, on the 3d of September, 1888, he delivered in the United States circuit court, in San Francisco.

The courtroom was crowded, and besides members of the bench and bar were many prominent citizens who had come to hear Judge Field's opinion on a subject which had been so long before the community. Among the assemblage was the defendant and her husband, who seated themselves near the judges, at a table on which the former placed the satchel she usually carried. Judge Field began reading the

opinion of the court, and no sooner did Mrs Terry catch the tenor of the decision than she started to her feet, her eyes flashing with indignation.

"Be seated, madam," said the judge. "This court has been bought by Newlands," cried the woman—Newlands being Sharon's son-in-law. "Judge Field, how much did you get?" Marshal Franks was thereupon directed to remove her from the courtroom, but as he stepped forward to execute his orders she sprang at him, striking him in the face with both hands and using insulting language. At this juncture Terry interposed, and placing himself in front of the marshal, exclaimed, "No man shall touch my wife; get a written order." When Franks attempted to take her by the arm, Terry struck him a violent blow in the mouth, which broke one of his teeth. The latter then thrust his hand into his bosom for the purpose of drawing a bowie-knife which he carried on his person, but was seized by several officers and forced into a chair. With the assistance of one of his deputies, the marshal succeeded in removing Mrs Terry from the room, she mean while resisting, scratching, and striking him, using violent language, denouncing the judges, threatening Franks, and charging him with having stolen the diamonds and bracelets from her wrists. She called also for her satchel, which had, in the mean time, been taken possession of by one of her friends. This the marshal secured, after placing the woman in his office, and on being opened it was found to contain a self-acting Colt's revolver, with five chambers loaded, the sixth being empty.

After Mrs Terry had been removed her husband arose to follow her, and as he emerged from the courtroom again drew his bowie-knife, and brandishing it above his head, threatened to kill any one who should prevent him from rejoining his wife. He was promptly disarmed, and both were detained in custody in the marshal's office. As stated in the affidavit of one of the officers who had wit-

nessed the transaction: "Terry's conduct throughout this affair was most violent. He acted like a demon; and all the time while in the corridor, and before the counter in the marshal's office, he used loud and violent language, which could be plainly heard in the courtroom, and in fact throughout the building. Mrs Terry resisted with all her power the efforts of the marshal in taking her from the courtroom, and he was compelled to remove her forcibly. While being removed, she screamed and shouted her abuse of the judges, saying they had been bought, and so forth, and also abused Marshal Franks, calling him 'a hireling, paid to do his dirty work.'"

The scene over, Judge Field proceeded calmly to finish reading his opinion. Orders were then made adjudging Terry and his wife guilty of contempt of court, and directing the former to be imprisoned for six months and the latter for thirty days in the Alameda county jail. A few days afterward Terry filed a petition, asking for the revocation of the order committing him to prison, in which he stated that he had done nothing to encourage his wife in what he termed "her acts of indiscretion," and that he did not intend to do or say anything disrespectful to the court. On the contrary, he claimed that he had not drawn his knife for the purpose of attacking any one; that he had merely attempted to defend himself and wife from unlawful assault, and that the marshal had interfered with him while he "was making an honest effort to peaceably and quietly enforce the order of the court, so as to avoid a scandalous scene."

In disposing of this petition, the court, speaking through Judge Field, remarked: "The misbehavior of the defendant, David S. Terry, in the presence of the court, in the courtroom, and in the corridor which was near thereto, and in one of which (and it matters not which) he drew his bowie-knife and brandished it with threats against the deputy of the

marshal and others aiding him, is sufficient of itself to justify the punishment imposed. But great as the offense was, the forcible resistance offered to the marshal in his attempt to execute the order of the court, and beating him, was a far greater and more serious affair. This resistance and beating of its officer was the highest possible indignity to the government. When the flag of a country is fired upon and insulted, it is not the injury to the bunting, the linen, or silk on which the stars and stripes are stamped, which startles and arouses the country; it is the indignity and insult to the emblem of the nation's majesty, which stirs every heart and makes every patriot eager to resent them. So the forcible resistance to an officer of the United States in the execution of the process, orders, and judgments of their courts, is in like manner an indignity and insult to the power and authority of the government, which can neither be overlooked or extenuated. There is nothing in his petition which would justify any remission of the imprisonment. The law imputes an intent to accomplish the natural result of one's acts, and when those acts are of a criminal nature it will not accept, against such implication, the denial of the transgressor. No one would be safe if a denial of a wrongful or criminal intent would suffice to release the violator of law from the punishment due to his offenses.

"Why did the petitioner come into court with a deadly weapon concealed on his person? He knew that, as a citizen, he was violating the law, which forbids the carrying of concealed weapons, and as an officer of the court—and all attorneys are such officers—was committing an outrage upon professional propriety, and rendering himself liable to be disbarred.

"Therefore, considering the enormity of the offenses committed, and the position the petitioner once held in the state, which aggravates them to a degree not imputable to the generality of offenders,

the court, with a proper regard to its own dignity, the majesty of the law, and the necessity of impressing upon all men that forcible resistance to the lawful orders of the courts of the United States will not go unpunished, however high the offending parties, cannot grant the prayer of the petitioner; and it is accordingly denied."

Application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made by Terry to the supreme court of the United States; but this was also denied, upon the facts stated in the petition. An appeal to the same court from the decision in Sharon *vs.* Terry—which was the occasion of the proceedings herein described—was also taken by the defendants, and the judgment affirmed, the court holding that the appeal was "frivolous and unwarranted by the facts of the case."

After the order was made committing him for contempt, Terry said to Marshal Franks, or in his hearing: "Field thinks that when I get out he will be away; but I will meet him when he comes back next year, and it will not be a pleasant meeting for him." Mrs Terry threatened several times that she would kill both Field and Sawyer. These facts were sworn to by Marshal Franks, upon the hearing of Terry's petition for a revocation of the order committing him to prison. Subsequent and similar threats were made by Mr and Mrs Terry against the judges, and the danger of a murderous attack being made upon Judge Field, on his return to California, was the subject of general public discussion. The violent temper and reckless defiance of the law shown by the whole life of Terry, and the character of his wife, were well known. In addition to this, Mrs Terry had assaulted Judge Sawyer some time after her release from imprisonment, while in a Los Angeles train, pulling his hair and swinging her parasol over his head. Her husband was in a seat near by facing the judge, witnessing the acts of his wife, and tacitly approving of them.

Taking all these facts into consideration, many of the friends of Judge Field were anxious that he should not return to California in 1889. But he was not to be deterred from the path of duty by threats of personal violence. When urged to arm himself, in order to guard against attack, he said: "I do not, and will not, carry arms, because when it is known that the judges of our courts are compelled to carry arms for defense against assault, in consequence of their judicial action, it will be time to dissolve the courts, consider government a failure, and let society lapse into barbarism."

Although the judge was thus resolved to confront the danger of which he had been apprised, and yet to adopt no special precautions to protect himself, measures were taken to maintain the law and prevent further attacks on the judiciary. The department of justice at Washington had been informed of the condition of affairs, and attorney-general Miller had instructed Marshal Franks to detail an officer for the special service of protecting Judge Field while in California. For the performance of this service the marshal appointed David Neagle. Mr Crowley, the chief of police in San Francisco, also detailed two officers to guard the judge from attack while holding court in that city.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, August 13, 1889, Judge Field boarded the Los Angeles train bound for San Francisco. At Fresno, an intermediate station, about three o'clock on the following morning, Terry and his wife boarded the same train, but occupied another car. Their presence was soon discovered by officer Neagle, then in attendance on Judge Field, whom he notified of the proximity of the Terrys.

Arriving at Lathrop the following morning, Field, with Neagle, stepped from the train to a restaurant adjoining the station and ordered breakfast. A few minutes later Terry and his wife entered, but the latter, catching sight of Judge Field, immediately

left the room, her husband taking his seat. Meanwhile, one of the proprietors, named Stackpole, had been watching events, and was evidently nervous at Mrs Terry's absence. Stepping to Terry's side he asked him whether he thought she would be so indiscreet as to do anything desperate. "Why?" responded Terry, "who is here?" "Judge Field," answered the proprietor. Terry looked intently at Judge Field for a moment, and then turning to Stackpole said, "Go and watch her! Go and watch her!" Terry then arose and passed through the room behind Judge Field, Stackpole supposing he had gone to join his wife. When he reached the back of Field's chair, he paused for an instant, and then, without the least notice, struck him on both sides of the face. Neagle sprang to his feet and ordered him to stop, but heedless of the command he placed his hand in his bosom, as if to draw his knife, whereupon Neagle shot him dead. Thus did the slayer of Broderick meet with the fate which he had himself intended for one whose only offense was that he discharged, without fear or favor, the sacred duties of his office.

When Mrs Terry saw her husband lying prostrate on the floor, she was seized with frenzy. Stopping but a moment to wail over the dead, she strode forth and passed up and down the platform, appealing to the crowd to avenge the death of Terry. In the midst of the confusion, Field and Neagle quietly returned to the train, and proceeded upon their journey. Neagle, however, was arrested before reaching San Francisco, charged with murder, and confined in the jail at Stockton. A day or two afterward, Judge Field was himself arrested upon the same charge, made by Mrs Terry before a Stockton justice, but was released by the United States circuit court upon *habeas corpus*, and the prosecution dismissed by the district attorney of San Joaquin county, under the direction of the attorney-general of the state. The governor had also addressed a letter to the latter

official, in which he urged him to save the state from the burning disgrace of a malicious prosecution of a United States supreme judge, upon the charges of such a woman.

A writ of *habeas corpus* was also sued out on behalf of Neagle, to whose release a strenuous resistance was made. Elaborate arguments were presented, and after a thorough investigation of the facts, and a full consideration of the case, Sawyer delivered an opinion concluding with an order for the discharge of Neagle. This decision caused considerable adverse comment on the part of a portion of the people and the press, who said that Neagle should have been tried and acquitted by a jury, as in ordinary cases of homicide occurring within the state. An appeal was therefore taken to the supreme court of the United States, where Sawyer's judgment was approved.

In the opinion of that tribunal, as rendered by Justice Miller, it was stated that the denunciations of Terry and his wife from the time of their imprisonment until the death of the former, "were open, frequent, and of the most vindictive and malevolent character." While being carried to the jail at Alameda, Mrs Terry threatened, a number of times that she would kill both Judge Field and Judge Sawyer. Her husband, who did nothing to restrain her, declared that the world was not wide enough to keep him from finding Judge Field and horsewhipping him, and that if he resented it he would kill him. In an interview with a newspaper editor, Terry had said that Justice Field had put a lie on record about him, and when he met him, if he did not take it back and apologize, he would slap his face. The impression made by the conversation was that he was seeking to force a quarrel upon him and thus bring on a fight.

In concluding, Judge Miller remarked; "The result at which we have arrived upon this examination is, that in the protection of the person and the life of Mr Justice Field, while in the discharge of his official

duties, Neagle was authorized to resist the attack of Terry upon him; that Neagle was correct in the belief that, without prompt action on his part, the assault of Terry upon the judge would have ended in the death of the latter; that such being his well-founded belief, he was justified in taking the life of Terry, as the only means of preventing the death of the man who was intended to be his victim; that in taking the life of Terry, under the circumstances, he was acting under the authority of the law of the United States, and was justified in so doing, and that he is not liable to answer in the courts of California an account of his part in that transaction."

In connection with the narrow escape of Judge Field may be mentioned a still narrower escape, which occurred more than a quarter of a century before.

In October, 1865, before leaving California to attend the approaching term of the supreme court, Mr Field was requested by the proprietor of the Rulofson gallery to sit for his photograph. He consented, and a large sized photograph was taken, which Rulofson desired to add to his collection of portraits of distinguished persons. The photographer then said that he would make some small copies of the picture, and send them to Judge Field at Washington. On the morning of the 13th of January following, Judge Delos Lake, of San Francisco, called on Mr Field in Washington, and asked if any letters had been received for him, as he had directed his mail to be sent to his care. As the messenger had not brought the mail, when Field left his apartments at the hotel he requested Lake to accompany him, remarking that they would probably find it. Accordingly, they proceeded to his rooms, and there found the California mail lying on a center-table.

Among the letters and papers he noticed a small package, addressed to Honorable Stephen J. Field,

Washington, D. C., and with the words "per steamer," on one side. The name had been cut from the *California Reports*, and the "Washington, D. C." from some newspaper, and the printed slips had been fastened on the package with mucilage, while on the back was a printed slip, "From George H. Johnson's pioneer gallery, 645 and 649 Clay street, San Francisco." Until he observed this slip Mr Field supposed that the package was from Rulofson. His next thought was that it might be a Christmas present for his wife; so he decided to open it, intending, if that were the case, to seal it up again and remail it to her at New York, where she was spending the holidays. He accordingly tore off the cover and began to raise the lid, but very cautiously. He was struck with the black appearance of the inside and called Lake's attention to it. Lake looked over his shoulder and quickly exclaimed, "Don't open it, it's a torpedo!"

The package was then taken to the capitol, and shown to one of the deputy clerks of the supreme court. They dipped the package in water, and left it to soak for some minutes; then taking it to a safe place, and shielding themselves behind one of the columns of the capitol, threw the package violently against the wall. The hinge of the lid was broken and the contents of the package exposed. It was truly an infernal machine, the product of a most diabolical ingenuity. It consisted of twelve cartridges, about an inch in length, imbedded in a paste covered with fulminating powder, and a connection with a bunch of friction matches and a slip of sandpaper was so arranged that in opening the box the matches would be ignited and the whole exploded There was a newspaper slip glued to the inside of the lid, containing the following words: "The City of San Francisco *vs.* United States. Judge Field yesterday delivered the following opinion in the above case." Then followed several lines of the opinion.

It was evident that it was the work of some one

whose interests had been affected by the decision. Every effort was made by the police of San Francisco to detect the criminal, but without avail. The mystery still remains unsolved. Judge Field could never understand why he opened the box with such deliberation, since an infernal machine was the very last thing that entered his thoughts. Certainly it was not through fear, for neither in the aspect nor character of the man is such weakness indicated.

The personal appearance of Judge Field is striking, commanding the attention of the casual passer-by, as well as of the thoughtful observer. With features such as the phrenologist loves to study, he combines the mien and bearing of the ideal magistrate. Off the bench, as well as on it, he is suave and urbane in manner. His gestures are graceful, and his voice lends additional charm to the matter of his discourse. It may readily be conceived, therefore, that with his store of knowledge, drawn from so varied an experience, coupled with considerable power of dramatic and humorous narrative, he is most charming in social intercourse, and that his hosts of friends are bound to him with more than bonds of steel.

In 1859 he was married, at San Francisco, to Miss Sue Swearingen, and though childless their wedded life has been of the happiest. Mrs Field has accompanied her husband upon his many journeys across the continent, to and from this great empire of the Pacific, which owes so much to his civic virtues and juristic wisdom. She has also accompanied him on his visits to the old world, where the name of Judge Field has long been associated with legal and scientific progress. It need hardly be said that their home is the abode of hospitality, culture, and refinement.

No better proof of his official eminence and private worth could be given, than that which was displayed at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the

supreme court in February 1890. Respected most by those who know him best, he was chosen by his illustrious associates to speak for them on that occasion. That he had earned this high tribute to his character and ability, was demonstrated by the thoughtful and eloquent address delivered by him, to the delight of all. For twenty-eight years of the century that has passed, since the institution of that great tribunal, Judge Field has served his country as a justice of the supreme court of the United States. The law of the land, in recognition of the value of such services, authorizes him to cease from his labors, and to draw the full salary to which he is now entitled, so long as he may live. But he has declined to avail himself of this right, and still, with eye undimmed and natural force unabated, performs his arduous duties; and it is said by the profession that one of the ablest opinions ever rendered by him was delivered in 1891, in Ross *v.* McIntyre, respecting the jurisdiction of consular tribunals.

In looking back upon the judicial work of Judge Field, it will be found that one of his strongest characteristics has been the fearlessness with which he has asserted what he believed to be the law, no matter how violent the opposition he encountered, extending as this sometimes did to harsh personal attacks. For this courage, both physical and moral, was demanded. The former is not uncommon; the latter is the greater and rarer virtue. That Judge Field possesses his full share of physical courage has been demonstrated by the incidents of his early career in California as already related, and by many others that might be related. Like a certain English judge, if he had desired popularity, it has been that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. His own self-respect has always been dearer to him than popular favor gained by unworthy device, or cowardly subservience to local passion and sectional prejudice.

CHAPTER VII.

AGENCY OF INDUSTRY.

LIFE OF IRVING MURRAY SCOTT—HIS APPEARANCE IN SAN FRANCISCO IN 1860—ANCESTRY AND EDUCATION—AT THE DONAHUE FOUNDRY—INVENTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS—THE COMSTOCK LODE—THE UNION IRON-WORKS—SHIP-BUILDING—IMMIGRATION—THE MOULDERS' UNION—OPINIONS AND TASTES—WIFE AND FAMILY—SUMMARY OF CAREER.

TOWARD the close of the year 1860, at almost any hour during the day, there might be seen at the Union Iron-works, on First and Mission streets, in the city of San Francisco, a young man bending over a draughtsman's table in the office, or with rapid stride passing hither and thither about the yards, the body inclining forward and the eye fixed on the object sought, as if time and purpose were both of some consideration. Though neither of commanding stature nor of imposing frame, his twenty-third birthday being yet before him, there is something striking about the figure, which holds the interest of the observer on nearer inspection. Not so much grace as strength, we should say, though the youth is comely and well proportioned; but if indications fail not, there is material here for something more than the ordinary man.

A large and well-shaped head, with arched and expansive brow, set on broad shoulders; features pleasing, animated, earnest, and lighted with intelligence and good-will—not yet overspread with the burden of care which comes later in life; forehead

Irving M. Scott

massive and well developed, projecting over the clearest of blue-gray eyes; brown hair, which time will presently thin in front; face clean-shaven, but presently to be adorned with a luxurious growth upon the upper lip; chin massive; complexion ruddy, but fair; temperament nervous-sanguine—the *tout ensemble* denoting, in a word, physical activity, with culture, refinement, and intellectual power. It is not a face which as yet bears evidence of many troubles, or even of much hard labor, nor one which seems to anticipate the coming of sorrows, or when they come to permit a too deep ploughing of furrows; there is a quiet stoicism, great unconscious and some conscious pride, as Carlyle says of Frederick the Great; and a voice clear and melodious, which one hearing for the first time does not readily forget. I might speak of dress, and possibly gain some further insight into his idiosyncrasies; but clothes did not make the man at this time in California.

In upon this point of time and place chanced the young man, and if with him there had been fifty others like him, the history of this western coast would read somewhat differently to-day, as I will presently explain. It was a pivotal year, this of 1860, many destinies turning upon it. Lincoln was elected, and the train laid to set the land ablaze, the structures to be reared upon the ashes nevermore to be the same. A railway must be laid across the continent, and a mountain of silver brought from Nevada. Never had there been a time in this country when metals and mechanisms were destined to play so important a part in the annals of mankind.

In the days of Charles V. men sought after the magnificent, and so far as pomp and outward show were concerned, they accomplished much, even to the encompassing of the earth with their vanities and superficial rule. Those who now lead the way in whatsoever makes life noble, labor with other purpose, letting their works speak for them. The cardinal

virtues of to-day are not cloistered in creeds, but appear in practical uses. Good performance is better than a promised kingdom of heaven. The divinity which shapes our ends disdains not to handle the hammer and the saw.

To the man who discovered the process of making bricks or of smelting iron the world is more indebted than to the greatest of philosophers; for with bricks and iron we can build houses, railroads, ships; but philosophy will not bridge an ocean, or span a continent, or even keep out the cold. And so it is with other branches of manufacture which add to the comfort and well-being of mankind. Manufactures, it has been well remarked, are the very backbone of a nation, and without them, at least in modern times, no nation ever became really great. And as with nations, so with cities and communities. Though as yet almost in their infancy, it is largely due to her manufactures, employing directly many thousands of workmen, and indirectly many additional thousands, that California owes her present position among the sisterhood of states, that her metropolis ranks already among the great centres of wealth and population; for in San Francisco is concentrated almost as large a proportion of the manufactures as of the commerce of the Pacific coast. Of the golden state it has been more than once predicted, and that by some of the foremost of political economists, that her manufacturing interests will eventually exceed both mining and agriculture in value of production. Although to many the fulfilment of this prophecy may appear somewhat remote, nevertheless, with our special facilities and abundance of raw material, an increase of population, with cheaper labor and capital, alone are wanted to bring it to pass.

First among the manufactures of San Francisco, or among the first, was that of iron, and first among iron foundries was that of the brothers Donahue, now known as the Union Iron-works, so named

after those at Paterson, New Jersey, where Peter Donahue, the founder of the enterprise, learned his trade as machinist. The history of the now world-famous Union Iron-works is related elsewhere. Suffice it here to say, that the establishment which produced in the *Charleston* and *San Francisco* two of the finest and most powerful cruisers in the American navy, that is now building the coast-defence vessel *Monterey*, the swift cruiser No. 6, and a line-of-battle ship—the *Oregon*—of 10,500 tons displacement, of the highest type, of a pattern ever before attempted, and with the most powerful armament ever placed on a man-of-war, was originally contained in a tent, which at the close of 1849 did duty for blacksmith and machine shop on Montgomery street. Thence, in the spring of 1850, the Donahue brothers, Peter and James, removed to the site where now stands the Union foundry block, on Mission, First, and Fremont streets, in what was then known as Happy valley. The smoke-stack of a dismantled steamer served them for furnace, and for blasting purposes a pair of old-fashioned blacksmith bellows. With these rude appliances were manufactured two pillow-blocks for the shaft of the ocean propeller *McKim*, each of them weighing 200 pounds, and the cost one dollar a pound. Even at that rate there was but a slender margin of profit; for they were the first castings made on the Pacific coast, and at a time when labor and material commanded fabulous prices.

But soon material became cheap and plentiful enough, for after the conflagrations which laid waste the business portion of the metropolis, old iron could be had for the asking, or at most for $20 a ton. This the Donahues moulded into forms which brought them from $200 to $400 a ton, and then they began to make money. Presently their roofless wooden structure gave place to a more pretentious building. To other branches of their business they added the repairing of engines, the construction of quartz-mills, of min-

ing machinery and mining pumps, and the erection of gas-works. Here we have the inception of the iron industries of the Pacific coast, which in 1860 included in San Francisco alone fourteen foundries and machine-shops, with manufactures valued at $1,200,000, increasing within the next decade to about $5,000,000, in 1870 to at least $15,000,000, in 1880 to $20,000,000, and in 1890 to $25,000,000.

It was in 1860, as we have seen, that the youth of whom I have spoken arrived in San Francisco, and how much of this development in our iron industries is due to his agency, to his ability and application, and to the lessons which he has never been slow to gather from experience, the sequel will presently explain. But before proceeding further, let us first hear the story of his nativity, his boyhood, and his earlier career.

On the father's side, the ancestors of Irving Murray Scott—for such was his name—belonged to the society of friends, and on the mother's were methodists, all of them men and women noted for their industry and frugality, their physical and intellectual powers, and their moral worth. Among their gifts was the gift of longevity, Thomas Scott, the grandfather of Irving, surviving the fourscore years which the psalmist allots as the span of human life. He was a man of strong and decided character; and in a large section of his native state of Maryland, lying north of Hebron mills, in Baltimore county, was the legal adviser and monitor of the entire community, settling their differences by arbitration, and when the occasion required it, consulting some trusted practitioner, usually one Samuel Target by name. But whatever his decision, the parties at issue were always satisfied, no matter how rancorous their disputes. Among his other branches of business was the purchase of cattle from his neighbors, which he disposed of in Baltimore, a few leagues distant from his home. To the Hebron mills also the farmers

brought their grain for sale, passing by other mills that were nearer to them; for at the former they were sure of a fair equivalent, and that in good gold coin.

Irving's father, the reverend John Scott, was a minister according to the forms of the quaker church, preaching the gospel as interpreted in the teachings of George Fox, one of the greatest of its apostles, and for that purpose travelling extensively over the United States and Canada. He was a man of medium stature and compact and sturdy frame, one ready of resource, cheerful, hopeful, and always with a kindly and encouraging word for his neighbors, especially when overtaken with adversity; one who, however dark the prospect, could point to some ray of light, some means of escape from the difficulty. In the all-seeing and all-embracing care of a heavenly father he had an abiding faith, the simple, unquestioning faith of a child, and yet with a force of conviction that throughout the long years of a noble and beneficent career remained unshaken as the eternal hills.

While a minister by profession, he did not depend on that profession for a livelihood. He was the owner of a goodly farm, and of the Hebron mills, adding to his other occupations the management of a carding factory in connection with the mills, until the former was carried away by one of the freshets which sweep at times through the peaceful vales of Maryland. Though in all that state there was no more sincere and earnest Christian, there was nothing about him of the gloom and melancholy which some mistake for a special token of grace. Often might he be seen joining in the pastimes of his children, romping with them, and even going down "on all fours" with them; but once they were told "that is enough," then in an instant their gambols ceased, not out of fear, but from love, because it was their father's wish. Every need and desire of those children was either anticipated or discussed; was granted if possible and reasonable, if otherwise, was gently but firmly denied. Length of

days, among other blessings, was added to the lot of this well-beloved pastor, father, citizen, and friend, and on the 9th of June, 1887, after surviving the eighty-ninth anniversary of his birth, his remains were laid at rest.

The mother of Irving M. Scott was Elizabeth, daughter of George Littig, collector of customs at Baltimore during the Adams administration. She was a woman of most estimable character, and with a deep religious element in her nature, of the methodist persuasion, but in thorough sympathy with her husband's labors, and for well-nigh three score of years taking on herself a full share of his burdens. If she was ambitious, it was with a worthy ambition, a pride that was limited to the affairs of her household, to see that her table was of the best, her food the best cooked, her children the best attired, her flower-beds of tulips, dahlias, and chrysanthemums in the trimmest order, and her carriage the neatest and best equipped in all the country round. In her pantry would be found the choicest of meats, the freshest of butter and eggs, and the largest and best assortment of preserves, the fruits that made the last being exchanged among the neighbors, so that in every well-ordered household would be found some of every description. Among all the matrons of Maryland there were none more widely respected, none more deeply regretted, when, some two years before her husband's decease, she passed away, at the age of four-score and five.

Of the eleven children born of this union, six have survived, one of the daughters, now Mrs Edwin Scott, and two of the sons, George L. and Harrison, all of them residents of Maryland, and Mrs Mary Francis Orrick, Irving M., and Henry T. Scott, whose home is in California.

At the Hebron mills was the birthplace of Irving, and the date, Christmas day of 1837. His boyhood was passed on the farm; and with such a home

and such environment it could not fail to be a happy one. Indeed, in the fame and fortune which he has since acquired, as one of the foremost of modern engineers, have brought not with them the deep content that marked his childhood's days. One thing only troubled him, and that was a somewhat weakly constitution, caused in part by an attack of scarlet fever in malignant form, which brought on a partial deafness that has never since been overcome. He was also subject to occasional fainting-spells, and the trachcal affection then known as the hives, or as it is now termed, the croup. Especially was he liable to these ailments during the summer heat, and at times they were accompanied with fever, causing his head to swell and his eyes to close, though without any dangerous symptoms. Among the stories told of his childhood, it is said that he once declared to his father, "the sun or himself must seek the shade." Thus at this season of year he could not endure continuous out-door work, nor was it expected of him. His favorite occupation, or rather his favorite pastime, was tending the cattle and sheep, protecting their young, and studying their habits, feeding them, and looking to the condition of their stalls, with matters pertaining to cleanliness, drainage, and ventilation. Among all the adjacent farms there were none where the stock was better cared for, or where the loss in lambing-time was smaller in proportion. With Irving it was a constant study how to produce the best results, how to make improvements that should outdo his neighbors; and with this view, as he says, he made himself acquainted with the history and pedigree of every animal on the place.

The trade of a miller he also studied, and in this he became so proficient that he was often left in charge of the mills, for the miller himself, one Nicholas Merryman by name, or "Old Nick," as he was more familiarly termed, could not produce better flour, or corn, or oaten meal. From that foreman, somewhat

of a genius in his way, he gained his first practical knowledge of mechanics, learned how to make cogs and spokes and felloes, and to fit them to wheels, how to make bolsters for wagons, how to turn wood, and in a word, to do any description of work that required mechanical skill and the handling of tools. Posts and rails he could also fashion, and as a gardener his services were in request. He could plant, prune, and graft fruit trees, could plant and prepare the ground for vegetables; he knew how to make cider, how to smoke bacon, how to kill and dress a steer, a sheep, or a hog. Indeed, it would be difficult to mention anything connected with the operations of a farm with which he was not acquainted.

Irving received his education first at the public schools of Baltimore county, and afterward at the Milton academy, of which Emerson Lamb was principal, and where, after a three years' course, he graduated. At both he was known as an apt and diligent pupil; but it was rather through his ability than through any special application that he was always found near the head of his class, for his tasks were easily mastered, and problems over which his fellow-students would pore for hours he solved almost by intuition. Except for what his teacher was pleased to term stubbornness, but what was really the strength of purpose which marks all leaders of men, he was never corrected, or if so, it was at the hands of some schoolmate much older and stronger than himself. He was a hot-tempered youth; was always ready to fight on the smallest provocation, and if at times he was worsted, before his school days were ended he could at least divide the honors with any to whom he threw down the gauntlet. If it lay within his power, he would never allow any one to outstrip him, whether it was in running, jumping, lifting, climbing, or spelling, but least of all in fighting. His play hours were passed in gathering information, for the most part in the fields and woods, though from boyhood he was a

constant reader. He loved to study the growth of plants and the places where they grew, the places where birds and squirrels nested, the water-ways, the hills and rocks, with their formations and all their peculiarities. He knew the haunts and habits, the feeding-times and feeding-places of fish, and would always bring home a larger basket than any other lad in the neighborhood. While by no means averse to society, he could live without it, and preferred to all other the company of men, never making a boyish friendship, or indeed the friendship of a girl, though for the latter defect he afterward made amends.

While yet a student at the academy, his father offered him his choice of a profession, promising to furnish the necessary means. At first he inclined to a medical career; but his final decision was to become a machinist, and with that view his course of study was altered, Latin and Greek giving place to a course of higher mathematics, with history, geography, and subjects of a practical nature. When seventeen years of age he entered the Baltimore factory of Obed Hussey, by whom was invented the first successful reaping-machine, and here he soon became an expert in all the branches of wood and iron work that pertained to the establishment. Then, through the recommendation of his employer, he received an appointment in the iron-works of Murray & Hazlehurst, on Federal hill, in the same city. After becoming a proficient draughtsman, he was promoted from the machinery department and placed in charge of the construction of stationary and fire engines, whereby a wider field was opened for the exercise of his mechanical ingenuity, and one which he did not fail to improve.

It was a wholesome discipline that the young man experienced in these early days, now having passed his twentieth year and thrown entirely on his own resources. Reared under the most favorable conditions, with the best of parents and teachers, among one of the most thrifty and industrious, the most up-

right and God-fearing of all the simple farming communities of Maryland, it would be strange indeed if he did not profit by such example. But greater than all this discipline, than all this example, was the discipline which he gave to himself. Seven o'clock each morning found him at work, and at work he remained until six at night, walking to and from his home and the shop, the latter in a distant suburb of the city. In the winter months, three evenings each week were passed at the Mechanics' institute, in learning the art of mechanical drawing. A fourth was devoted to the study of German, and a fifth to popular lectures, at which were heard some of the foremost men of the day, such men as Thomas Starr King, as Doctors Bellows and Bethune, as Mortimer Thompson, and E. H. Reece. Saturday night was spent in writing up such information as he had gathered during the week, presently to be used in a debating society whose meetings were held in the basement of a church. His sabbath evenings were invariably passed at the home of his uncle, whose kindly attention and excellent advice had, as he admits, a decided influence on his future life. Here also he had access to a well-selected library, the value of which he thoroughly appreciated. Rarely would he afford himself the time or money to attend a place of amusement, and then only to hear one of Shakespere's plays, for which to this day he has never lost his taste, seldom missing a good Shakesperian actor, or a lecturer who has anything to say that is worth the hearing.

For some two years Mr Scott remained at the works of Murray & Hazlehurst, until in 1859, through the failure of the firm, its effects were disposed of at sheriff's sale. Among those present at that sale was Peter Donahue, who purchased a steam fire-engine, designed in part by Irving, and built under his superintendence. Being asked what use he intended to make of it, Mr Donahue replied that he would ship it to California, and in response to a further inquiry

from the young machinist whether he had any one to take charge of it, asked him what he could do. For answer he was referred to one of his former employers, who stated that whatever Mr Scott professed or promised to do, that he would surely accomplish. Thereupon he was at once engaged as a draughtsman for the Union Iron-works in San Francisco, and on the return of Mr Donahue from a European trip, followed him to California, meanwhile taking charge of his business in New York city.

Thus it was that, toward the close of 1860, we find Mr Scott en route for our Pacific coast metropolis, by way of the Isthmus, whence he took passage on the *Golden Age*, commanded by Commodore Watkins. There was nothing remarkable about his voyage, except that he was remarkably sea-sick, suffering from this distressing malady from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate, and as a consequence, with weight reduced to something less than ninety pounds. His first impressions of the city were to him a novel and by no means pleasing experience. Gambling was openly practised, such gambling as he had never witnessed, and in more orderly communities was forbidden by law. Everything was rough and rude, with little of system and less of restraint. At night men gathered in drug-stores, in hotels and saloons, for they had nowhere else to go, and there is nothing that the average San Franciscan dislikes so much as the solitude of his chamber and the company of a book. In all the city, with its thousands of stores and offices and lodging-houses, there was not probably a score of homes, and those to be found only in what was then the fashionable quarter, on Folsom, Harrison, and adjacent streets. In all the city there was not a man with whom Irving M. Scott was acquainted, not a door-bell that he could ring, not a house where he could call, save that of Peter Donahue.

"You are a punctual man," was Mr Donahue's greeting, when Irving made his appearance on the

very day of his landing. The former had already engaged for him an apartment in what then ranked as a first-class house, on the corner of First and Mission streets, one that has long since given place to a structure of brick in the midst of our city front planing-mills. Here he at once made a monthly contract for his board and room, and the following day found him at his task at the foundry. Little did he then imagine that he was soon to be placed in sole charge of those works, and to develop them into the largest and most successful manufactory of the kind on the Pacific coast.

Before proceeding further, it may here be mentioned that, like other new-comers, Mr Scott was under the impression that the gold-mines were in the neighborhood of the city, that it was only necessary to walk out to them, to pick up such gold as he required, and return, a rich man, to the home of his boyhood. For this purpose he had brought with him a pair of alligator-leather boots with rubber soles, as a protection against cold and wet; but of his impression, as also of his boots, I need not say that he was soon relieved. His first actual visit to the mines was at Summerville, where he learned the methods of exploration, and of extracting and hoisting the coal, thus preparing the way for such improvements in mining machinery as gave to the Union Iron-works a more than national repute.

During his first year at the foundry Mr Scott accumulated $400, and that from a salary which, though twice as much as he had before received, was by no no means a liberal compensation. To the amount of that salary he seldom gave a thought; only it seemed to him unfair that he should have no more than half the wages paid to less skilful mechanics. How little the matter of compensation troubled him appears from the fact that he refused the offer of an increase at the end of six months' service. "Well," said Mr Donahue, "you are the first man I ever saw that

would not have his wages raised." To this his employé replied that he had made a contract for one year and would carry it out. If the contract was to be altered at that moment Mr Donahue could make his own terms, but at the end of the year he would require whatever he might be worth. The twelvemonth expired, he commanded thrice his former salary, and then he began to save money rapidly, living plainly but substantially, and avoiding all needless expenses. His leisure time was passed in studying the geography of the city and the state, in studying their requirements, and especially in considering what improvements could be made in the methods and processes of the iron-works. Of all the faculties with which Mr Scott is gifted, perhaps the strongest is the faculty of observation, one that if it does not of itself constitute genius is to its possessor of far more value than genius.

At this time most of the responsible positions at the foundry were filled by relatives of Peter Donahue, many of them without any special aptitude, unless it might be the aptitude for drawing their salaries. There were neither rules nor discipline, and the men did very much as they pleased, chatting and smoking in working hours, and whenever they felt disposed, which was not seldom, adjourning for bibulous refreshments. Matters were at their worst in the winter of 1861, when Mr Donahue passed much of his time in Sacramento, procuring from the legislature the first franchise granted to a metropolitan street-car company. Meanwhile his foreman had resigned, leaving no one at the head of affairs. At this juncture, with a view to protect his employer's interests, Mr Scott took charge of the establishment, and with such excellent results that on the return of the proprietor he was appointed superintendent, with authority to make and enforce such regulations as seemed to him best. First of all, he closed up all the openings, with one exception, and at the single gateway

left open placed a watchman, with orders to forbid all egress. He then informed the men that in working hours they would not be allowed to smoke or drink or converse; that the tools must be kept clean, and the shops in good order. At first these measures were strongly opposed, and for a time a strike was threatened; but with the support of Mr Donahue, who was gratified with the new order of things, the superintendent carried the day. The same discipline has been maintained at the Union Iron-works to the present time, and is not least among the factors that have made them famous; for thus despatch and promptitude and exactness are secured, together with the very best quality of work, and its delivery at the time agreed upon.

It was as a draughtsman, as I have said, that Mr Scott was first employed, though presently his services were transferred to the workshops, of which he was gradually placed in control. It was now the time when the marvelous riches of the Comstock lode were attracting the attention of the world, and to explore its depths and extract its treasures the heaviest and most improved machinery was in urgent demand. In this direction, as Mr Scott foresaw, would be the immediate future of our iron industries; nor was his judgment at fault, for in many of the intervening years the amount paid out for this class of work alone has risen far into the millions. With a view to learn this branch of the business, not at that time included in the Donahue establishment, he accepted a position in the Miners' foundry, then at the head of all others in San Francisco in the construction of mining machinery. Here he was placed in charge of the draughtsman's department, was brought into contact with some of the leading miners and inventors of the day, and thus gained a perfect mastery of his craft, understanding thoroughly and completely all that was needed in the building of quartz-mills and quartz machinery.

In 1863 two-thirds the interest of Peter Donahue was purchased by H. J. Booth and C. S. Higgins, the firm being then known as Donahue, Booth, & Higgins, and two years later as H. J. Booth & company, the other members being George W. Prescott and Irving M. Scott, Donahue and Higgins having disposed of their interest. In 1875 still another change was made, and the associates adopted their present style of Prescott, Scott, & company, Henry T. Scott, the youngest brother of Irving, being admitted as a partner. One of the first steps taken by H. J. Booth & company was to offer to Mr Scott the appointment of general manager and superintendent, which position he has held continuously for more than a quarter of a century. How well he has fulfilled its duties may be judged from the fact that from a few score thousands the business of the firm has increased to several millions a year, and instead of 22 workmen, as when first he joined the Union foundry, there were, in the spring of 1891, some 1,400 on its pay-roll.

In 1860 the business of the Union Iron-works consisted mainly of repairs to steamers plying on harbor and river, with the making of gas-pipes, the building of gas-works, and such other branches as fell to their lot. As yet their reputation was but local, and the construction of mining machinery for which they afterward became world famous had not been even attempted.

It is somewhat remarkable that a country which has revolutionized mining methods, whose machinery and appliances in this direction have been adopted more or less widely in the mining districts of the world, should at first have been so backward in this respect. It was not until long after the gold discovery that the rocker and pan gave way to the sluice and hydraulic pipe, enabling one man to do the work of hundreds, and rendering easy of accomplishment enterprises which had before appeared impossible. It was not until several years later that quartz-mills

came into common use, and those of such patterns as have long since been discarded, even in Mexican mining camps. As late as 1851 gold-bearing rock was pounded in huge iron mortars, with pestles made fast to branches of trees, the rebound of which was almost sufficient to raise them. The pulverized matter was then treated with quicksilver, and even with these rude contrivances the miner averaged $10 a day. In the autumn of 1851 the first quartz-mill in California was erected in Yuba county, by a company owning a claim in Brown valley. It was a sorry affair, working by steam-power single stamps in each of several mortars. A year or two later others were added, which from various reasons resulted in failure; but in 1855 the work of building quartz-mills began in earnest. In 1857 there were about 150 in operation, built at a total expense of some $2,000,000; in 1890 there were at least 400, costing from $6,000 to $60,000. Said Horace Greeley, the man of intuitions, who in 1859 paid a flying visit to the Pacific coast: "The time has not yet come for profitable mining in quartz, and three out of four mines are failures." The average yield he placed at about $20 a ton, which would not repay the expenses of mining and milling. And yet from much poorer rock, when found in sufficient quantity, fair dividends have since been returned.

Even in 1860, when Mr Scott first set foot on these shores, mining machinery was constructed with slight regard to correct mechanical principles, and the lapse of twenty centuries had done little to improve the methods of reducing ores. Such mills as we had were built by ordinary millwrights, wheelwrights, and machinists, who brought to their task only the knowledge acquired in the usual branches of their trade. The cam used in lifting the stamp received it with a sharp concussion, due to the remoteness of the point of contact from the axis of revolution. For all descriptions of quartz crushing the same kind of mortar

was used, whether for gold crushing and amalgamating, for silver crushing without amalgamation, for dry crushing, or crushing cement and bowlders for the coarse gold which they contained. The stamp was shoeless, and retained its square wooden stem. The battery mortar had wooden sides and a cast-iron bottom, consisting of a simple die, or at best a shallow trough, causing inevitable waste through leakage of the quicksilver containing the precious metals.

All these defects and many others have since been remedied, largely through the mechanical ingenuity of Irving M. Scott. If an improvement was originated in the mind of another, he was the one who eradicated its defects, supplied its deficiencies, and thus modified, adapted it for practical application. The gib-tappet, for instance, had not at this time been brought into general use, on account of an imperfection in allowing the end of the gib to run through the tappet. This he remedied by shortening the gib, and causing the tappet to pass over each end, thus changing an impracticable device into one that has since been adopted throughout the mining world. So with the double-armed cam, with the hub on one of its sides; so with the direct acting hoisting-engine, the combination amalgamation-pan, the division of crushings into classes, and these again into subdivisions. In a word, the improvements in modern metallurgy, which have made the system here in vogue the standard of all other states and nations, were, in their essential features, perfected under his direction and management. Through his efforts the mechanics of that science have been evolved from the crude condition of pioneer days into the highest type that has yet been produced, and, as it would seem, almost into the highest of which they are capable. There is always the right man for the occasion, it is said, if only he can be found, and fortunate it is that when the enormous ore deposits of the Comstock were unearthed, we had on this coast an engineer of such caliber as

Irving M. Scott for beyond a doubt he was the man for the occasion.

The year 1863, when Mr Scott assumed the management of the Union Iron-works, was one long remembered in the earlier history of the Comstock. In that year the attention of the mining world was drawn to the rich yield of the Gould & Curry, producing in 1863 nearly 50,000 tons of ore, and about $4,000,000 in bullion. Other mines were also producing largely, the total dividends for the twelvemonth being little short of $2,000,000. Although the glories of the Gould & Curry have long since been eclipsed by larger and even richer bonanzas, at the time such results were considered phenomenal, and these were long regarded as the most brilliant days of the Comstock. Since that date there have been produced in a single year, and that from the single ore deposit of the California and Consolidated Virginia, 273,000 tons of ore, with an average yield of more than $110 a ton, a total of more than $30,000,000, and with dividends exceeding $21,500,000. Up to the close of 1890 the entire output of the great lode was at the lowest estimate 10,000,000,000 tons of metal-bearing rock, and its value $325,000,000. If to this be added the thousands of millions of tons of waste rock that have also been hoisted, the thousands of millions of tons of water, it will be seen that only the most powerful and massive machinery could make any impression on this Antæan task.

It is to Mr Scott a source of just and honorable pride, exceeded only by that which he felt in his career as a naval artificer, that almost from the day when he was placed in charge, the Union Iron-works have been the leading foundry for the planning and construction of mining and metallurgical machinery. Whether for the mining of ores, for hoisting them to the surface, for conveying them to the mills, for crushing and amalgamation, for separating the bullion, for melting it into bars, here have been sup-

plied, for these and other processes, the models, designs, and drawings which are to-day the standards of the world.

As early as 1866 Mr Scott was the principal authority on mechanics as applied to metallurgy. A circular prepared in that year under his own supervision was regarded even by his competitors as a valuable text-book, rather than an advertisement of the business of the firm, one so valuable indeed that it should not have been given to the public. But it has never been his practice to withhold from others the benefit of his improvements and inventions. Many of those inventions he has not even protected by patent, allowing his fellow-man to profit by them equally with himself.

Thus it will be seen that the firm of Booth & company had no reason to regret their choice in appointing Irving M. Scott to the most responsible position in their establishment. No sooner was he placed in charge of the mechanical department than a change like that of a new life was infused into all its branches. Such was the press of work that every machine was in operation day and night, and other machines were imported, more powerful than any before in use on the Pacific coast. Among them was a 15-ton steam-hammer, a plane that could handle a column 10 feet square and 25 feet in length, a lathe that could turn a balance-wheel 25 feet in diameter, and cranes of a lifting capacity of 30 tons. Nevertheless, so rapidly did orders accumulate that even with an enlargement of their premises and the closest economy of space, large quantities of castings had to be made elsewhere.

Even during the years when business was at its slackest, when the upper levels of the Comstock were almost exhausted, and the riches of the deeper levels had not as yet been disclosed, the Union Iron-works were never idle. Presently came the discovery of the Crown Point and Belcher bonanza, followed some

three years later by that of the Consolidated Virginia and California, with others either imaginary or yet to be revealed. In 1877–8 the volume of production at the Union works was at least one fourth of that of the entire Pacific coast, and more than one half of that of the Pacific coast metropolis. Of the $4,700,000 a year of San Francisco manufactures and her 1,200 foundry operatives, at least $2,000,000 with 400 workmen were accredited to the Union Iron-works. For these results the firm was largely indebted to Irving M. Scott, for of the two other members whom it included, Henry, his youngest brother, attended mainly to the financial department, for which he was eminently fitted, and it was not until 1875 that Mr Prescott took an active part in its affairs.

Of the so-called bonanza mines it was declared by one of the manipulators of their stock that they would continue to pay dividends long after their detractors were in the grave; but their dividends have long since come to an end, and there are many of their detractors who are not as yet in the grave. From an output of more $30,000,000 in the centennial year, their yield decreased to about $2,600,000 in 1880, and with this decrease, as no other Comstock mines were yielding largely, came a serious falling off in the demand for mining machinery, one that affected, more than all others, the Union Iron-works; for in this direction was their specialty. Additional reasons for this season of adversity were the general business depression, and the loss for a time of the personal supervision of Irving M. Scott.

Partly at the request of James G. Fair, with whom he had long held business relations, consulting him especially as to designs for mining machinery, in February 1880 he accompanied him on what was intended to be a trip to Hong Kong, and that with a stay of the briefest, but in his own case proved to be a trip around the world. Both were sorely in need of rest, with health impaired by the ceaseless

strain of overwork; for as with the millionaire, so with the engineer, each one had accomplished for many years the task of a dozen ordinary men. The journey was arranged in a single day, and three days thereafter we find Mr Scott on board the *City of Pekin*, bound for the port of Yokohama.

When the ship was a week or two out at sea there might have been observed, in a secluded corner of the quarter-deck, a group of men conversing, now in earnest and now in jocular mood. They were Mr Fair and his secretary, Captain Morse, commander of the vessel, and Irving M. Scott. On Thursday, the 18th of February, the *City of Pekin* had crossed the 180th meridian, and, as the saying is, had lost a day, Friday being omitted from the calendar. It was the loss of this day that formed the subject of their conversation.

"I will build a ship of my own in San Francisco," said Mr Fair, "and we will sail around the world and pick up that lost day."

"You will never find it by sailing west," remarked the captain. "Let me sail the new ship, and we will pick up plenty of things that other people have lost."

"Make me purser, and then every man shall get his due," declared the secretary.

"And I," said Mr Scott, "will build the works to build the ship."

If these last words were taken in jest, they were not so intended. It was but a few years later—in June 1887—when the *City of Pekin* was lying for repairs at the wharf of the Union Iron-works, that her former captain and Mr Scott exchanged congratulations on board the very ship where these air-castles had been built. The dream had now become a reality.

Of Bayard Taylor it has been said that no man ever travelled so far and saw so little; but in the case of Irving Scott this statement must be reversed. While in Europe he made a close study of the industries and industrial establishments of the several countries through which he journeyed, noting espe-

cially their methods of ship-building. He observed, moreover, and that with the deepest interest, the habits and customs of the people, and their various religions; in India studying that of the Parsees and idol worshippers, and inquiring as to the ground-work of their faith. The results of all these observations he preserved in his private journal. The information which he thus acquired was of far-reaching value, and among the improvements and facilities of the Union Iron-works are many suggested during this tour. But for that tour it is indeed probable that the foundry would never have attained to the rank which it now enjoys, as second to none of its class in all the United States. Many, also, are the lectures which he has delivered for charitable purposes from data obtained during this period.

Returning to San Francisco toward the close of 1880, Mr Scott found the affairs of the firm in a most unsatisfactory condition. So long as the yield of the Comstock was counted by monthly millions, machinery of such proportions as had never before been attempted was built at the Union Iron-works, and that in one sixth of the time that would have been required elsewhere, if elsewhere it could have been built at all. For this the most powerful engines were required, with the investment of a large amount of capital in plant, which, apart from that purpose, was of little value. Railroad development was for the time almost at a stand-still, and the demand for agricultural machinery was largely supplied by the foundries of the mid-continent states. In one direction only did there appear to be an outlet for the iron industries of San Francisco, and that was in the unoccupied fields of ocean, especially in the building of steel and iron steamers.

To such an addition to their other branches of business, and that at a time when half their machinery was idle, the other members of the firm were strongly opposed, for both were strictly conservative men. So

great, moreover, was the competition in the building of steamers, that they would have to work at cheaper rates than ever before; they must transfer their foundry to deep-water front, must build much larger and more expensive works, must provide them with additional machinery, and connect them with the railroad cars. But all these objections were combated by Mr Scott, who at length convinced his colleagues of the boundless possibilities that lay before them. The result has fully justified the soundness of his judgment, and displayed the clearness of his foresight.

Long before this date it had been the intention of H. J. Booth and company, the predecessors of the present firm, to erect such works on the water-front, and with this view they had taken in partial payment for machinery constructed for the Guadalupe mine at Santa Clara, six blocks of land at the Potrero, originally known as the Owens ship-yard. To these, three others were added, by purchase, in 1883, making in all some twenty-five acres as the site now occupied by the Union Iron-works, with a frontage on Central basin of more than a thousand feet, connected by rail with the Central and Southern Pacific, and thus with the railroad systems of the continent, and with an outlet to the Pacific ocean and the inland waters of California. The buildings, which are mainly of brick, include, among others, an iron-foundry, a brass-foundry, machine, boiler, and pattern shops, together with a ship-yard and dry-dock. The works are pronounced by competent judges to be the most complete of any of their class in the United States, and in their arrangement and equipment not excelled even by the best and largest of European ship-yards. And yet this enterprise is but the germ of what may be expected in the future, when, with additional capital and with yet greater facilities, fleets of steel and iron steamers may be added to the naval and commercial marine of the Pacific coast.

The machine and construction shops are enclosed within a building 200 by 215 feet, with a gallery 150 feet in length and 50 in width; the floor and gallery surface, the former traversed by car-tracks, covering an area of more than 46,000 square feet. The several shops are divided by rows of cast-iron pillars, two of them being provided with hydraulic cranes, with a run of 200 feet, each with a capacity of 60 tons, and operated by compressed-air engines. In the shop is an instrument that will plane a surface 12 feet wide and 26 in length, supplied with cutters suited for any kind of machinery. Other planers are of smaller size, according to the dimensions required. In the lathe department are special lathes for ship-work, one of them capable of turning a shaft 50 feet in length, or even a crank-shaft such as is used in compound-engines. This implement is said to be the most complete of its kind on this continent, and equalled only by the one manufactured for the navy-yard at Chatham, England.

In the boring-mill, which occupies a space about 50 feet square, is a machine which is used not only for boring, but for planing, drilling, slotting, and key-seating, combining all the most recent improvements. In addition to other boring-machines is one, that while boring through a cylinder ten feet in diameter will, without moving it, face off and drill holes in its ends. In this department is one of the most powerful hydraulic presses in existence, used for driving home crank-pins and pressing on crank-plates. But perhaps the most remarkable feature is, that, by means of an overhead travelling crane, marine engines of all sizes and patterns can be put together complete, and conveyed on a car to the wharf, where, by steam-shears with a capacity of 100 tons, they are placed in position on board the vessel. By thus avoiding the necessity of taking the machines apart and hauling them piecemeal to the steamer, their cost is materially reduced, and in this, as in other respects, the Union Iron-works

are not excelled by any among eastern or European establishments.

Adjoining the machine-shops is the engine-room, in which is a compound-engine with condensing apparatus and all the latest of modern appliances. Here, also, is the air-compressor, by which is furnished the motive-power for the travelling cranes and hydraulic pumps, with pumps for the accumulator, the weight on the ram of which is supplied by a single block of concrete, in the form of a cube, 10 feet on each face, and with a weight of 70 tons. In the boiler-house is a pair of tube-boilers of the latest pattern, furnishing steam to an engine of 250 horse-power, with space for another of like capacity, so that in case of accident there would be little cessation of work. Connected with the machine-shops is the tool-room, where are all the most recent appliances for the manufacture of tools. Adjoining the latter are the brass and copper shops, where is a full assortment of implements used for this class of work, with hydraulic cranes, and hardening, tempering, and other furnaces.

Next to them is the iron-foundry, a brick building 200 by 100 feet, and with a floor surface of 20,000 feet. Here, as in the machine and boiler shops, are contrivances by which a man can move from point to point, as required, and that with little effort, a weight of 100 tons. In the cupolas castings of 60 tons can be made within three hours, and by means of a travelling crane of the same capacity, removed to or from any point on the floor. They are built after the best and latest models, with an iron floor, and hydraulic lift for the fuel and material delivered on the car-track, by which the castings are also removed, without additional cost for handling. The blower has its separate engine, permitting the pressure of the blast to be regulated according to the condition of the furnace. Of the core-ovens the largest is 18 feet square, and can dry in the shortest space of time a core of 20

tons, with others in which cores are dried, down to a few ounces in weight.

Opposite to the foundry is the pattern-shop, a brick building 150 by 50 feet, and with four stories, the lowest of which is used for the running machinery and for the making of patterns, with a separate table and window for each of the workmen. The extent of its operations may be inferred from the fact that all the three remaining floors are required for the storage of patterns, and yet so perfect is the method of registering that any one of them can be found at a moment's notice. Adjacent to this is the store-room, with a complete system of fire-alarms and other appliances, insuring the safety of the materials which it contains. Here are iron racks for boiler-tubes, boiler-plates, and boiler-heads, with bar-iron of every shape and dimension. For everything that is delivered a receipt is signed, and an entry made of the purpose for which it is to be used, and the name of the person to whom it is handed, an order being first required from the foreman of his department.

In the boiler-shops are three hydraulic machines capable of placing rivets from two inches down to three eighths of an inch in diameter. In the hydraulic shears, which it contains, is one of the most complete of modern implements—one that can shear a steel plate an inch and a half in thickness, can flange a boiler-head, or shape a given surface to the pattern desired. There is a bending-machine for fashioning a given surface into any form required. There are planing-machines capable of cutting armor-plates eighteen inches thick, the plate being held in position by an ingenious hydraulic device. There are rollers for steel or iron plates up to an inch and a half in thickness, and of any length, and there are smaller implements of the very best description, hydraulic power being used wherever that is possible. At these shops one of the first large orders executed was in 1884, for the boilers of the *State of California*, 14 feet in diameter,

with plates an inch in thickness, and sustaining a pressure of 100 pounds of steam. The weight of each one was nearly 80 tons, and up to that date they were the largest ever manufactured on the Pacific coast.

The blacksmith-shop, contiguous to the boiler-shop, is supplied with steam-hammers, with hydraulic cranes, and all the best designs in the shape of tools and appliances required for forging and other work. A feature in the entire establishment is the use of hydraulic power, employed as far as is practicable in all mechanical processes, even to the opening and closing of doors and gates. The sanitary arrangements are of the best, and the buildings are well lighted, most of them by windows of corrugated glass fifteen feet by twelve, and at night by the electric dynamos contained in the engine-room.

North of the workshops is the ship-yard, with four building-slips of an aggregate area of 120,000 square feet, three of them fitted with overhead travelling cranes, for lifting plates and placing them in any position while vessels are under construction. The buildings include a machine-shed, with draughting-room, a mould-loft, above which is a dining-room, frame-bending sheds, blacksmith, coppersmith, joiner, polishing, galvanizing, pipe-fitting, and marine repair shops, boiler and engine houses, and several store-rooms and offices, with a total floor area of 75,000 square feet, the open storage room of the yard being 250,000 feet. To this must be added 115,000 feet of wharves, with a water frontage of 2,100 linear feet. The main wharf will sustain on its car-track a load of 100 tons, and is supplied with the iron shears already mentioned, 110 feet in height, capable of hoisting machinery of the heaviest description into the largest ship afloat. On the outer wharf is another pair of shears, 80 feet high, and with a lifting capacity of 30 tons. The hydraulic dry-dock, 435 feet long and 66 in width, is capable of lifting a dead weight of 4,500 tons, and is supplied with all the best appliances for handling ves-

sels of the heaviest tonnage. Here, since 1887, ships have been docked with an aggregate of nearly 500,000 tons displacement.

Among the tools and appliances in the ship-yard are punches that will punch through plates an inch and a quarter in thickness; drilling-machines; plate-planers, of which the largest will plane a plate thirty feet long and eight in width; a large hydraulic press, that will bend, without heating, steel plates three inches in thickness into any shape required; a plate-furnace and slabs; a frame-bending furnace, and a scrieve-board one hundred by forty-five feet. In the blacksmith, joiner, and other shops are all the necessary implements, and those of most recent pattern, the first being supplied with steam-hammers, and the second with all the machinery requisite for working in wood. In the moulding-loft and drawing-room, where the lines of ships are planned and traced, are also the best of modern conveniences.

Such in the spring of 1891 were the Union Iron-works, with their 25 acres of ground, one third of it under roof, with 1,400 workmen, with $2,000,000 of invested capital, and with tools, machinery, and facilities as large and powerful as any in the United States; all this the outcome of the blacksmith-shop on Montgomery street, with a roofless tent for its only edifice, and for appliances the funnel of a dismantled steamer, and a pair of wheezy, old-fashioned bellows. And yet these works, though far in advance of all others on this coast, are by no means in advance of the demands of the time, have by no means reached, as yet, their fullest development. With a larger capital, with labor at cheaper rates and of more reliable character, with a revival in the ship-building trade, and with more liberal legislation in this direction, there is no practical limit to their future growth. The possibilities of that future can only be gauged by the ability and enterprise of their owners, and by the funds at their disposal. Of the former we have al-

ready had sufficient proof, and erelong the latter will doubtless be at their command. Here, should Mr Scott be spared to work out his life's ideal, may be found such works as will more largely compete with the shipping-yards of Philadelphia and the Clyde. Here may be steel and forging departments, where the most ponderous shafts and the heaviest guns can be manufactured, such guns as those of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, Cruesot in France, of Krupp in Germany, and of Whitworth in England. All these results are more than possible, are more than probable, considering what has already been accomplished; for here have been worked out some of the greatest experiments ever attempted by mankind—experiments that would surely have resulted in failure, except in the hands of one who knows no such word as fail.

And now let us hear what has already been achieved in the way of ship-building on the Pacific coast, more especially at the Union Iron-works. With a large extent of sea-coast containing many safe and commodious harbors, with an extensive maritime commerce, and an abundance of material and of skilled mechanics, ship-building was among the first of our manufacturing industries. Within a few years after the gold discovery there were several ship-yards on the shores of San Francisco harbor, with others at Oakland, Vallejo, and Humboldt bay, on Puget sound, and on the banks of the Columbia river. Nevertheless it was not until 1865 that the first vessel was produced of more than 500 tons register, and for many years later most of them were coasting craft, or steamboats and schooners intended only for harbor and river navigation. To the building of larger vessels there were several obstacles, most of which are in existence today. Chief among them was that iron was rapidly superseding wood, as in the end a more economical material, and on shipping iron the tariff imposed a duty of $43 a ton, against only $7.50 on railroad iron.

Another drawback was the cost of labor, ship-carpenters receiving from $4 to $5 a day—much higher rates than were paid in eastern yards and nearly double those paid in Europe. Thus even in the case of wooden ships, the cost of building and equipment for a vessel of 1,000 tons would be in California at the rate of $75 per ton, against $65 in the eastern states and $55 in England. As to iron ships, except for a few small steamers, it was not until recent years that they were even attempted, and in this, as in other directions, it remained for the Union Iron-works to lead the way.

In 1860, when Mr Scott first joined the Donahue foundry, engines and boilers were being manufactured for the sloop-of-war *Saginaw*, with others constructed before and after that date for high-pressure river boats and stern-wheel steamers. As yet no hulls had been built, though in 1863 the monitor *Comanche*, fashioned in the eastern states, was shipped in pieces to San Francisco on board the *Aquila*, and after being put together, was launched by Peter Donahue with the aid of the builder and James T. Rynan. For several years thereafter the only important work of this description was the manufacture of the engines for the steamboat *Capitol*.

It was not until 1882, after the present firm had been incorporated as the Union Iron-works, that its first contract was made with the government, and that only for the caisson of the dry-docks at the Mare Island navy-yards. Even this small favor was obtained with the greatest difficulty, and would probably never have been granted but for the persistent efforts of Mr Scott, who laid his case in person before the secretary of the navy, W. E. Chandler. True, his bid was the lowest; but could the future artificer of the *Charleston* and *San Francisco*, the *Monterey* and *Oregon*, give proof of his ability to perform this stupendous task —of building a caisson? Then there was the jealousy of eastern firms, with all the adverse influences which

they brought to bear, asking in sneering tones, as did the Pharisees of old, "Can any good thing come out of San Francisco?" At length, after more delay than would be required for negotiating a national loan, the contract was awarded, and the caisson built and delivered, without the first dispute or discrepancy as to any portion of the work.

Early in the Cleveland administration, bids were invited for the cruiser *Charleston*, and again that of the Union Iron-works was the lowest one received. After a careful examination of their facilities, together with the financial condition of the company, and the reputation of its members for skill and business integrity, the contract was awarded to Mr Scott and his colleagues. In 1889 the launch of the *Charleston*, a vessel of 3,750 tons displacement, of 7,000 horse-power, and with a speed of 19 knots an hour, opened a new era in the annals of San Francisco ship-building, proving, as it did, beyond a peradventure, the ability of the Union works to compete with eastern foundries in the building of steel cruisers of the larger class.

But as the bids were then being made for other vessels, to obtain any further contracts at the lowest figures would leave the company no margin of profit. Through the efforts of Mr Scott, with the aid of certain congressmen, whose support was readily granted, and especially of Senator Morgan of Alabama, the act which authorized the building of cruisers was so amended in 1885 as to provide that one of them should be built on Pacific waters, though authorizing the president and the secretary of the navy, if unable to contract at reasonable prices, to order their construction in such navy-yards as they might designate. Under this amended act the steel cruiser *San Francisco* was awarded to the Union Iron-works at a price only $18,000 higher than the lowest bid of eastern shipbuilders. The performance of this vessel, which was launched in the spring of 1890, was of 4,130 tons

displacement, of 10,000 horse-power, and with a speed of 20 knots, surpassed even that of the *Charleston.* Under a forced blast, during the four hours' run at her official trial in the Santa Bárbara channel, she exceeded by nearly two knots the required limit, making the fastest time that had ever been recorded for a cruiser of her class.

In a subsequent act of congress, permitting the construction of additional war-ships, the clause referred to was omitted; but on account of some irregularity, the bids of eastern ship-builders for the coast-defence vessel *Monterey* were thrown out, and the contract was awarded to the Union works.

The 28th of April, 1891, was a day that will not be readily forgotten by Irving M. Scott, for then it was that the *Monterey*, his latest triumph in naval architecture, was launched in the presence of President Harrison, of the postmaster-general, and an assemblage of more than 20,000 citizens, among them being many of our state and local officials, our leading men in the professions and business. The success of the launch was perfect, so perfect, indeed, as to call forth the warmest encomiums of the nation's chief executive, encomiums more than once repeated as arm in arm with Mr Scott he made the tour of the Union Iron-works.

Then came the contracts for cruisers number two and number six, the latter, a vessel of 5,800 tons, 13,500 horse-power, and a speed of 20 knots, being assigned to the Union works as the only responsible bidder. For the former their bid was $50,000 lower than those of eastern ship-builders on the plan proposed by the government, but $14,000 more than what was asked on the plans proposed by the bidders themselves. After a spirited contest, attended with no small degree of popular excitement, public sentiment being strongly in favor of the Pacific coast, the contract was awarded to an eastern firm.

A year or two later, when the building of other vessels was authorized, the amendment was again introduced, providing, on this occasion, that one or more

of them be built on the Pacific coast. Under its provisions the Union works secured the contract for the line-of-battle ship *Oregon*, an iron-clad, with the heaviest battery ever carried under such conditions of speed and coal endurance, one of the very highest type, and never before attempted in the history of naval architecture. Her length on the water line will be 348 feet, with an extreme breadth of 69¼ feet, and a mean draught of 24 feet; displacement, 10,200 tons; indicated horse-power, 9,000; and estimated speed, 15 knots an hour. Her armament will consist of 16 breech-loading rifle-guns, four of them of 13-inch, eight of 8-inch, and four of 6-inch bore; four Hotchkiss revolving cannon; six Howell torpedo-boats, and 28 rapid-firing rifle-guns. Thus we have five large men-of-war already constructed or to be constructed at the Union Iron-works, and as the results obtained have far surpassed all expectation, surpassed even the efforts of the foremost of eastern firms, such firms as Cramp and sons of Philadelphia, further contracts will doubtless be awarded to them as additions are made to our naval marine.

Before the outbreak of the rebellion, the construction of war-ships had been restricted to single and double turreted monitors, with corvettes for revenue and other service, most of them built of wood. Then came Ericsson's iron monitors, mounted with smooth-bore guns, working a complete revolution in naval architecture. In later years, we have in the *Dolphin*, *Atlanta*, *Boston*, and *Chicago*, some of the highest types of vessels built or ordered by the government; but all of them have been excelled by the Union Iron-works. As in the *Charleston* we have the highest evolution of a single-turreted monitor attained at the time of her contract, so in the *San Francisco* we have the highest type of a swift and powerful cruiser, and in the *Monterey*, an armor-plated and double-turreted monitor of stronger offensive and defensive armor than any that has yet been produced. In design and workmanship,

these vessels, all of them built under the personal superintendence of Mr Scott, have never been excelled by any ship-yard in the United States, and in performance they have never as yet been equalled.

Many additions the Union works have made to our commercial marine since first, in 1884, they added ship-building to the other branches of their business. In the following year was launched the screw steamer *Arago*, of 1,450 tons, the first all-steel merchant vessel built in the United States. In 1886 were completed the steam-yacht *Adeline*, the government harbor-boat *General McDowell*, and the steamer *Balboa;* in 1887, the steel lake-steamer *Meteor*, the steel passenger-steamer *Premier*, of 850 tons, the steel passenger and freight steamer *Pomona*, of 1,750 tons, and the steel tug *Active*; in 1888, the steel tug *Collis*, and the steel launch *Romola;* and in 1890, the steel yacht *Whisper;* or a total, from 1884 to the close of 1890, including the war-ships already mentioned, of 17,274 tons, nearly all consisting of steel-clad vessels.

While during the construction of the *Charleston*, *San Francisco*, and *Monterey* there were but few orders for merchant or passenger steamers, many orders were filled for boilers and machinery, for repairs, and other classes of work. For several large ocean-going craft boilers were supplied, with such repairs as the fitting of bulk-heads, keelsons, reverse-frames, and floor-plates. Others were refitted with masts and spars, or repaired in the hull, and on still others additions were made to their passenger accommodation. The *Walla Walla*, *San Pablo*, and *Umatilla* were converted from freight into passenger boats, each with a hurricane-deck, with saloons handsomely finished in hard wood and furnished with electric lights. Several vessels which had been sunk, or had suffered from collision, were partially rebuilt, as the *Umatilla*, the *Queen of the Pacific*, the *Arago*, the *Walla Walla*, and the *Earl of Dalhousie*. The *Kenilworth*, which took fire at the Port Costa wharf, while loading with

wheat, was reconstructed from the 'tween decks upward, and on others, too numerous here to be mentioned, extensive repairs and additions were made.

While thus building and repairing vessels of every size, from a 10-ton yacht to a 10,000-ton line-of-battle ship, the Union Iron-works furnished employment, as I have said, to some 1,400 workmen, and indirectly to several thousands more. As their supplies and material were largely purchased in San Francisco, they swelled the business volume of the metropolis, while their imports and exports added to the business of railroads and ship-owners. Since the works were removed to the Potrero, hundreds of dwellings and stores have been erected in their neighborhood, and real estate has increased enormously in value. All these and other benefits have been wrought by the young draughtsman who, some thirty years ago, entered the foundry of Peter Donahue at a salary of less than $100 a month. In the truest sense of the word has Irving M. Scott been a builder of this our western commonwealth; for his it has ever been to build up, and not to destroy. The work that he has done has been for the benefit of state and nation, far more than for his own; and for every dollar that he has earned for himself, his inventions alone have added at least a hundred to the sum of that nation's wealth.

To the visitor who may be accorded the privilege of spending a few hours at the Union Iron-works, the first thing that will occur is the perfect order and system that prevail in every department, and the next is the ubiquitous presence of Irving M. Scott. In the drawing-room he will be found perfecting some new design, or testing the accuracy of the draughtsmen's plans; in the ship-yard, making a close and critical inspection of the work, and especially that on the war-vessel which may at the time be on hand. Except for a second tour of the works before the time of closing, the afternoon hours are passed for the most part at his office, attending to a multiplicity of duties.

If time permit, he may enter into conversation, especially as to the projects which he has nearest at heart. Like other self-made and successful men, he feels that he has still a destiny before him; that he has still a great work to accomplish, not for his own advancement, but for the benefit of his fellow-man. On money for its own sake he places but little value, regarding it only as a means to an end, and to him no task could be more distasteful than that of adding dollar to dollar as a miser accumulates his hoard. If he has gathered for himself a moderate fortune, moderate, at least, as fortunes are now computed, he has added infinitely more to the possessions of others. He considers it almost as a duty to provide at remunerative wages every possible source of employment for the greatest possible number, and partly with this view it is among his projects to establish at the Union Iron-works a department for the manufacture of steel in all its modern forms. Should he speak of his own personal efforts in securing the contracts for the *Charleston* and other war-ships, he would mention this as among the most trying experience of his life; for then he fought single-handed, and in the face of the keenest competition, against the prejudice and ignorance of officials and the enmity of rivals, fought against sectional jealousies and combinations, social, financial, and political.

Many were the congratulations extended to Mr Scott on returning from his several visits to Washington, and especially when he brought with him the contract for the *Monterey*. The press did justice to the occasion, and from bankers, merchants, and mechanics came memorials that betokened their esteem. But the one which he valued most was a memorial from his own workmen, presented on the 10th of June, 1890, and of which the following is a copy:

"We, the workingmen of the Union Iron-works, conjointly with your friends, desire on this occasion to give expression of our appreciation of the sterling

ability, untiring energy, and devotion displayed by you in the interest and welfare of California.

"You have labored hard and steadfastly for the improvement of our state, a state scarcely forty years of age, but made, by the earnest endeavors of yourself and others, one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of states.

"Through your efforts California has been recognized as capable of building a portion of our new navy; and the *Charleston* rides the sea to-day, a monument of your ability and skill.

"You return to us laden with other contracts, which will again test the ability and resources of California, and again prove the confidence reposed in you by our government.

"We welcome you to your home, we welcome you to our hearts, and bid you God-speed in your efforts to enlarge the sphere of usefulness of your fellow-men.

"As citizens of California, we share with you the honor you have so nobly won, and claim the right to say: 'God bless you, Irving M. Scott.'"

In the chamber of commerce, of which, as of the manufacturers' association, Mr Scott is a member, a motion was introduced to tender its congratulations on the success of the *Charleston* in passing her official test. "But," said one of the wise men of that honorable association, "we cannot commit the chamber of commerce; for they might have made a failure." To this another member replied: "It is of great benefit to the coast, even if they had never succeeded." In truth Mr Scott was not without his detractors, and among them were many who predicted not only his failure in the building of armored cruisers, but the utter collapse of the entire establishment, to which, when half-finished, they had given the name of the Scott cathedral. But those laugh best who laugh last, and long ago he had schooled himself to regard the world's opinion with philosophical indifference. Certain it is that never, in the darkest hour of his

trial, did the artificer of the Union Iron-works lose faith in their success.

Before taking leave of these works it may be mentioned that here was constructed the largest quartz-mill on the Pacific coast, and with one exception, the heaviest pumping machinery, the latter erected, at a cost of $500,000, for the Union Consolidated mine, and capable of hoisting from a depth of 4,000 feet 106,000 gallons an hour. Here also was built the huge dome of the Lick observatory, declared by Lord Rosse to be the greatest mechanical feat of the age.

In other directions, apart from the Union Iron-works, with its manifold and far-reaching operations, the skill and enterprise of Irving M. Scott have left their impress on the industries and institutions of the Pacific coast. To him was largely due, as one of the promoters and largest shareholders, the development of the Clipper Gap iron mine, probably the richest in California. As a director in the Donahue-Kelly banking incorporation, the successor to one of the oldest and most successful private banks in the state, he has given proof of his ability as a financier. As president of the San Francisco Art association, of the Mechanics' institute, and the Young Men's Republican club, as a regent of the university of California, as a trustee of the Leland Stanford university, of the San Francisco academy of sciences, and of the Free library, his influence has also made itself felt. Nor should his services be forgotten when, in 1877, as a member of the executive committee, he assisted in quelling, without bloodshed, the riots of a ruffian mob. He was also one of those appointed to receive the Japanese embassy in 1879, to extend to General Grant, at his arrival in this city on his world-embracing tour, the welcome of her citizens, and to preside as chairman of the literary exercises which all too soon were held in honor of his memory. He was chosen one of the judges for the centennial exhibition at Philadelphia, and finally, in April 1891, he was elected by a unanimous vote president of the

California commission to represent that state at the world's fair in Chicago in 1893, representing also, in conjunction with James D. Phelan, her commercial and manufacturing interests; also appointed one of the reception committee to receive President Harrison.

Though a native of Maryland, and reared under southern influences, in his political creed Mr Scott is a thorough republican, always regarding slavery as an evil, and one in conflict with the principles laid down in the declaration of independence. So long as it existed as a state right, and as such was recognized by the constitution of the United States, he held that the provisions relating thereto, as expounded by Daniel Webster, should be maintained in their integrity. But when the south rose in arms, attempting by force to fasten this institution on the American people, his very soul revolted, and striving with all his might against the iniquity, he never ceased his efforts until the shackles fell from every slave, and the foul stain of compulsory servitude disappeared from the face of the land.

In local politics he has taken an active part, receiving in 1872 the republican nomination for the state senatorship, on which occasion he led his ticket, though the so-called Dolly Vardens carried the day. In casting his ballot he votes for the man, and not for the party, serving for twelve years as a member of the tax-payers' convention, whose object was to nominate for office honest and capable men, irrespective of creed or sect.

As to his political opinions, it may, first of all, be stated that Mr Scott is a strong protectionist, pointing, in support of his theory, to the effect on the industries of the country of the alternating policy of the several parties in power. Without exception, as he remarks, adversity has attended the adoption of free trade, and prosperity followed in the wake of protection. Thus under the former régime, the periods between 1816 and 1824, 1832 and 1842, and 1846 and 1861, were

marked by business depression, while during the intervening eras the United States gradually attained to their present rank as the greatest of commercial and wealth-producing nations, the increase of national wealth since 1860 exceeding $40,000,000,000. He is also strongly in favor of amendments to our immigration laws, believing that unrestricted immigration, whether Asiatic or European, is fraught with serious peril to the commonwealth. For his views on these and kindred subjects I refer the reader to one of his magazine articles published in the *Overland Monthly* for October 1886, and from which I will here give a few brief extracts.

Quoting from a speech of Henry Clay in which the great orator remarks: "The great battle of the world is between freedom and despotism; between European capital and labor on one side, and American labor and capital on the other. On this point turns the destiny of nations," Mr Scott continues: "Since the utterance of this great truth fifty years ago, despotism has immensely increased its forces, has enlisted Asiatic labor, and multiplied the machine labor of Europe indefinitely, so that now, in this aggression of despotism, American labor is besieged on the west by an army of Chinese labor four hundred million strong, and on the east by the still more powerful forces of European capital and European pauper labor, on the north by French Canadian labor, and on the south by that of Mexican peonage. The conflict between these allied forces and free American labor is irrepressible. There is no such thing as peace between them. I appeal to the evidence, the facts in the case. The civilization of the Asiatic division is in deadly hostility to the civilization of progress. The vices of seventy centuries of uniform despotism and slavery seem to be infused into the mind and constitution of the Chinese, and so far our experience with this foreign foe indicates that seventy centuries more will be required to eliminate these inherited or constitutional vices.

"Who so blind as not to perceive that unrestricted Chinese immigration into this country—in other words, Asiatic slavery—means war, war to the hilt, between servile and free labor, war whose consuming flames will far exceed in intensity of heat and in scope those that a few years ago, in consequence of African slavery, seriously threatened the destruction of the American union? African slavery was involuntary, and limited; Chinese slavery is the normal condition of the mass of that people, and is virtually unlimited; hence its greater menace to free labor.

"The restriction of such foreign immigration and foreign imports as are injurious to our domestic affairs should be written on the title-page of every American work on political economy, taught in our public schools and at the home fireside, proclaimed from the American pulpit, and made the fundamental law of the land. I have already stated that Chinese immigration and European pauper immigration are injurious—are a curse to our domestic affairs. They should therefore be restricted to the extent of utter prohibition. For the determination of what foreign imports are injurious, Joshua Gee, a British writer of great force and clearness, furnishes us with the proper standard, in these words: 'The surest way for a nation to increase in riches is to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as may be raised at home.'

"'The law of nations,' it has been remarked, 'enjoins upon every nation the due observance of benevolence and good-will, as well as justice, toward its neighbors.' This is the true policy of a nation that would prosper, be happy, and long endure. It beats swords into plough-shares, spears into pruning-hooks, and converts impoverishing armies of war into those of peaceful industry, by which innumerable homes are cheered with the objects of comfort and luxury, and the state enriched. This policy, pursued by the United States and Mexico, will secure the monopoly of their markets for the products of American labor.

The aggregate area of these countries exceeds twice that of Europe, including proximate islands. Their natural resources equally surpass those of that grand division of the globe. Indeed, their exuberant fertility yields an abundant harvest, with but little exertion on the part of the cultivators.

"Now progress does not loiter. The immense resources of these countries are to be developed; the broad, fertile fields are to be tilled; the rich, exhaustless mines worked; the extensive forests of timber and choice woods are to be felled, and their material reared and fashioned into objects of usefulness and beauty; the rare products that minister to man's comforts or delight his senses are to be gathered for his uses; and the endless herds of cattle are to be utilized as food for millions of the human race. Shall these developments be made under the guidance of European nations, and to the advantage of European labor? or shall they be made under the guidance of the United States, and to the advantage of American labor? To effect these developments, manufactures to the value of billions of dollars will be required. Shall they be the manufactures of European labor, or of American labor?

"Our geographical position defies competition. Seas roll between Europe and this matchless prize, while to us it is at hand. The locomotive, the most efficient agent of commerce, practically annihilates distance. Indeed, from that noble eminence whither the firm steps of reason, not the airy wings of fancy, bear us, are seen looming the bright possibilities of no distant future; the divisions and subdivisions of the American continent joined with links of steel; and the locomotive, that great apostle of progress and civilization, going forth, demonstrating that the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries indigenous to the different climes, are for the enjoyment of the whole American family, from the frozen north to the frozen south, and from ocean to ocean."

Thus clearly and forcibly does Mr Scott express his well-considered and far-reaching views on the social and industrial problems of the day. As to the future of his country, it will be seen that he is somewhat of an optimist, and especially is this the case with regard to the Pacific states. Here, he believes, can be maintained, with a proper distribution of labor, and with an equitable distribution of the earnings of labor, a larger population to the square mile than in any other portion of the world. Here, he considers, they can be better fed and clad and housed, can be better educated, and can enjoy in greater measure the comforts and amenities of life. Nor is he alone in this opinion, as elsewhere in this work will be seen in the views expressed by others of our leading citizens.

And now let us hear the opinions of Mr Scott as to the labor question, as to labor combinations, strikes, and trades-unions, together with something of their history; for on such topics his long and varied experience entitles him to rank as an authority. First of all, he believes that the best results have thus far been obtained through the unfettered freedom of the individual; that the highest wages and the most beneficial employment have been given to the greatest number; that the sources of employment have been most enlarged when under no restraint from the rules and restrictions of trades-unions. Such organizations, when directed to other than their legitimate purpose of improving the social condition of the workman, he considers as among the most demoralizing that were ever instituted for the degradation of mankind. In the *Overland Monthly* for March 1891 we have from his own pen a most able and exhaustive article in this connection, one specially directed against the constitution of the Iron Moulders' union, and the regulations of its local branch in San Francisco.

"An inspection of these rules and laws," says Mr Scott, "shows that a man, in becoming a member of the Iron Moulders' union, surrenders his individuality

and manhood to the organization; renounces his right to 'sign contracts with his employer'; pledges himself 'to be governed by the constitution, rules, and usages of the Iron Moulders' union of America'; makes oath that he will not disconnect himself from this organization by resignation or otherwise; subjects him to such penalties as the union may see fit to impose upon him for his failure on written notice to attend any regular or special meeting of the union; subjects him in case of being a foreman, and using his position to the detriment of the union or any member thereof, to be mulcted in a fine of from $50 to $200 for the first offence, and for the second offence to be expelled from the union, a penalty synonymous with that of banishment from the country on pain of social and industrial death within the arrogated jurisdiction of the union; pledges himself not to divulge any of the secret work of the union under the penalty of expulsion, thus precluding redress through the established courts of justice for any wrong perpetrated upon him by the union." But even worse than all this was the unwritten law of the union, the intent and application of which is determined solely by its managers—"a law," says Mr Scott, "as variable in its operation as the chameleon in its colors." His position and stand for California boys, taken 23 years ago, may be shown by a quotation from his statement published in the *Morning Call*, July 10, 1869: "There can be no compromise? Compromise what? We have invaded no rights of theirs; no rules of their union. We placed a California boy in the core-room, there to remain until a vacancy occurred on the moulding-floor according to the moulders' union; not according to our judgment. They demand his discharge, or strike; asked nothing else—but demanded his discharge under penalty of a strike. They did strike; are now on a strike; and as far as we are concerned, may remain on a strike forever. We do not intend to discharge the boy." That boy never was discharged.

It was in June 1869 that the first serious trouble occurred with the union, and that from a trivial matter which need not here be related, though one that clearly revealed the intention of its managers to control the Union Iron-works. After an ineffectual remonstrance, the proprietors thus replied to their demands: "If you order a strike on this account, we will spend what means we can command to run this foundry outside of the Moulders' union, and if we cannot succeed, we will sell out to some one who can." The very next day the strike began, and was continued for several months, causing to the firm only a slight inconvenience, for under the training and direction of Mr Scott, non-union workmen were presently executing work of excellent quality and at rates from thirty to fifty per cent below their former average. Before the strike, for instance, the cost for labor on a quartz mortar-mould was $23; after the strike it was $12.50. As for the strikers themselves, within a few months they were only too glad to return to the foundry, with wages reduced from $4.50 to $3 a day.

But here the line was sharply drawn, and with moulders who were also members of the union the firm would have nothing more to do. In answer to an article in the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the firm replied that they did not employ, and did not intend to employ, union men in any capacity. "It is our intention," they said, "to meet any and all competition from abroad or at home, and pay such wages as will enable us to meet our obligations, always recognizing the right of every man to accept or reject our terms, and we never intend to allow any dictation as to how we shall conduct our business, whom we shall employ, or what wages we shall pay."

Thus, as Mr Scott remarks, the union, instead of placing its feet on the necks of its employers, itself bit the dust; soon, however, to be resuscitated, and with pretensions more insufferable than ever before. In

February 1885, another strike was ordered, caused by a proposed reduction of fifteen per cent in wages in the Union, Risdon, and Fulton foundries, one due to extreme depression in business, and an abatement of more than twenty-five per cent in the prices of eastern machinery. Although, as stated in their notice, the only alternative was the discharge of the greater portion of their employés, or perhaps an entire suspension of work, the company conceded the point; but with the result that the market was flooded with eastern machinery, and with the diminished home demand, hundreds of workmen lost their only source of employment.

And now there was no limit to the arrogance of the union managers. They forbade the employment, not only of non-union moulders, but even of apprentices, except in the ratio of one to eight. They forbade employés to accept less than $3.50 a day, no matter if their services were dear at half that rate. They forbade that the hours of work should be curtailed, even during the short winter days, or when dullness of trade required it. They sought to limit the daily task that each workman should perform, placing that task at less than half the equivalent of a fair day's work. They denied the right of the company to discharge any moulder who was also a member of the union, no matter how good and sufficient the reasons. They established a system of espionage in the several foundries, with orders to report all infringements of their rules, appointing for that purpose a so-called committee, and over that committee a spy, on the principle, it is presumed, of "setting a thief to catch a thief." Chief among their duties was to see that none of the operatives should exceed the prescribed limit of work, to threaten those who did so with a fine for the first offence, and for the second, expulsion from the union, a penalty more dreaded by the union man than was ostracism by the Athenian. If this be not despotism, a despotism such as was never at-

tempted even by the autocrat of all the Russias, then have we yet to learn the meaning of the word.

Early in 1890 matters came to a crisis. In January of that year the members of the union, represented by a committee, were invited to a conference, at which the following most reasonable terms were proposed: That the union should consent to the admission of a larger proportion of apprentices, who, on the expiration of their term, should be required to work for a year under the foreman's instruction, before receiving the minimum rate of wages; that this minimum be fixed at $3 a day, and that all limitation on work should cease. Although it was proved to the satisfaction of the committee that the wages paid at the Union works were fully 75 per cent above the eastern standard, these conditions were refused, nor was there even the offer of a compromise, the union still persisting in a policy which wrought intolerable hardship to the members of the Founders' association.

At length their patience was exhausted, and foreseeing, as Mr Scott remarks, that the managers of the Moulders' union were intent on "rule or ruin," foreseeing that should they rule, inevitable ruin must result, they now resolved on decisive measures. On the 21st of February, 1890, the union was notified that within some twenty days from that date the following resolutions would take effect: The Founders' association would not recognize the right of the union to forbid the employment of non-union men, to limit the number of apprentices employed, or to regulate the amount of work that the men should perform. No restriction would be tolerated as to the minimum of wages, all wages to be paid at a certain rate per hour, and ten hours to constitute a day's work, unless shorter hours should be adopted by eastern foundries; but fifty per cent additional would be paid for overtime, with double rates for work performed on Sundays and holidays.

To this notification the union returned no answer,

and a week before the time specified in the resolutions, entered on a strike against all the iron-works under the control of the Founders' association. The time selected was most inopportune, and, as it would seem, intended as a surprise to employers, who, left with contracts on their hands, would be subjected to considerable loss. But whatever loss and inconvenience were at the time sustained have since been more than compensated by the greater quantity of work produced by non-union moulders, stated by Mr Scott and other credible witnesses at fifty per cent more than was accomplished under what he justly terms "the drone system."

In the middle of June a communication was forwarded to the Founders' association, stating that whereas the contracts for naval work — cruisers number two and number six — soon to be awarded, would not be given to firms where labor troubles existed, with a view to prevent such contracts being assigned to eastern foundries, the union proposed that a conference should be held with a view to adjust the strike. To this the association replied that the members of the union, though granted all the just privileges of American citizens, had left their employment without notice; that others had taken their places, whose services were satisfactory; therefore the association knew of nothing to adjust, and for that reason saw no occasion for a meeting. In due time, as we have seen, the contract for cruiser number six was awarded to the Union works, and for the other they were slightly underbid in fair and honorable competition.

But the end was not yet. No sooner was the strike inaugurated than, in open defiance of the law of the land, the association foundries were surrounded by union pickets. Non-union moulders were assaulted and beaten, were stabbed and shot at by this lawless gang; "were assaulted," says Mr Scott, "for simply exercising their legal and moral right of earning their

bread in the places vacated by the union moulders of their own volition, or in abject servitude to the bidding of their tyrant masters, the managers of the union. These assaults have occurred by day and by night, in darkened alleys, on the public streets, on cars and cabs, and even in the sleeping apartments of the pursued—wherever an unprotected non-union moulder could be found or reached." And not only did the union fail to expel the guilty members; it even defended them; defended them to the last, and with all the weight of its influence, thus converting whatever there had been of misguided public sympathy into a feeling of abhorrence and disgust.

Such, in brief, is a summary of this most vigorous and interesting article, one that has been more widely read than any published within recent years in the pages of the *Overland Monthly*. With trades-unions and kindred organizations Mr Scott was never in sympathy; nor does he heed the oft-repeated cry of demagogues that through their operations the standard of wages is maintained. Among European and perhaps among eastern communities, such associations may be of benefit; but here it is not so. Here, he considers, better wages have been paid, better results obtained, and a better feeling has prevailed between employer and employed, when each one was left to go and to come, to pay and to be paid, as his needs or interests dictated. To him that system is most obnoxious which would dictate to a workman for whom he shall work, for how many hours in the day, the amount of work he shall do in those hours, and the lowest wages he shall accept. If his services are worth ten dollars a day, he should receive that rate, and if they are worth but a single dollar, he should have no more. But the main object of labor unions is to establish uniform rates of wages, and so to limit the daily task that the least skilful of their members, or the veriest drone among them, can accomplish it. The effect is to destroy the ambition of the more expert and indus-

trious operatives, who, seeing that they earn no more than the rest, either follow their example, or find employment elsewhere. Such a system, moreover, prevents either kindness or liberality; prevents consideration for age, or encouragement to the young, reducing all to the hard and soulless level of a trade, and leaving nothing to generosity, friendship, or association.

From what has been said, it must not be inferred that Mr Scott is wanting in sympathy for his employés or for the working classes in general; on the contrary, they have no more generous advocate. To trades-unions he is only opposed when they exceed their legitimate functions, interfering with the rights of the employer, and by a system of tyranny, terrorism, and espionage abasing instead of improving the condition of the employed. In a foundry, factory, or other establishment where labor is largely employed, he believes that we should have a mutual aid society, in which the accidents and misfortunes of life should be shared and relieved, and where the workman's remuneration should be at the highest rates that the nature of the enterprise will permit. In an article entitled the Mission of the Knights of Labor, published in the *Overland Monthly* for May 1887, he says: "I am in favor of the highest wages consistent with maximum industry, and the greatest good to the greatest number. I am in favor of every American, whether native-born or naturalized, being free and independent, well fed, well clothed, well sheltered, well educated in practical, scientific learning, and thoroughly imbued with the principles of moral right."

In other articles from the pen of Irving M. Scott, we have some of the most valuable contributions to the current literature of the day, and especially in those which have appeared at intervals in the *Overland Monthly*. To him was largely due the resuscitation of that magazine, languishing, as it did, in a moribund condition, when Bret Harte withdrew from the editorship, and his idyls no longer enriched its pages.

For the most part its contributors were utter strangers to each other, and with a view to make them acquainted, Mr Scott invited them to a dinner party, at which were present all the most celebrated among our local writers. The result was soon apparent in the improvement noticed in its tone, no less than in its circulation.

But it is rather as a lecturer and speaker, even than as a writer, that Mr Scott is esteemed among the more cultured circles of the metropolis. Though never putting himself forward, when the occasion demands it, his voice is always heard at public gatherings, and to him there is no more pleasant task than thus to pass an hour in communion with his fellowman. In boyhood he practised the art of speaking, addressing the trees, the rocks, and the running waters, during his lonely hours at the Hebron mills. On making his home in San Francisco, he became a member and was afterward elected president of the Addisonian debating society, in connection with the Howard street church, receiving there, as he relates, some of the most valuable lessons of his life. Those who would judge as to his oratory may be referred to the address which he delivered at the opening of the Mechanics' fair in 1869, and for which he received the personal congratulations of William H. Seward; to one on the Spirit of the Age and its Requirements, at the annual fair of the state board of agriculture, in September 1883; to one on the Development of Science, in July 1889, the occasion being the laying of the corner-stone of the California academy of sciences, and to one delivered on the national birthday of the same year, when was unveiled the monument of Francis Scott Key, erected at Golden Gate park, according to the provisions of the Lick trust.

As to the private life of Mr Scott, it may, first of all, be said that he was never given to any form of

dissipation or extravagance, or if so, it was in the shape of an extravagant fondness for works of art. At his residence, on Harrison street, may be seen the choicest productions of such artists as Virgil Williams and Travernier, of Hill and Rix, of Bouvey and Brown, of Guy and Brooks, of Humphry Moore and Matilda Lotz. But of all his pictures, the one that he values most is from the brush of Toby Rosenthal, representing the trial scene of Constance de Beverley, the subject of which was selected by himself and the members of his family. This he regards as among the greatest of modern paintings, one that when compared even with the finest works of the old masters will not suffer by the comparison. Here it may be mentioned that, under the auspices of Mr Scott, an exhibition was held of the Rosenthal collection, and the proceeds, exceeding $10,000, applied to charitable purposes. Many are those for whose canvasses he has found a purchaser, or purchased himself, as the only means of relieving their distress; for this he considers as in the nature of an obligation.

In literature his tastes are catholic, inclining rather to history, but including all that is best among the culled treasures of ancient and modern times. In standard poetry he is also thoroughly versed, and among his favorite poets are Oliver Wendell Holmes and Sir Edwin Arnold. With the author of *The Light of Asia* he is personally acquainted, reading that matchless epic while at Benares, during his tour around the world. At the time when this memoir was written, he was engaged in the study of the bible, of bible history and bible characteristics, not as a religious exercise, but simply as a study, and to him a source of enjoyment. A member of the First congregational church, he looks upon church organizations and creeds as instruments for good, believing that with the progress of moral and intellectual culture men will do right for its own sake, and not through fear of future punishment, or hope of future reward.

In October 1863, Mr Scott was married to Laura, the daughter of John R. Horde, of Covington, Kentucky. Descended from one of the oldest of southern families, her own intrinsic worth, her culture and refinement, the graces of her womanhood, as wife and mother, as friend and benefactress, are in perfect keeping with her ancient and honorable lineage. Of their four children, Murray D. and Bessy died in infancy. Alice W., their only surviving daughter, bids fair to rival her mother in the qualities that most adorn her sex, and Laurance Irving, their only son, who inherits most of his father's characteristics, has already given proof of his ability to take up the burden which presently his sire will lay down.

And now I have related the career of the great naval artificer, of one of the greatest of modern engineers—related it at least so far as it has been fulfilled; for verging only toward the autumn of life, with faculties still unimpaired, and a worthy ambition still unsatisfied, he has before him many years of usefulness. It is not through the mere casting of facts and principles into iron and steel that the fame of Irving M. Scott will long outlive his achievements; his life and labors have an ethical and an intellectual as well as a material significance. So long as such men live and work, there is less danger of moral decadence in our midst; for one such mind will quicken a multitude of others, will purify the streams of human thought, of human action, of human existence, as they flow ever onward to the unknown sea. Such men come not in throngs, not many, perchance not one, in a generation; but by such examples alone is the way prepared for that higher development which erelong shall here be witnessed, when the moral and intellectual status of California shall rise to a level with her material greatness.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOMINATING INFLUENCES IN THE WESTERN INTERIOR.

A Region of Wealth and Fascinations—Power of Religion in Divers Parts—Achievements of Science in the Colorado Country—Life of William Gilpin—Ancestry and Early Environment—Visit to England—In Oregon and Colorado—Mexican and Indian Wars—Governor and Federal Agent—Cosmopolitan Railway.

Elsewhere in this work I speak of the effect upon government finances of the Comstock lode output of precious metal during the civil war, and the reflex influence of patriotism in the evolution of a state. I speak also of the power of religion, as displayed along the seaboard of California, in the valleys of Oregon, and in the deserts of Utah, in subduing the wilderness and planting the flowers of civilization. But passing for the present this fascinating region, we will come at once to the scene of labors of him whose biography illustrates development here.

Colorado is a monumental state. Situated midway between the parental Atlantic districts and the rising Pacific commonwealths, it lies also half-way between the north and south borders of the republic, and on the dividing point on the continent between the two oceans, on either side of the central cordillera. It is a phenomenal state. Founded on a base of rich gold, rises the paler substructure of the silver era, to support in time the stable edifice fashioned from the more beneficial material of the coal and

iron periods, surrounded by the irrigation canals associated with a high type of agriculture. It is a red-letter state in name as well as in birth and exceptional progress.

It is remarkable for covering the oldest land in this part of the continent. In the gradual upheaval from deep sea soundings, the San Juan range first divided the waters, followed at intervals far apart by the Sangre de Cristo, the Mojada, and the Colorado or Front ranges. The detritus washed on the east into shallow water formed a long slope while yet the ocean thundered at the more abrupt western base of the mother range.

It is essentially a mountain country, crossed by several ranges and countless peaks ranging from 9,000 to 14,500 feet above the sea, and walling in with majestic cliffs and inclines the large elevated valleys known as parks, covered with luxuriant grasses, threaded by the purest of streams, beautified by lakes and dotted with groves. They lie at an altitude of from 7,500 to 8,800 feet, and vary from cosy hollows to the thirty mile diameter of the North park, the 65 by 45 mile of the Middle and South parks, and the vastness of the San Luis park, which is nearly as large as all the rest combined. Below, narrow fertile vales skirt the numerous rivers, fringed with cottonwood and willow.

The waters from the springs and banks of eternal snow flow into several mighty streams. The South Platte, with its forty tributaries, rises among the peaks of the Colorado range, the North Platte in the Park range. The royal Arkansas interlaces in the Saguache range with the Grand river, and collects in its descent three score of affluents. The Republican and Smoky Hill fork constitute the main branches of the Kansas. In the south the Rio Grande receives somewhat from the waters of San Luis park before starting on its long journey to the gulf of Mexico. The western slope is drained entirely by tributaries to the Rio

Colorado, as the West, the Grand, Gunnison, Rio Dolores, and Rio San Juan, which, as the names indicate, were discovered some by Spanish and some by American explorers.

The west side if less attractive to the settler is more so to the tourist, in its scenic wonders, among which rank foremost a series of cañons, where noble rivers rushing through rents in the solid mountains, thousands of feet in depth, have united with time and weather in producing carvings beyond the agency of human power, their wild imagery softened by blended tones of color in harmony with the sky, the purple-gray shadows, and the clinging moss and herbage. The grandest of these clefts is Black cañon, on Gunnison river, whose walls rise in places to a perpendicular height of 3,000 feet, through a table-land 9,800 feet above the sea. The gorge narrows at times to the width of the river, in gloomy grandeur, and broadens again into a park, marked by chutes and waterfalls, by fantastic rocks and needles of highly colored sandstone.

Although rivers are numerous the soil is arid. Many creeks run dry; others run in narrow beds, fringed with grass and bushes. Sloping up from them are stretches of rolling country sparsely covered with red spreading cedars, or a table-land with colonies of prairie dogs, and herds of buffalo and deer. In the mountains are meadows, with brooks covered by aspens, and marked by beaver dams. Trout streams exist and game is abundant, from elks and mountain sheep to bears and wild-cats. Forests of pine and fir, spruce and other trees, cover the ranges to a height of twelve thousand feet. At the western base of the Sierra Blanca are wastes of sand, and on the arid mesas of the south-east nothing but enormous cacti. Northward, and to the east and west, are grassy plains, gay with indigenous flora during their season.

In this altitude the rarified air draws up the moisture, while on the plains the excessive heat does its

share in bearing off humidity. Yet the nights are cool, so that the mean temperature in summer is about 67°, although the thermometer ranges often above 90°. In winter the mean is 32°, with occasional descents below zero. Then come at times fierce, driving snow-storms, corresponding to the suffocating sand gales of the plains during summer.

The rainfall averages about nineteen inches. The snow-banks of the ranges remain until late in the spring to feed the streams. Water is alone needed to transform the dry tracts into blooming fields, for the soil is deep and rich, and grazing lands abound on either slope.

The chief wealth of the country lies in its rocks, hidden in a confused geological structure. The younger world in Colorado has been resentfully pushed aside, and overflowed by the older in so rude and violent a manner as to dislocate all strata. Gold gave the clue to find silver, with which vie the more substantial coal and iron, pregnant with great possibilities.

Here, on the shore of a primeval lake, on the west of the San Juan mountains, lived an aboriginal race, in hive-like dwellings of unhewn stone, wherein water-jars, arrow-heads, and other implements testify to a certain advance in useful arts. These dwellings are situated in the face of the cliffs, far above the present valley bottom; yet the waters may at that period have reached close to their foundation. Another supposition is that the houses were so located for safety.

Like the pueblos of New Mexico, these peaceful house-dwellers were perchance the prey of the roaming Indians who have so long been the terror of the plains. The Utes extend in several divisions over this region, from New Mexico along the west slope of Colorado into Utah, and to the foot of the Sierra Nevada. The tribes of the northwest part, always wild and shy, though warlike, were in frequent con-

flict with their hereditary enemies on the Platte. On the other side of San Juan, below the Arkansas, roam still the dreaded robbers of the plains, the Comanches and Apaches.

The aridity and barrenness of the soil, and the abundance of game, particularly buffaloes, naturally directed the aborigines to a nomad life; hence grew here a love for hunting, adventure, and warlike deeds. Tribal raids and contests were frequent. The advent of white men added fresh objects for predatory expeditions, and for the tomahawk.

Their inhospitable attitude, together with the mountain barriers and remoteness of the land, tended to check the advance of the Spaniards, who, in 1540, penetrated to this border. The chief deterrent was the failure to find in New Mexico the rumored gilded cities, or the clue which later opened the golden mountains of Colorado. And so for over two centuries they were left to their isolation, vaguely embraced in the domain now of Spain, anon of France, to be finally surrendered, in 1819, to the United States, as far as the Arkansas. The portion south of this river fell to Mexico when she wrested independence from Spain. Her settlers in New Mexico gradually crept up into San Luis park, and westward. Above them entered trappers from the states, to tempt the redman to a conciliatory attitude, and even to coöperation in the chase, by insidious offers of fire-water, tobacco, and other amenities of Caucasian culture. The game preserve was soon exhausted, however, and in the forties the forts, which had risen during the preceding decade, declined to mere breastworks for the defence of hunters, now transformed into colonists, under the potent influence of Mexican and Indian wives, and half-breed families.

Precautions for defence were necessary, for the luxuries and trinkets of white men had by this time become doubly endeared to the native. With less desirable means than of yore to buy them, he conceived

the simpler method of taking them by force. To this end, he scrupled not to swoop down on peaceful settlers, quieting his conscience with the plea of their unauthorized intrusion and his own ancestral rights to the soil and its products. Hence, also, he hovered like a carrion bird along the path of the broadening column of migration westward, intimidating the caravans into payment of tolls, and cutting off incautious stragglers to feed his thirst for spoils and blood.

The United States had acquired the mountain region chiefly as a pathway to her prospective Pacific empire; for the reports of explorers had condemned it as an arid waste, and inscribed it on the maps as the Great American desert. The California currents of migration, which skirted the northern border of Colorado, and crossed the southeastern corner, began to dispel this erroneous idea on testing the nutritious herbage of the plains, and revelling in the grassy bottoms of the Platte and parallel streams; but remoteness, and the attitude of the aborigines served as a bar to occupation.

The revelations of El Dorado directed the search for gold to other territories; and stimulated by the revived rumors of former discoveries, prospectors found in Colorado indications which, in 1858, led to opening of regular placers. Although these were still of small importance, traders and town-lot speculators, excited by the turn of events on the Pacific, availed themselves of every trifle to spread exaggerated notices in the east. A fever set in, and Colorado received an influx of fortune-hunters exceeding in magnitude that of California. The natural result of inflated hopes was bitter disappointment to the larger portion, and back they rushed, launching hot invectives alike on the country and on its eulogizers.

Nearly forty thousand remained, however, to be rewarded after diligent search by the unfolding of diggings which, in many localities, equalled the richest spots in California. This brought a reflux of the cur-

rent, under whose influence the production of gold was gradually raised to over seven millions a year. Camps rose in every direction, especially along the headwaters of the Platte, centring round the town founded by observant real estate men.

Traffic grew to large proportions, with thousands of wagons lining the highways from the east, along the Platte, the Smoky Hill fork, and the Arkansas, tended by a freighting force which in time numbered ten thousand men. This intermediate stage of progress was soon supplanted on its main avenues by railways, which, entering from the plains, climbed the cloud-enfolded passes to camps and towns situated over ten thousand feet above the sea. Leadville, which lies at an elevation of 10,025 feet, is one of the loftiest towns of importance in the world. Alma, Kokomo, Montezuma, Oro, and St John are still higher. The Present Help mine, on Mount Lincoln, is placed at 14,000 feet.

Coal-mines, saw-mills, iron-works, and other manufacturing enterprises, felt the impulse of the demand, and rapidly developed, feeding thousands of busy workers, while contributing their quota of aid to the parental trunk. The largest of its branches represented agriculture. Farmers entered with such zeal into competition with importers to provide food staples, that the country was made self-sustaining in this direction by 1866. It would have become so earlier but for its extreme dryness. Irrigation was now employed, which doubled, as well as assured, crops. Thus was gradually obliterated the repelling term of desert; soil once assumed to be sterile blossomed into fields and gardens, and farming became one of the most thriving industries. Although the long and costly transportation to outside markets restricted traffic almost exclusively to home consumption, a profitable outlet presented itself to stock-raisers, who found in the plains and slopes, with their nutritious pastures and numerous streams, the finest range for cattle and

sheep, so much so that their industry came to occupy the second rank in the state, with about 1,000,000 head of cattle, and 1,500,000 sheep, which sustain not alone a steady export of live-stock, but furnish material for packing and canning meat for reserve shipments. Thus was the wilderness transformed as the white man supplanted the red, and as domestic animals fed in the pastures occupied by the buffalo.

Miners for the first years worked at random. The placers were not lasting. By 1867 the yield had fallen to less than two million dollars, a large number of miners going away to the more promising fields of Montana, Idaho, and Nevada, leaving Colorado in a most depressed condition, to which the civil war with attendant fear of confederate invasion and Indian hostility added their quota. The gold was but the frothing of the silver beds beneath, and these were ignorantly passed over until the experience of Nevada and the commendations of experts disclosed the secret. A fresh rush ensued, partly to relocate rejected claims. A difficulty intervened, however, in the refractory character of the ore for which ordinary methods of reduction proved unavailing. After long, costly, and mostly fruitless experiments, recourse was had to Europe, and thence were brought processes which achieved success. Now followed rapid development. By 1870 the production had once more risen to $5,000,000, and this improved, particularly after the unfolding of Leadville, until the maximum was reached in 1882. The subsequent decline was arrested in 1886, when the yield again began to rise, with a total of nearly $26,000,000. To the output in 1882 Lake county alone contributed $16,000,000. Gilpin county had for several years averaged $2,000,000, and Ouray figured in 1884 with $4,000,000, the assay from select ores reaching as much as $4,000 and $7,000 per ton, according to the admixture of gold.

Each step in advance by the pioneer miner in-

volved an inroad upon the aborigines, to whom congress had in the fifties, prior to the disclosure of mineral wealth, granted the best part of the slopes for reservations. The consequent ill-feeling found alarming vent during the civil war, when the Indians thought the moment opportune to conspire and drive out the intruders. The uprising began with a series of outrages, so alarming as to prompt the settlers to energetic steps. This served to check the danger, and after 1868 Colorado was relieved from further attack on the east side. On the west slope one additional outbreak took place, which resulted in the despatch of several tribes to reservations in the adjoining territories, and the distribution of land in severalty, together with aid for establishing farms and annuities until they should have been taught to become self-supporting.

Thus was overcome one obstacle after another, in wringing their secrets from the rocks, in reclaiming deserts, and in suppressing the lords aboriginal. Meanwhile the new masters fell to quarreling among themselves. Colorado was situated on a strip wherein met the borders of five territories, each of which might have entered to claim jurisdiction. The earliest important settlements lay within the lines of Kansas, and to her a number of occupants appealed, moved by the sympathy of recent connection. Kansas was herself torn at this time by the agitation of slave and free-soil advocates, and legislature and governor issued conflicting orders for the administration of the new section. This encouraged a more ambitious portion of the community, intent on the spoils of office, and on power, to petition congress for independent territorial rights. Although no attention was paid to the request, the politicians presumed in 1860 to organize a territory, and appoint a governor and officials. Absorbed in acquiring wealth the self-reliant miners gave little heed to these political efforts, but framed rules among themselves for the regulation of mine and camp.

Thus existed three political parties and governments, each ignoring the other, and contributing only for the maintenance of their respective authorities. This chaotic condition, due partly to the instability of the population, and the objection to tax collectors, brought forward a fourth power, in vigilance committees. Presuming on the absence of formal authorities, robbers and squatters had raised their hands so menacingly as to oblige citizens in self-defence to resort to severe measures.

In 1861 congress lifted them out of the dilemma by creating Colorado a territory. The harmony thus introduced among the wrangling parties was opportune; for now, with the beginning of civil war, an aggressive faction arose, hesitating at no act that might promote its cause. While the solid citizens in general sought to conciliate the lukewarm majority of their opponents by prudent and liberal enactments, the governor quietly enrolled a force with which he swooped down upon the disaffected, and dispersed them. The stroke secured peace to the territory and control to the victors, while the enlisted troops served to check the uprising of the Indians.

A friendly struggle then arose between the leading cities for the coveted dignity of capital. The south assisted Pueblo in wresting it from the north, and interior towns here made a stand against conceding it to Denver, which to them seemed an all-absorbing ogre. The energy and enterprise of the latter, however, in securing traffic, and in becoming the railway centre, sustained its influence, and gave it such ascendancy as to finally win back the prize which for a time had passed away to rivals.

The agitation for statehood had been early mooted by interested aspirants, and in 1865 they framed a constitution and elected a governor and senators, prevailing on congress to recognize the step; but the president interposed a veto, and not till 1876 was the privilege accorded, timed for the centennial celebra-

tion. The state entered on its new existence with a population of one hundred and thirty-five thousand, free from debt, and with a wise and honest management of its interests; the land grants being especially cared for, in a manner worthy of wide imitation, and institutions being sustained by a direct tax so as to lessen the jobbery connected with appropriations.

Notwithstanding the strife for office, the rulers and principal officials have generally been men of superior character and ability, whose administration stands marked by prudence and integrity. The state has been represented in the United States senate by men of wealth, which fact, however, has been rather to her advantage than otherwise, as they have generally been men of strong individuality. There has been sharp and sometimes severe criticisms regarding the use of money in politics, monopoly of land, irrigating canals, railways, and other important industries, but I fail to find greater ground for adverse criticism here than elsewhere. The much-abused cry of monopoly has caused the concentration of the working classes, who through the channel of trades unions have sought to force a compliance with their wishes. Strikes have been not infrequent here as in other states, involving the calling out of the militia.

The silver era may have entered upon its decline, but other more substantial resources are fast unfolding to create another glorious era for the state, as foreshadowed in the vast coal and iron deposits of a high grade. The beautiful valleys and fertilized plains beckon immigrants to Arcadian repose, and invite to their balmy mountain air the sufferers of the malarial lowlands. Colonies are forming to further develop the scientific agriculture fostered by irrigation, and sustained by ever growing home consumption. Railways are expanding to bring additional markets to miners, as well as farmers, and manufacturers. Enterprise pervades all classes, associated with a general and high intelligence, upheld by an excep-

tionally large proportion of college-bred men, who set an example in a liberal patronage of literature and arts. Without blemish this young commonwealth stands forth a bright illustration of mental, moral, and physical progress remarkable for so brief a period of growth.

In glancing over the pages of Colorado's history, I find it not altogether easy, where there are so many notable and worthy participants in her progress, to select such as may best embody the ideas and characteristics of the others as a whole. There are certain individuals, however, whose lives are destined forever to stand conspicuous over all, because their life is the life of the nation which they have made, their spirit the spirit of the mountains and plains which through their aid and direction are alive with intelligence and industry.

There are men who, in the universality of their genius, appear to every age and every individual as of their own time and place. Such a man, for instance, was Plato, who had so absorbed all knowledge that in the annals of mankind one epoch was the same to him as another. All that the world before him had known he knew. He went to Italy to hear Pythagoras, but left more than he brought away; and but for the premature hemlock he would have been teaching his master Socrates. His genius swept over all the earth, penetrated the eternal hills, and played with the stars. All science, all philosophy, all history, were his.

We have as yet no American Athens, though there have been pretensions advanced in that direction; among other cities, Denver, located, as she is, almost in the heart of the continent, might present strong claims to that distinction.

High in the heavens she stands, with many an Olympus near; there are men of taste and learning within her borders, and her temples and schools are surpassed by none. Moreover, among her builders,

she is not without philosophers, who, if they need religion, make one, or if a government, formulate one; who, if they lack incident, fall back on inspiration, having always at hand that philosophy of philosophies which make men and nature its own.

Few of those whose forefathers came to America can boast of a more worshipful ancestry than William Gilpin, scholar, soldier, and sometime governor of Colorado.

For his devotion to Richard Cœur de Leon, whom at Austria on returning from his first crusade King John would have caused to be murdered, and for slaying a wild boar which infested the forests of Westmoreland and Cumberland, the baron of Kendal, in 1206, gave the manor of Kentmere to Richard de Guylpyn, a substantial commoner, whose original had come in with William the Conquerer. The earl of Kendal, who commanded at this most highly developed part of the old Roman colony, could not read or write; wherefore, on attending the convention which on the little island of Runymede in the Thames wrung from King John the magna charta, he took with him Guylpyn as his scholar, for which service, as well as for his other achievements, he was knighted.

Several Richards follow; and to the grandson of Sir Richard de Guylpyn, in 1268, in the time of Henry III., Peter de Bruys, who married a co-heiress of William de Lancaster, gave the manor of Ulwithwaite, so that the family had indeed vast possessions. Many have taken the grandson of Richard de Guylpyn of 1268, who was owner of the manors of Kentmere and Ulwithwaite, to be the first of the name. In the reign of Richard III. comes another Richard Gilpin, whose son William was slain in the battle of Bosworthfield, in 1485, during the civil wars of the houses of York and Lancaster, his brother Edwin thus becoming heir. George, the son of Edwin, was minister plenipotentiary for Queen Elizabeth at the Hague,

William Gilpin.

and was also eminent in letters. Another son of Edwin, Bernard Gilpin, called the Apostle of the North, was a very distinguished man. He was born at Kentmere in 1517, and died in 1583. Brought up a Roman catholic, he was made rector of Houghton; but before the death of Queen Mary he became satisfied with the doctrines of the Reformation.

Armored in the faith, midst the incessant strife of the time, he passed scathless. Once on entering Rothbury church, in Northumberland, he observed a glove suspended in a conspicuous place as a challenge from some horse-trooper of the district. Taking it down he entered the pulpit and began to preach. During the course of his sermon he paused, and, lifting the glove in his fingers, said: "I hear there is one among you who has even in this sacred place hung up a glove in defiance." Then flinging it to the floor, he continued, "I challenge him to compete with me in acts of Christian charity."

A charge of thirteen articles was drawn up against him, and complaint laid before the bishop of London, whereupon he prepared for martyrdom. One doctrine which he preached was that whatever happened was for the best. On his way to London he fell from his horse and broke his leg. The guard sneeringly inquired of him, "Call you this for the best?" "I doubt not it will so turn out," was the reply. He was taken to the Tower, there to await recovery from the accident. Mary meanwhile died, and he was set at liberty, whereupon he returned to Houghton. He was then offered by Elizabeth the See of Carlisle, which he declined, preferring to preach the Reformation and endow schools. Whenever he met a poor boy on the road he would put questions to him to test his natural ability, and if pleased therewith would provide for his education. A life of Bernard Gilpin, by William Gilpin, prebendary of Salisbury, was published, first in 1753, and again at Glasgow in 1824, in which are delineated his virtues and persecutions.

The Gilpin family had frequently to suffer on account of their religion.

> "The race that once went bravely forth
> To slay the wild boar in his den,
> Now meets the bigots in their wrath,
> And boldly claims the rights of men."

Next we have a William Gilpin who married Eliza Washington, sister to our American Washington's great grandmother. They had a son George who inherited the manor of Kentmere, two generations after whom the estate was lost during the parliamentary civil wars. Sawry Gilpin was a celebrated painter of horses, giving them a very fierce expression; he was born in 1733.

When Cromwell established the commonwealth of England and became the protector, Thomas Gilpin commanded the first regiment of Ironsides at the crowning victory at Worcester, which battle vanquished all opposition to Cromwell. The Gilpins were amongst the first to enlist with Cromwell, and they remained faithful to him until he died. During a visit to England our present William Gilpin found Charles Gilpin, a representative of Northampton in parliament for eighteen years, a member of the board of trade, and a commissioner of the public works in London.

Thomas Gilpin of Warborough, born in 1620, married Joan Bartholomew and had three sons, Joseph, Isaac, and Thomas. He was an officer in the army, and after the battle of Worcester in 1651, joined the society of friends. Persecutions followed. Meetings were held at his house, for which offence he was stripped of his household effects and thrown into prison. Joseph Gilpin, born in 1664, married Hannah Glover in 1691. They were quakers; and seeing how badly their people were treated by the government, emigrated with their two small children, in 1696, to America, having for their *companions de voyage* the ancestors of the Coats and Morris families,

and settling at Birmingham meeting-house on the Brandywine, in what is now Delaware county, Pennsylvania.

It was a frontier settlement, and the forest yet waved over the spot which was to be his future home. Each settler had his own work to do; wherefore for the shelter of his family Joseph Gilpin hollowed out a cave by the side of a rock, in some dry white clay, which for warmth and healthfulness was superior to many of the houses of his neighbors built above ground; and there he lived and reared his family of fifteen children. From Joseph Gilpin's second son, Samuel, sprang Thomas, born in 1728, whose first son, Joshua, born in Philadelphia in 1765, was father of our William Gilpin, who was the eighth and youngest child.

Before coming to America the Gilpins and others had built the little meeting-house in which William Penn preached, and their families intermarried afterward. When the Mason and Dixon line was later marked off, three states cornered in the Gilpin orchard. In generations following the first in America, log, frame, and brick houses were respectively built for the occupation of the Gilpins, and a residence in Philadelphia established.

Thomas Gilpin, the grandfather of our William Gilpin, engaged in farming and manufacturing; he was interested in science, and was one of the founders of the American philosophical society.

Joshua Gilpin, the father of William, was a man of no ordinary culture and ability, inheriting all the finish possessed by the quakers of Philadelphia during the era of their prosperity, when the whole power of the American people was centred there. Associating on equal terms with the most polished and learned men on both sides of the Atlantic, his society was sought by every one. It was his house that was Lafayette's headquarters at the battle of Branywine. Between the years 1795 and 1801 he lived in Eng-

land and married an Englishwoman. Under many discouragements he urged to completion the canal which his father had projected. He was very fond of historical investigations, and of poetry, publishing in 1799, *Verses Written at the Fountain of Vaucluse;* in 1821, *Memoir on a Canal from the Chesapeake to the Delaware;* and in 1839, *Farm of Virgil and other Poems.* He died in Philadelphia in 1840.

His wife, Mary Dilworth, and William's mother, was the fit consort of such a man, beautiful, amiable, and accomplished. She was of quaker stock, her father, John Dilworth, being a banker at Lancaster. She was a conspicuous figure in the best society, in which were many charming men and women of good breeding, polish, and education; the Jeffersons, the Randolphs, the Franklins, the Washingtons, and others. Within their immediate neighborhood were nine signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The sympathies of the Gilpins were of course all with Washington, but being quakers they were non-combatants during the Revolutionary war. A flouring mill built by Thomas Gilpin, William's grandfather, is now called the Washington mill, having supplied Washington with flour while at Valley Forge. Of the large landed interest, consisting of several hundred thousands of acres, which the family possessed, five thousand acres finally fell to William, which he sold at five dollars an acre, investimg the money in western Missouri, the rest having been cut up and scattered by sales and intermarriages.

It was into such an atmosphere as this that William Gilpin was born, on the 4th of October, 1822. Among his earliest recollections was the visit of Lafayette to his father's house on the anniversary of the battle of Brandywine, he being at that time just old enough to be carried on a horse behind his father. During his earlier childhood he was not sent to school, but was the pupil of his father. Among those from whom

he learned much was Lawrence Washington, whose home was at Mt Vernon. There was quite a French settlement on the Brandywine, among them the Dupont family, the famous powder manufacturers, Admiral Dupont being one.

William was very fond of history, poetry, and physical geography; he spoke French fluently at an early age. He was indeed a favored child of fortune, with his elegant surroundings and happy home, which overlooked the Delaware and the Brandywine, where the boats were constantly passing, and having Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey in sight. Being the youngest he was made much of by all. It was the custom of the Gilpins to make occasional visits among the prominent people, travelling in the family carriage, and on these trips they would always take William. And around their table all these friends would meet to eat Christmas dinner with Joshua Gilpin.

To complete their education and see more of the world, the Gilpin children were sent to Europe on arriving at proper age. So when he was twelve years old William's father took him over to Newcastle, and put him on board the ship *Montezuma*, bound for Liverpool, whose captain Joshua Gilpin well knew, the boy being consigned to the care of an elder brother, who was clerk in the quaker American house of Cropper and Benson. At Settle, in Yorkshire, was a foundation school, like Rugby, where but sixty pupils were admitted, and there William was placed, and remained two years. He studied mathematics and the languages, and had additional masters in Liverpool.

His purpose here being accomplished, after a visit to a brother who had been appointed by President Jackson American consul at Belfast, he returned to Philadelphia, where his father and brother Henry had a house and spent much of their time. He at once applied for admission to the junior class of the

university of Pennsylvania, among whose founders was his grandfather, and where three of his brothers had graduated. It was against the rules of the institution to admit advanced students without their taking the usual course, and the faculty at first refused him. "If they will not admit you tell them you shall go to Princeton," his father said. The faculty yielded; but the boy had to undergo his examination; and to this end he employed a tutor, who was the author Hawthorne, and studied night and day through the intervening ten weeks of vacation. At the beginning of the term he presented himself, was examined for three days, was admitted, and in two years graduated.

President Jackson, who was on intimate terms with the Gilpin family, had always taken a paternal interest in Joshua's boys, following them in their studies, and securing them places after their education was finished. On one occasion, in making a journey into New England, Jackson came to Newcastle in a steamer, and Joshua Gilpin went over to receive him there. When he entered the cabin Old Hickory immediately stepped forward, threw his arms around him, and said: "Here is a face I am delighted to see. Where is your son?" referring to William's eldest brother, Henry. "You should have brought him along; he is my son too." Henry was United States district attorney at Philadelphia, and was afterward appointed United States attorney general.

They were having much trouble about that time with the affairs of the United States bank, to which Henry had to give attention, and William was frequently sent to Washington with messages from the directors to General Jackson, who always greeted the youth most kindly with the endearing epithet "my son." Thus William had almost free access to the president's apartments, and when the youth made bold to ask a favor it was usually granted. Therefore when he expressed a desire to go to West Point, his wish being backed by the influence of his father

and brother, he had no difficulty in having his name placed in advance of the hundreds of other applicants.

At West Point William studied very hard. Meade and Montgomery Blair were his tutors. He spent much of his time in the library, and gave special attention to French and mathematics. On completing his course at West Point he went to Philadelphia. He was now eager for action. He had been educated almost to death by the brightest intellects in the world, and now he would try the metal of his own mind. For some time past he had read and thought much regarding the great unoccupied West, never losing an opportunity to converse with those familiar with the subject. Already military forces were on the frontier, stationed at various forts, at once to restrain and protect the Indians and prevent white men from illegally entering their territory. All this was thrilling romance to the young cadet. Some day he would go there; some day he would mingle with those scenes, and would stir up events which in their turn should yet more stir him up, and help him on to high emprise.

As there was no fighting at present to be done at home, it occurred to William to try his fortune abroad, and he accordingly slipped over to London. At that time a legion of ten thousand was forming in England for service in Spain, to fight against Don Cárlos and in favor of Isabella, and it was his idea to join this army, learn something of the Spanish language, and the mode of warfare practised there. His third brother was in London at the time, learning engineering, but was about ready to return home. He made application to Colonel Witherell, the recruiting agent for the army in London, and was told he could not get a commission; that the young nobility were applying for positions constantly, and that a mere youth, especially an American, had no chance. His father sustained agreeable personal relations with Lord Brougham, and he was making arrangements

to secure his indorsement and that of other friends in London, when the ship *Toronto* came into Southampton port from New York, after a thirteen days' voyage, the quickest sailing that had yet been made. This vessel brought news of the great fire in New York, and what was of greater importance, the outbreak of the Seminoles in Florida, and the massacre of Dade's command at Withlachooche. Plantations were being robbed right and left, and the negroes driven into the everglades in the interior. Here, indeed, was opportunity; the lad might now have some fighting. In company with his brother Richard he at once returned home, arriving in New York on the 4th of March, 1836. Without stopping to visit his parents in Philadelphia, lest they should endeavor to prevent his purposes, young Gilpin started for Washington. Having to remain over one night at Baltimore, he went on the railroad, which had just been opened, to see the president. On board the train was Blackhawk, the Indian chief who had been captured a short time previous, and was being taken as a present to Jackson. In riding over the bleak and sterile country between Baltimore and Washington, some one asked Blackhawk how he liked railroads. He had come from the Rock River country, a fertile and beautiful section, and the contrast was appalling to him. He replied, with an Indian grunt, "The Great Spirit give machine to these people to get 'um over this country quick."

Jackson had raised one regiment of dragoons, which was stationed at Leavenworth, and employed to protect the frontier, particularly to keep the whites out of the Indian country along the line of the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, and down to the gulf. The Oregon question and other matters began to be agitated, and the president was getting well through his struggle with the United States bank, and saw victory near at hand; so he raised a second regiment to go out into the Indian country where the first

regiment was stationed. The third regiment, organized later, took the name of the Oregon regiment, and these three regiments of cavalry, and two others, formed the government corps of our army. Another regiment of negroes has been added to it. The current of matters was so intense and impetuous then that it got the American people to thinking, and broke down the line of despotism. It was while this regiment was being formed by Harney in the west, that the Florida war commenced. Harney was at St Louis as paymaster, and Wharton Rector was in the army, and as each so desired, they exchanged, and Harney was put into William's regiment as major. Young Gilpin without difficulty obtained from the president a commission as 2d lieutenant in the 2d Dragoons, and was sent among the miners of Missouri to gather recruits.

This was in July 1836. The stalwart sons of Missouri regarded it as a joke that a boy like this should be sent to enlist them to fight the battles of their country. Nevertheless he continued his course, and after reporting himself at St Louis, he went up the Mississippi under Harney's direction. He was full of fire and life, and had dashed recklessly into the west. He liked Harney, and Harney was pleased with him. He remained recruiting until autumn of this year, when he received a letter at Louisville from Harney, containing an order from the president to collect all the recruits obtainable in the valley of the Mississippi, take them down to New Orleans, and get ready to join Jessup in Florida. This he did, remaining at New Orleans all winter in command of recruits, drilling and preparing them for service. The men were part of the force originally intended for the frontier, but while recruiting they were ordered to Florida, and thus all came together at New Orleans.

Albert Sidney Johnston was there on his way to join Sam Houston in Texas as his adjutant-general, and he afterward became general of the standing army

of Texas when Houston was made president. Twiggs came on from Washington and took Gilpin to St Louis, all in preparation for the Florida campaign. He was now assigned the position of first lieutenant in the company, and he asked General Gaines and General Atchison, who were there, to be sent to Florida to join his company, which had been sent forward from New York. This was done early in the summer of 1838.

There was a post within twelve miles of St Augustine, in the woods, and General Hernandez, a Mexican, under whom Gilpin found himself, kept him constantly scouting. During these scouts Osceola, Coacooche, Blue Snake, and other prominent Seminole chiefs were captured. They had been scattered about with their families, and had swept a vast number of negroes down into their country, and these black men were constantly escaping and giving information as to where a certain notorious family or band of savages could be found. Presently General Jessup came up with the main army; likewise Belknap, the general of artillery; and Twiggs came down by land through Nashville. In the mean time Gilpin had become master of the situation, owing to the scouting expeditions he had made, and during which he had studied the country very carefully. There were skirmishes every week, and sometimes every day. It was in the region of cypress swamps, grass lakes, alligators, and all kinds of things curious to the young northerner. When Jessup arrived and took command of the army, and the weather became cold enough to open the winter campaign, he placed Gilpin and his men near him, and the result was that during all the rest of the war the young man was in active service day and night under Jessup's orders. Finally Taylor appeared on the gulf side, and fought the Indians below the Okechobee, while Jessup pressed them from the north and scattered them into the everglades. The few that could not get out were allowed to remain on condition that they would never

cross a line drawn from Charlotte's harbor to Indian river.

Steamers then came for the troops, and Gilpin was sent with five or six hundred horses over to Fort Melon, where supplies had accumulated. Meanwhile Van Buren had come into power and Mr Calhoun now looked after these matters; and his object had been accomplished when money enough had been spent to secure a southern state to counteract the admission of Michigan, a non-slaveholding state. And even now, instead of being sent to renew exploration in the west, the whole force was dismounted and turned into a rifle regiment, and sent to Jessup to watch negroes for Calhoun. Not caring for such occupation, and unwilling to have his hopes thus blasted, Gilpin proceeded to Washington and requested Mr Van Buren to either give him a company of explorers, that he might undertake investigations throughout the continent to the Columbia river, which region the United States laid claim to, or to give him leave of absence for two or three years that he might make a journey on his own responsibility. Moreover he did not like Twiggs. But Van Buren refused, saying it was against the policy of his administration to have any outbreak or agitation toward the central west. There was filibustering in Cuba and in Central America; there had been trouble in Florida, and he wanted no excitement among the savages in the direction of the Pacific. He informed Gilpin that if he did not like the officers of his regiment, there was forming the 8th regiment of infantry, to which he could be transferred and promoted. Gilpin had brought with him his commission in his breast pocket, knowing beforehand that nothing could be done with Van Buren, and he now asked the president to accept his resignation, which was done. Nevertheless he was greatly disappointed, and said: "This breaks my life in two; what is left of it I will take into my own hands."

He returned to Missouri and resumed civil life, locating himself at St Louis, where he took charge of the *Missouri Argus*, conducting it for twelve months during an election campaign. The reëlection of Benton and Lynn to the senate was the issue of the hour, and their interests were regarded as in jeopardy. Under its former management the *Argus* had broken down, and as Gilpin was a young man, and mentally and physically vigorous, he was deemed a proper person to place in charge of the paper. The opposition brought Webster to St Louis, and he made a telling speech, saying that in his opinion the vote of the coming presidential campaign turned on the election in Missouri, and that it was essential to get Benton out of the way. It was a desperate fight. St Louis was the focal point where all the political rabble from New Orleans and elsewhere gathered themselves, and they were now holding here violent conventions. This inflammable element went up the river to Keokuk, Rocheport, Cincinnati, and Nashville, lighting the fires of spurious patriotism. But the party fought its way through, and carried the state legislature by 139 votes for the reëlection of Benton and Lynn.

Gilpin was thereupon made secretary of the general assembly of the state of Missouri. Sterling Price was speaker. In their measures they put a saving clause which prevented any effort toward reconstructing the United States bank, and the independent treasury system was brought forward and established by Van Buren. Yet Gilpin saw that nothing could be done in the direction he desired, in view of the change of politics; so that after his duties as secretary of the general assembly were over he determined to give his time to exploration, as there existed everywhere a lamentable ignorance of the western country. What shall we say when so astute a statesman as Daniel Webster, at the close of a speech on the floor of the United States senate, denouncing a proposition to establish a mail route from Independence, Mis-

souri, to the mouth of the Columbia, breaks forth: "What do we want with this vast, worthless area? This region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts, or those endless mountain ranges, impenetrable and covered to their very base with eternal snow? What can we ever hope to do with the western coast, a coast of 3,000 miles, rock-bound, cheerless, uninviting, and not a harbor on it? What use have we for such a country? Mr President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one inch nearer to Boston than it now is."

Gilpin knew better than this, and he would know more. But first he would settle himself somewhere and declare his profession. He had entered his name as student of law, with his brother, in Philadelphia, and on determining to make his home in the west he had gone before Strong, judge of the eastern district of Pennsylvania, where he was examined and admitted to practice, and he had brought with him his commission.

During his editorship of the *Missouri Argus* Gilpin made many hearty enemies in St Louis and elsewhere, owing to the political bitterness which prevailed during the campaign which resulted in the election of Benton and Lynn; and while holding the office of secretary of the general assembly he went constantly armed and always on the lookout for an assault. Two indictments were found against him in St Louis, but Governor Reynolds said, "Give yourself no uneasiness on that score, for whatever they do I have always your pardon written out." Gilpin read one morning, at Jefferson City, a copy of a notice which had been posted up on the steps of the court-house at St Louis, to the effect that if he returned to St Louis he would be killed at sight. It was signed by a man named Grimsey, a well-known political boss and a bully.

The session having closed, it became Gilpin's duty to take the manuscript of the laws, which had been revised, to the state printer at Cape Girardo. He at once started for that point via St Louis. He arrived in the latter city at midnight, and on the following morning, while passing along the street, he was approached by the man Grimsey, a large, powerful fellow, who was carrying a heavy club. Gilpin at that time weighed 145 pounds, but he was lithe and active, and his physical training had been excellent. He carried in his hand a stout hickory stick which he used to good advantage; for before the bully could strike, Gilpin had, with a blow of his stick, disarmed his antagonist, and was raining down blows upon his head. The stick split, but Gilpin kept on, each blow cutting to the bone, until the bully was dripping in his own blood. The combat occupied not more than two minutes, and resulted in Grimsey being completely vanquished. After this Gilpin proceeded to Cape Girardo and transacted his business with the state printer. Grimsey's chastisement effected a total reformation in his character, and he lived an exemplary life for the rest of his days.

Jackson and Clay counties were directly opposite one another, and abutting against the Indian territory; they had been named at the time of the memorable battle between Clay and Jackson for the presidency. Clay county on the north had been settled principally by Kentuckians, while Jackson county on the south was populated by Tennesseans. Lieutenant Gilpin finally located himself at Independence, the county seat of Jackson county, a few miles below where Kansas City now is, where he entered into the practice of the law. His brother had presented him with a set of United States supreme court reports upon his departure for the west, and these formed the nucleus of his library. The land between the town-site and the river he secured, and built thereon a cabin, in which he at times lived. The spot was isolated, the only

commerce being that conducted by means of wagon-trains which passed over the mountains into Mexican territory, but its remoteness from the civilized east was counterbalanced by its proximity to that vast unexplored region of which he had so long dreamed, and he was content to remain there that he might associate with those adventurous men who were trading, hunting, or trapping in the territory he was determined to explore, and from them derive information as to climate and topography which would be of benefit to him on his projected journey. He talked with Kit Carson and others from the wilderness who came in and passed through Independence almost every summer.

Neither his law practice nor his agricultural pursuits proved remunerative. He managed however to earn enough to live upon, but that was all. In 1842 a party of New Mexican traders having in their possession $60,000 in silver coin, with which they intended to purchase goods, was expected to arrive in Independence. A few of their number, who came into town in advance of the main party, brought the news that a band of robbers had gone out to get this money, and requested that assistance should be sent. Ten men under Lieutenant Gilpin were furnished provisions and transportation, and they started off. Unfortunately the robbers were successful in their design. Only the hair of Manuel Chaves, the chief trader, who had charge of the money, was found, the body having been devoured by wolves. The robbers returned to Independence and thence to Kansas City, where they were arrested, taken to St Louis, and four of them hanged. Independence remained Lieutenant Gilpin's nominal residence for twenty years, from 1841 to 1861, though he was at various times absent upon exploring expeditions.

His next expedition, in which he made his way to the Pacific Ocean, near Astoria, was begun in June

1843. By selling his library, and in various other ways, he secured a little money with which to purchase an outfit. His first purchase was a saddle-horse for $95. He then bought a yaager rifle, blankets, and the various paraphernalia requisite to an extended journey through the wilderness. Yet he needed more money, and an acquaintance, who was soon to be married to an intimate friend of his, loaned him a hundred dollars. He was now ready to start, having as an outfit, and in addition to his saddle-horse, rifle, and small-arms, a pack-mule that carried his camping utensils. The people evinced very decided opposition to his going thus alone far into the Indian country, and used every argument to dissuade him from his purpose, but without avail. After mounting and starting out the pack-mule broke away from him, lost the pack, and returned to town. Again he had to pass through the ordeal of his friends, but he remained firm of purpose, and the second start proved successful.

Fremont had been ordered, about this time, to make a summer expedition to the mountains and return, and a party of Scotchmen were also intending to make a hunting trip to the South pass and return; but Gilpin's objective point was the mouth of the Columbia. He went into camp the first evening, out about thirty miles, at a spot called the Lone Elm, David Waldo, the man who had loaned him the money, accompanying him thus far. He found encamped in this vicinity a few men whom he did not at first recognize, but to his surprise they proved to be the party of Fremont. The immortal pathfinder asked Gilpin where he was going, and was told. He expressed astonishment, and said: "Why, even with my whole force I do not consider myself safe from massacre to-morrow; now if you are determined to go on, throw your pack into one of my *charettes*, turn your mule into my band, and let me have the reënforcement of your horse and rifle." This arrangement was highly

satisfactory to Gilpin, as it afforded him companionship and protection for a long distance.

The party proceeded up the Kansas river, from the head of the Kansas over to the Platte, and followed up the Platte to the St Vrain fork. That being the boundary line and all beyond hostile, they remained there for some time, sending to Bent's fort for some hunters and fresh horses. Fremont's orders from the secretary of war were to make a line of survey to Walla Walla; and this he did, reaching there about the middle of October. During the journey Fremont would occasionally leave the party and make little detours for the purpose of investigation, and Lieutenant Gilpin also followed this practice, thereby adding much to his knowledge of the topography of the country. In one of these excursions Fremont arrived at Walla Walla some days before the rest of the party, and at once proceeded to Vancouver for supplies for his return journey.

When Gilpin arrived at Walla Walla, he learned of Fremont's departure for Vancouver, and also that he had left his men in camp at the upper Dalles. From Walla Walla he proceeded to the upper Dalles, where he met an Irishman named Dougherty, a Welshman named Owen, and an American named Campbell, the latter a young man of good parts and pleasant bearing. Archibald McKinley had charge of the fort at that point, and of him Gilpin procured some horse meat, potatoes, and some green tea which had once been used; also exchanging his pack-mule, Kitty, for a log canoe, and leaving his horse with McKinley. They embarked in the canoe, which was guided by an Indian pilot, and had an enjoyable trip down the river, though at times being in danger from the savages who were fishing along the bank, until they arrived safely at the lower Dalles, where Fremont had left his camp in charge of Kit Carson. Three days later Fremont returned with five canoes loaded with supplies for his homeward journey. During the

following night Gilpin's canoe was stolen by the Indians. Fremont had previously exhausted all his eloquence in endeavoring to induce Gilpin to remain with the party, but without avail. Fremont now turned over to Gilpin the five canoes to take back to McLoughlin at Vancouver.

Arriving at that point he was welcomed with great hospitality by McLoughlin and the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and here he remained some two months, one of a congenial party that gathered at Vancouver, consisting of McLoughlin, Douglas, Ogden, McTavish, and the traders who happened to come in. It was customary for them to dine together, either with McLoughlin or Douglas, and during his stay there Lieutenant Gilpin was very assiduous in acquiring as much knowledge as he could regarding the country, its resources, and the condition of affairs, and from his unrestrained intercourse with these people he learned much that was desirable to know. Often he would sit at dinner until ten o'clock at night, in conversation with some intelligent traveller.

Finally the fur magnates decided that Gilpin knew too much for the interests of the great game preserve, and they endeavored to get him out of the country by one of their ships then lying in the river, and bound for the Sandwich islands. Of this earthly paradise they gave Gilpin the most glowing accounts, putting before him the advantage such a voyage would be to him, and offering him letters of introduction to Sir Hugh Pelley, and transportation to London, all at the expense of the Hudson's Bay Company. Finally the captain of this vessel, a shrewd Scotchman, invited Gilpin, and his most agreeable young friend Campbell, on board his vessel to dine with him. He introduced to them his best cabin, and told them that this should be their home as long as they desired. They sat down to dinner and enjoyed the appetizing efforts of an excellent cook, and also drank freely of

wine which the captain generously set forth, with occasional potations of brandy. During the evening the captain and young Campbell succumbed to the influences of good cheer, and made themselves comfortable in corners of the cabin. Gilpin, but little inconvenienced by the fiery potations, after breakfasting on a tender, well-cooked duck, went ashore just after daylight and was met by Douglas, who seemed surprised at his quick return from the ship. The idea of these whole-soul and hospitable men had been to detain him on board the vessel until she could get to sea, and then rid themselves of one whose pronounced views and aggressive nature presaged disastrous antagonism. But in this they signally failed.

From Vancouver Gilpin proceeded up the Willamette river to Oregon City. Scarcely had he arrived there when three Indians came into town and shot and killed three young Americans with poisoned arrows. Excitement ran high, and a few of the people gathered to see what measures could be taken to insure self-protection. There were various matters needing attention, everything political being at loose ends. It was decided to hold a convention on the succeeding 4th of March, for the purpose of organizing some sort of a provisional government, and securing recognition from the United States. Doctor White was appointed to represent the Americans, Douglas to represent the English, and Lieutenant Gilpin to represent the western and Rocky mountain population, and these men were to bring about this convention. Douglas refused to serve, as it would interfere with his position with the English government. White refused for the same reason, that it would compromise him; and it was concluded that Gilpin should do what he could. He procured a guide, Joe Meek, and together they proceeded up the Willamette to the chief settlement, within about twelve miles of Salem, where there was a catholic mission.

The object was to notify the settlers of the proposed convention, and to induce every one to be present. Gilpin then went to Vancouver, and again endeavored to enlist McLoughlin and Douglas in the movement; after much discussion it was agreed that the attendants at this convention should unite as people of the Pacific coast, and without reference to any existing government. In the mean time a brief schedule of a provisional government was drawn up, which provided for an executive committee of three, for magistrates who should hold courts, and for constables; and finally for a committee in charge of this executive committee, to be finally chosen by them, to be ready to afford any assistance that they might be able to give, should any difficulty occur. Blubber Smith was made chairman, and two Canadians were vice-presidents. The schedule was adopted, and served its purpose until the territory became stronger. Lieutenant Gilpin drew up with great care a petition to the government of the United States, requesting, in the same vigorous language used by our grandfathers in the declaration of independence, that notice should be taken of the exposed condition of the people, flanked by the open sea where the fleets of the world could come in, surrounded by savages, with nothing to live upon, and harassed in many ways by reason of British authority.

When the meeting was about to adjourn *sine die*, Doctor White presented the petition for the consideration of the assemblage. The chairman at first objected to have anything to do with foreign affairs, but consented that it should be read, and after hearing its contents, he unhesitatingly put his name to it; the two vice-presidents, who could not read or write, then made their marks, which were duly witnessed, and then the others signed. Thus was Lieutenant Gilpin appointed an agent of the people to lay the petition before the president of the United States. The petition further stated that though Oregon thus far had produced

nothing of value to the United States, yet with a little help, it would become an important factor in the government.

Up to this time Gilpin had not been able to proceed west farther than the mouth of the Willamette, and he now determined that he would see the Pacific ocean without further delay. He procured a yawl with a single mast and a sheet for a sail, and then as a crew he took in a sprightly young sailor boy, a Missouri man named Chappel, and one Doc Newell. They rowed down the Willamette and out into the Columbia. After proceeding a short distance down the Columbia, it was noticed that they were not making much headway, and Gilpin suggested that they should go ashore and wait until the tide changed in their favor. At this Newell turned pale, and asked if the sea was really strong enough to take anything up stream. To prove it to him, Gilpin threw out some hay, which floated up past a snag, and caught thereon, much to the discomfiture of Newell. "When I find myself in a country where water runs up stream," he said, "I want to get out of it; it is no place for an Ohio man."

"I am going to the ocean," said Gilpin, "and you must help me get there," at the same time guiding the boat out into the middle of the stream to prevent Newell from jumping ashore. The country was a savage wilderness, and should he be put ashore, he would probably starve to death or be killed by Indians. But Newell said that he had a wife and children at home; and so strong was his belief that sure destruction awaited a man who was rash enough to venture nearer to any such terrible body of water, that after about an hour spent in trying to convince him of his folly, they finally placed him on shore and rowed away. At a saw-mill, a few miles farther down, they procured a Nez Perces Indian to take the place of Newell.

When they reached the wide bay inside of Tongue

point, the waves were running high, and the wind blowing furiously. The remainder of the passage promised to be extremely hazardous. In rounding the point, Gilpin had the men lie down flat in the boat, while he took the sail and rudder and picked his way along shore, sometimes barely grazing the rocks; but after getting into the open channel, he had a fair wind down to Astoria, or Fort George, where the party was warmly greeted by the commander, who with his people had been watching the dangerous course of the boat, and wondering who its occupants could be. The following day Gilpin set out to make the last stage of his westward journey to the shores of the Pacific. Dense forests and almost impenetrable swamps had to be traversed, and the only guide procurable was a young Indian girl. They landed in the afternoon, and started into the woods to cross over to the beach. Soon darkness set in, and the situation became more depressing when their guide made the announcement, in her own terse manner, that she had lost the trail. Nothing further could be done until morning. Gilpin, after some difficulty, succeeded in starting a small fire, with the aid of a flint, and they remained there until daylight, though none of them slept. When morning came the trail was found, and in a short time they emerged upon Clatsop beach. Thus the great object of the journey from Jackson county had been accomplished.

Gilpin took a plunge in the sea, and was then ready to retrace his steps. Among other curiosities on the beach, they found the skeleton of a whale, some forty-five feet long. The return journey to Astoria, and thence to Vancouver, was soon made, without special adventure. Arriving there, Gilpin applied to McLoughlin for assistance to return home. The fur magnate placed at his service a canoe and five Indians, with provisions, consisting of cured pork, which was scarce and expensive, and other articles of food, and on the 10th of April, 1844, he left Vancouver.

Arriving at the upper Dalles he exchanged his five Indians and one canoe for one Indian and five horses, swam the river below the Dalles, proceeded 250 miles through Washington territory, and recrossed at Walla Walla, where he was left alone. There he was obliged to wait for the annual brigade of supplies for Fort Hall, 900 miles distant, as it was not safe to make the journey alone. He found his horse safe; and when the brigade arrived under the command of Major Grant, he accompanied it as far as Fort Hall. Fort Bridger was the next objective point, and that was 300 miles farther on. At Fort Hall he met Pegleg Smith, a powerful man, turbulent and tough, rude in manner, but of wonderful nerve and courage.

While out on the plains with a wagon-train of supplies intended for Bent's fort, he was accidentally thrown from his wagon, and the heavy vehicle passed over his leg, crushing the bone below the knee, rendering amputation necessary. There was no physician within hundreds of miles, and he feared mortification would set in and consequent loss of life. Whereupon he made a saw from his butcher-knife, built a fire and heated a bolt from a wagon, and then cut the flesh to the bone, sawed the leg off, and drawing the flesh down over the wound he took the heated bolt and seared it over to prevent bleeding. This is not the only instance of similar heroism under the pressure of inexorable necessity.

This man had come to Fort Hall for powder, and Gilpin proposed to him that they should make the trip to Fort Bridger in company, to which Smith agreed. They could get no meat at Fort Hall, and the first night out they spent at Ross fork, with nothing to eat, and as a consequence were nearly famished. They accidentally killed a ground-hog and tried to eat it, but could not. The next day, the 3d of July, they started down the Point Neuf river, and were fortunate enough to shoot an antelope. They celebrated the 4th of July at Soda springs by eating antelope

and drinking soda-water, and were then ready to resume their journey to Fort Bridger. Arriving there, Gilpin engaged a young Mexican boy as his guide, and together they proceeded over the Uintah mountains, and down to the Grand river of the west, which they crossed, coming out upon the old Spanish trail used by Californians to drive their cattle from Los Angeles to San Antonio, Texas. Turning to the left as they entered this trail they soon parted from the Grand river. Once they camped on the banks of a small muddy stream, and had hardly unpacked when their horses galloped off, and joined others which soon appeared in sight. Investigation showed that there was an Indian camp close by. By this time Gilpin had learned to be a better Indian than the Indians themselves; yet it was only by his coolness and bravery under the most trying circumstances that he escaped with his life on this occasion. He held a long conference with the Indians that evening, and another in the morning, during which he distributed a few trifling presents among them, and on the latter occasion extreme measures were advocated by one of the chiefs; but by his very audacity Gilpin and his guide were permitted to depart unharmed. He rode thirty-eight miles that day, crossing the Rio Grande toward evening. After that he encountered no more savages, although he was obliged to be constantly on his guard. Sometimes a week would elapse without a gun being discharged, and at other times he would not dare to light a fire. Passing through San Luis park he reached Bent's fort, and from that point took the wagon-road to Independence.

Arriving at the state line he found that the presidential election of 1844 was being held. On learning who were the candidates he at once voted for Polk. Although his vote was at first challenged, it was afterwards taken, Gilpin claiming that if he had not been residing in Missouri for some time past, he had not resided anywhere else. Arrived at Jefferson

City he was immediately tendered his old appointment, that of secretary of the general assembly of Missouri, then in session, and which he accepted. The fame of his travels spread abroad, and he attracted much attention, letters pouring in upon him from all parts of the United States. The Oregon and Texas platforms had brought into existence the fundamental elements of the great army of pioneers, and they naturally turned to this young man who had traversed so much of the western territory.

In the spring of 1845, after the legislature had adjourned and about the time Polk was inaugurated, he made a visit to his mother, on the Brandywine, and renewed his earlier associations in that quarter, his father being now dead. He went to Washington shortly after the inauguration of Polk. Among the new cabinet officers were many intimate family friends, among them Buchanan, Walker, Marcy, George Bancroft, and others. He found himself heartily received at the capital. In the eyes of the people he was a hero. Washington was a large Virginia village at that time, and the kindness of so many distinguished persons was gratifying after the hardships of his frontier life. Through all the flattering attentions he received he bore himself with that true quaker modesty which had been bred in him from boyhood. He called on James Buchanan, secretary of state, who recognized him at once, greeted him kindly, and requested him to recite the incidents of of his expedition to Oregon. This was done, and so interesting was it that Buchanan said, when Gilpin had finished: "You must come with me at once to the president and give him word for word, as near as you can, what you have told me. It is bewitching, and will be invaluable to us just at this time." He at once went to the president, and introducing Gilpin, said: "Here is my young friend William Gilpin, known to me from a boy. He is the greatest trav-

eller of his age, and has given me such a clear, concise, and valuable account of his journeyings that I wish you to hear the same; and further, Mr President, he does not desire an office." The president greeted him kindly, spoke of his friendship with his brother, Henry Gilpin, and seconded Mr Buchanan's request for an interview. This had been Gilpin's object from the beginning, and his dream of establishing an empire in the wilderness now seemed in a fair way to be realized. He repeated the account of his travels to the president, with his impressions of the country through which he had passed, a description of the climate and soil, the few settlers he had met, and their condition and necessities. His recital proved very gratifying to Mr Polk, who expressed his astonishment no less at the courage and enterprise of the young man than at what he heard regarding the condition of affairs in the west. Gilpin saw that an attempt would be made to overthrow Polk on the extension of territory question, as had been the case with Jackson on the currency question. His policy was that of Jefferson's, to push on to the Pacific and make safe all that vast country.

As has been said, Lieutenant Gilpin desired no office. The idea of western dominion was with him greater than any position within the gift of the administration, or of the people, which would trammel his independence. He would have entertained no proposition, he would have entered upon no road to honor or emolument, which would not have led in the direction of his grand and animating conception. In the discussion of Oregon affairs, he was preëminently a most important personage. In speaking to him, Senator Benton said: "We are delighted to see you, and we are delighted with your conversations; you are in a position to give us facts that we cannot find in any books; and you will find it universally satisfactory and to the pleasure of all our friends if you will return when congress opens." Of course Benton favored

Fremont, the husband of Jessie, but he was still friendly and cordial to Gilpin. So the Oregon traveller went away, and returned at the convening of congress, and was admitted to all the debates, with the freedom of the floors of both houses, which were then in the old rooms; and often when a member was in the midst of a speech, he would turn to Gilpin and inquire as to some point with which he himself was not familiar.

Senator Niles of Connecticut and Senator Atchison of Missouri, who belonged to the committee on post-offices and post-roads, were both greatly interested in Lieutenant Gilpin. Said the former: "All that you have stated not only surprises me exceedingly, but harmonizes with my sentiments; but it is all too new and I am too old to study it out in all its vast magnitude; if you will address a letter to Senator Atchison covering the subject, I will introduce a bill and lay it before congress, making my report introductory to the same."

The report was submitted March 2, 1846, and ordered to be printed, 3,000 copies more being ordered two days thereafter. The committee recomended the opening of a mail route from the western line of the state of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia river.

In this letter Mr Gilpin gave a full description of the condition of affairs in Oregon. He speaks of the population, the industries and products of the country, also its position in relation to Japan and China, and the attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company. He then pointed out the advantages, or rather, the absolute necessity, of a transcontinental mail route. It is worthy of remark that Mr Gilpin was among the first to suggest and urge this measure, as well as those of steam communication via Panamá, and the overland railway.

This much having been disclosed, congress and the people desired to know more. On the 16th of March Senator Semple addressed a letter to Mr Gilpin

requesting further information. Accompanying his answer was a full exposition of the natural resources and condition of the farthest west. He gave the geography and position of Oregon, showed the growth of America and the folly of restricting progress. He explained the possibilities of Pacific coast traffic, the geographical proportions of our national territory, the productive strength of America, the old and the new routes of commerce, the natural commercial affinity of the Americans and Asiatics, the dignity of the American position, and the necessity for further topographic knowledge. Then he gave a fine dissertation upon climates, and on the physical character of the Pacific slope of the American continent. Next he speaks of the settlement of Oregon, the necessity of American sovereignty on this continent, the European jealousy of America, concluding with some pertinent comparisons. Altogether the report made a book of forty-seven pages, and coming just at this time, on the eve of the settlement of the Oregon question, the Mexican war, and the acquisition of California, its influence and importance cannot be estimated.

Gilpin remained in Washington until the declaration of war against Mexico. Immediately after the battle of Palo Alto, a bill was passed entitled "An act to appropriate money for the existing hostilities between the United States and Mexico." Gilpin's petition from Oregon had been introduced in the senate by Atchison, and was document No. 1 in both houses. After the declaration of war he had notified persons in Jackson county to raise a company, and they had saved a place for him, but this he did not want. From President Polk he obtained permission to call out one regiment of Missouri cavalry, and to call it the Army of the West. Upon reaching Independence he found that a company of 105 men had been raised, and had proceeded to Fort Leavenworth to be mustered in.

He at once proceeded to Fort Leavenworth, and there found six companies of the 1st regiment Missouri volunteers. Company A of this regiment was composed of his friends who were anxiously awaiting his arrival. Kearney was present, and as he did not feel kindly toward Gilpin he determined that he should have no command. Gilpin felt that he would be elected an officer if he could once gain admission to the company. He found in the company from Jackson county a boy, sixteen years old, whose widowed mother had claimed his discharge on account of his youth, and Gilpin paid this boy eighty-five dollars for his place in the ranks. Otherwise he could not have secured a place, as the company already numbered 105; but as they were strong, hardy, and desirable soldiers, they had been permitted to remain. Gilpin was a trained soldier from the school, and had also had experience on the field, and he drilled the companies up to the time of the election of officers. Among the men was an old class-mate named Ruff. Some of the men were pleased to think they could prevent Gilpin from holding any office in the company, as he previously had worked his way up to a 1st lieutenancy, and then despising that rank, had resigned.

Well, the election proceeded. A man named Doniphan was chosen colonel, and the election for lieutenant-colonel then came up. Doniphan desired Gilpin to have the place, but Ruff was the candidate of the West Pointers. Ruff was elected by two votes. The office of major was still open. After the election had proceeded thus far, the regiment broke into confusion and declared that Gilpin should be major. Gilpin thereupon made them a speech of about twenty minutes' duration, after which he was informed that Kearney wished to see him in his office. He obeyed the summons, and Kearney said: "I have received from the president an appointment for you as lieutenant-colonel of the 3d regiment, and I suppose this is followed by a life service if you choose. Had you not better with-

draw now and avail yourself of this appointment?" Said Gilpin, "I will not accept it." He felt it was a measure which would turn him from the west. He returned to the parade ground and was unanimously declared elected major, without the formality of balloting. It spite of his age Gilpin had at that time more frontier experience than any of the officers; his training had been thorough and varied, and he was virtually master of the situation. The army entered Santa Fé in triumph on the 14th of August, 1846. Kearney had become homesick and desired to turn back.

The army of the west at that time consisted of the 1st regiment Missouri volunteers, of which Gilpin was major, three companies of dragoons, a battery of volunteer artillery, a small battalion of infantry from Cole county, Missouri, and a small cavalry company from St Louis. Attached to the army were three hundred merchant wagons with their owners. They had laid in a stock of goods especially adapted to the Mexican country, and they now desired to keep on to Chihuahua, their destination. These teamsters were as good soldiers as any in the army, and assisted materially at the battle of Sacramento, which preceded the taking of the city of Chihuahua. This battle, at which the Americans had less than 1,200 men in rank, was fought on the 28th of February, 1847, beginning at 3 A. M., and ending at twenty minutes past ten in the evening. The Mexican army, according to Gilpin's estimate, had 5,250 soldiers, with five generals and 26 pieces of artillery. The Americans had about eight hundred men, including the teamsters, who guarded the corral; but not all reported for duty; there were four field-pieces and two mountain howitzers. The Mexicans were drawn up in line and the Americans began to manœuvre.

They marched past the Mexicans, who, not anticipating such a measure, waited too long and were then forced to move suddenly and disorderly to prevent the American army from marching around them to

the city. As they turned to rectify their mistake the Americans charged them upon the flank, captured their artillery, cut them in two, and defeated the two wings. The army then marched to Chihuahua, where it remained some three months. A dispute here arose between Gilpin and Doniphan, which involved the integrity of the expedition.

The average age of the army was 22 years, and there was a difference of sentiment among the men, the younger ones wishing to push on into the Mexican country, and the others desiring to return. Gilpin's idea was this: that as they had possession of that magnificent city, and as the mint contained about $800,000, they should confiscate that money, as they had a right to do, as spoils of war. Up to this time the army had not received any pay or recognition of their valor from home. Finally Doniphan agreed to call a court-martial and submit the question as to whether the army should retrace its steps, or push on to conquer the whole Mexican country. Thus far, besides doing their own work, they had done that which had been allotted to General Wool. Doniphan picked the members of the court-martial, such as would favor his views, as nearly as he was able; but Gilpin had all the young men on his side. The question was put, and it was decided to push on to the city of Mexico. They then made a three days' march in that direction, Doniphan accompanying them, although protesting at every step, and offering to resign his command to Gilpin and return home. The third day they halted at San Felipe. Doniphan had left two companies at Chihuahua to guard the city; also a number of the merchants who wished to sell out their goods. At San Felipe, on the following morning, when they were expecting to pursue their way, and while Gilpin was waiting for the order of march from Doniphan, to his surprise no such order came. What still more astonished him was to see Doniphan and several of his friends mount and take

the back trail to Chihuahua. One of Doniphan's men came up presently and said that the orders were that the whole army should return to Chihuahua, that the country was full of hostile bands, that the soldiers left at Chihuahua would be massacred, and that he would not expose them in such a manner; so the whole army turned back. Arriving at Chihuahua there was another discussion as to whether the army should return home or not, and Gilpin succeeded in preventing this. Doniphan finally agreed to compromise the matter, the Gilpin party agreeing not to resume the march to Mexico, and Doniphan not to return to Missouri.

Doniphan wrote a letter to General Taylor, then at Monterey, stating the position and condition of the army of the west, and requesting orders where to go. This was forwarded by special messenger. Taylor's answer was, "Come to me." So they started. From Chihuahua they marched through the state of Durango to Buena Vista, where Wool's army was encamped, and thence made a two days' march to Monterey. Over a year had passed away, and the fighting was at an end. They had now but to return home, so after spending one day with Taylor, they proceeded to Mier on the Del Norte, which stream was too low for navigation; whereupon they kept on down the river for thirty miles, until they found transports. From there they went down to the mouth of the river, landing at Bagdad. The nearest harbor into which transports for New Orleans could come was Brazos Santiago. Here arrangements were made for the transportation of the army to New Orleans.

Major Gilpin proceeded in advance with a personal guard of twelve men, taking the steamer *Telegraph* to New Orleans, where he arranged for the reception and paying of the army. He was three days in New Orleans before the first of the force arrived, during which time he and his companions were guests of the city. The gallant young major had seen service in

the everglades of Florida, had been three years on the coast of Oregon, and eighteen months in the Mexican war, and his name was in every one's mouth. July and August the army spent in St Louis, where the twelve companies were discharged, and the people of Missouri were profuse in their attentions to the returned veterans. Major Gilpin was at this time suffering from the effects of malaria and touches of typhoid fever, and he concluded to go home to Independence to rest and recuperate. But for ten years the seeds of disease remained in his system.

At a reunion of Doniphan's command, on the ninth anniversary of the battle of Sacramento, held at Sacramento City, California, the third toast was as follows: "Major William Gilpin, the essence of chivalry, the disciplinarian of the regiment." To which sentiment Senator Crenshaw replied: "I suppose I am chosen to respond to this toast on account of my intimate acquaintance with Major Gilpin. We were both in the same regiment, and from the position that I held, I had many opportunities of knowing that he possessed all the attributes expressed in the sentiment just read. It was to him the regiment was indebted for the military training it received. Colonel Doniphan was in reality a citizen soldier. All his movements were characterized by a cool determination. The regiment was composed of the best men in the state of Missouri, young but courageous. During the whole of their adventurous march, traits of heroism were constantly exhibited. But the crowning act was the battle of Sacramento. Upon the rolls that morning there were less than eight hundred men reported for duty, all told. By the books which afterward fell into our hands, and which I have yet in my possession, the Mexican force that morning reported for duty over four thousand men The Mexicans, besides, occupied a position protected by redoubts and ditches, and had a much superior artillery force. Behind Doniphan's men was a desert of two thousand

miles; they were three hundred miles distant from another American soldier; they were almost entirely bereft of food, and clothed in rags. The Mexicans were certain of an easy victory. They had already provided the thongs with which to pinion the Missouri Yankees. But the motto of the American was victory or death. I remember well seeing some of the thoughtful clip locks of hair from their heads, and give them to their comrades, to be sent to loved ones at home in case they fell in battle. The Mexican cavalry charged, full of confidence. Not a shot was fired from our ranks until they had approached near enough to insure a dead aim. Then was heard the dreadful crack of the western rifle. The enemy melted before the murderous discharge like grass before the scythe. Confusion took possession of their ranks, and they fled, leaving over two hundred dead upon the field. Many of the dead had received rifle-balls in their foreheads. But one American was killed, the lamented Owens, who was shot while charging upon the redoubt."

During that summer the Indians broke out along the trail from Fort Leavenworth to Sante Fé, murdering the teamsters, robbing and burning the trains; and then came the news that the Indians had consolidated and were to unite seven tribes in an onslaught upon the American people along the Arkansas. The white men, they said, should not have all the fighting, robbery, and pillage. The news created much excitement all through Missouri, and Polk became alarmed. He called a meeting of two or three of his cabinet officers, among them being Benton, and related what he had heard, expressing the fear that war would become universal, and that he would be severely criticised for allowing such a thing to occur. Benton then suggested a plan which was afterward carried out.

It was probably about the end of August 1847,

when one day while Major Gilpin was lying in bed, with a physician in attendance, at his home in Independence, he received a visit from Governor Edwards of Missouri, who said: "I come at the request of the president of the United States, to tell you of the anxiety he is in, and of his opinion that the war will spread and involve the whole of the southwest, and that these things would bring censure upon him." He went on to say that the president wished to know if Major Gilpin would raise an army of volunteers, take care of the Indians, and reopen communication with our army in northern Mexico. Major Gilpin replied: "I have gone through the Mexican war, and other labors such as I should not suppose were within the bounds of human endurance, and I have not a dollar left for my trouble; what I have received does not amount to one third of what I have spent; I have seen no notice of my services, and I must decline this offer." Said the governor: "If you do not accept this mission, some inexperienced person will be put in, with no knowledge of what it has taken you twenty years to learn, and as a result, Missouri will be lost." "Very well, I will accept the mission on three conditions," replied the major: "first, if my health permits, and I think I shall soon recover; secondly, that I must sign my own orders as to where I shall go and what I shall do and how I shall do it, and that I shall recruit my men here in Missouri, where I can select such as are suited to the desperate service in which I am to be engaged and to be held accountable for; and thirdly, that the president will be pleased to instruct all the generals who are now commanding points of supplies that whatever requisitions I shall make upon them must be filled without delay, either for supplies or for money." His intention, at once formed, was to make a winter campaign against the Indians, knowing that if they should unite in the spring they would sweep the whole of Missouri. Edwards communicated with Mr Polk, and reported

that the conditions made were satisfactory to him, and that instructions would be issued to that effect.

As soon as Major Gilpin could leave his bed he raised eight companies, though he was obliged to take new men, as those who had participated in the Mexican war were not yet sufficiently recuperated for fresh service. He had a splendid battery of six guns from St Louis, two companies of infantry and two companies of cavalry, with additional men, attendants, wagoners, etc., in all about eight hundred and fifty strong. The arms were all shipped to Fort Leavenworth, whither the force was sent, and were the best that could be procured. This was called Gilpin's battalion, of which he was lieutenant-colonel, there being no other field-officer. There was in command at Fort Leavenworth Lieutenant-colonel Clifton Wharton, a distant relative of Colonel Gilpin, though the two were not upon the best of terms.

The supplies had all arrived, provisions in abundance, wagons and arms, and nothing remained but to muster in the force, equip them, and start. Wharton at first refused to deliver to Colonel Gilpin the supplies or arms, saying it was an indiscreet thing to send a young boy out on the plains at the beginning of winter, into an Indian country. After several disputes, and being once placed under arrest by Wharton, Gilpin wound the matter up by preparing a challenge to fight Wharton, who, learning of it, was immediately taken ill. Calling Gilpin to him at his room, he turned over the supplies and arms to him, and in three days the force was equipped, and armed, ready to start; it moved forward on the 4th day of October. The supplies consisted of 200 wagons of provisions, 500 head of beef cattle, and fifteen wagons of ammunition. When but a short distance out from Fort Leavenworth, a portion of the command mutinied; but they were threatened with instant death, and finally submitted. Without further incident the march was made to a spot just below the present site of Pueblo,

where they went into camp on the Arkansas bottoms, reaching there about the middle of November. Attached to the force were two hunters, John H. Thatcher, who afterward located himself in California and became a prosperous fruit-grower, and a character called Big Bill Fallon.

These men kept the force supplied with fresh meat all through the winter, so that it was not necessary to kill the beef cattle which had been brought. During all this winter Colonel Gilpin was in miserable health, owing to a severe cold which he had contracted at the beginning of the march; nevertheless he showed himself among the men every day. Delegations of Indians came frequently to visit the camp, and Gilpin sent for the chiefs of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who were the owners of the country, saying to them: "I will send a commissioner with you, and you must go up between the forks of the Platte and never leave there until I tell you to come."

Similar warning was sent to the Utes in the mountains. The winter was passed comfortably, and owing to the abundance of supplies the men were all in good humor. The time was occupied in drilling the soldiers, which was done thoroughly, and after methods particularly adapted to Indian warfare, and all preparatory for the spring campaign. The soldiers were expert rifle-men, who had been accustomed to barking squirrels in the woods of Missouri, and they were soon masters of the necessary tactics. When the time for action came they moved along down the foot of the mountains, and down into the summer country of the Indians. Stopping at a small town in New Mexico, called Moro, where he procured a supply of flour, Colonel Gilpin pushed on, his object being to ascertain the lines by which the Indians were coming to their fighting-ground.

The battle-ground where most of the fighting was done was about eighty miles from Fort Mann, now Dodge City, along the southern bank of the Arkansas,

which had afforded the savages traps for ambuscades, and where white men had been killed for fifty years past. For a distance of five or six hundred miles, scattered all along the way, trains of twenty and thirty wagons were found deserted where the Indians had left them on previous raids, the occupants having all been massacred. This spot was selected for a depot for supplies, for the reason that the formation of the sand-hills rendered it difficult to discover any one in them. Running south into the Arkansas through these hills was a little stream called Crooked creek, and up this stream the Indians would come in the summer, where they could have water and be sheltered from observation.

During the winter he camped all along the bottoms of the Arkansas, where the sweet cottonwoods grew, affording plenty of firewood, a space in which to drill, and some protection from the elements. He had Indian lodges for the soldiers and corrals for the animals. At night they would strew the bottoms of the corrals with branches of the sweet cottonwoods, and from these branches the horses would strip every vestige of the bark. In this way the horses were kept in good condition, and the force was enabled to take the war-path two months before the Indians, with their emaciated animals, could move. During two months leisure he had the scouts locate all the various trails by which the Indians would come in; the force was then divided into four fighting parties under good officers. These four companies were stationed at different localities, and caught, in detail, the advancing tribes as they came in from every direction to join their confederates. On one occasion he learned that a party of Comanche warriors had left their camp on the Cimaron, and were on their way to the fighting-ground on the Arkansas. One of the divisions was sent down and destroyed the camp, and on the same day another division on the Arkansas attacked the party of warriors and drove them off down to their home. This

party returned to camp without pursuing the Comanches, and Colonel Gilpin immediately detailed another division to carry out their work. In the interval, a party of sixty-three Pawnee warriors had come upon the trail of the retreating Comanches, and had followed it to see what it meant. The white men followed on down after the Comanches, and soon came up with the Pawnees, who were encamped in a grove. A short and sharp battle ensued, and only two Indians escaped.

Nine battles were fought from the middle of July to the end of August, and 253 scalps of warriors were taken from first to last.

On the 1st of November, 1848, the force arrived at Leavenworth, after a campaign of a little over a year. Meanwhile Colonel Gilpin's health instead of improving was almost destroyed. He remained at his home in Independence until May 1849, when it became evident to him that he must either die or secure the services of a physician who could cure him. Thereupon he proceeded to St Louis, where he placed himself under the care of Doctor Pope, an eminent physician of that city. He arrived there in the midst of the cholera season. The day previous to his arrival 361 deaths had occurred, and wherever he went he either saw crape on the door or the occupants of the house were attending the funeral of some friend. These melancholy surroundings were not conducive to his recovery; and learning that the disease was not so prevalent elsewhere, he went to Lexington, Kentucky, where he secured the services of Doctor Benjamin Dudley, the founder and head of the Transylvania University. Dudley said: "You are the worst diseased man but one that I have seen in forty-five years of practice. Still, if you will follow my advice for a week, I will let you know whether I can cure you, or will have to let you die."

At the end of the week Dudley said he would do

the best he could to keep him alive. His vital functions had been sadly depleted during his years of frontier exposure, and only his iron constitution could have carried him through. Under such heroic treatment as raw calomel three times a week, mixed with ipecac and rhubarb, he began slowly to regain his health. While at Lexington his residence was in the old Phœnix hotel. The sentiment of secession was beginning to germinate, and many of the representative southern men would consult with him regarding the situation. These individuals were very communicative, and he learned much of their half-formed plans, always taking care to get as much as he gave. After a hundred days or so had elapsed, he returned to St Louis, weighing 100 pounds, but on the road to recovery. St Louis was the wintering point for the wealthy planters in that section, and in the winter of 1849–50 Colonel Gilpin participated as actively as his reduced physical condition would permit in the brilliant social events of the city. After a time, as he did not improve in health materially, he bethought himself of an eminent physician of Philadelphia, Doctor Samuel Jackson, a man whom he had known in his younger days. His mother was living in Philadelphia with her two daughters, and thither he proceeded and placed himself under treatment. He remained in Philadelphia during one summer, and then returned to his home in Independence. Living on his plantation was inexpensive, and a portion of his land he laid off as an addition to the town, from which he realized a small sum of money. In company with five others he also laid off Kansas City, which was first called Centropolis; but the name which the city now bears was determined by the voice of the people, who fell into the habit of calling it Kansas City. He remained in that locality until 1861, making occasional trips to Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and St Louis, practising his profession at times, and leading rather a quiet life.

About the first of February of the year last named, he made a trip to St Louis, where he met General Hunter and General Sumner, who informed him that President-elect Lincoln was to start from Springfield for Washington upon the third morning thereafter, and as the party was small he was anxious to have in it some southern man who had voted for him in a slave state. Gilpin had cast the only republican vote in Jackson county, though he had been unable to procure a printed ticket. Accordingly it was agreed that he should make one of the company. They joined the party at Springfield, which was transported to Washington in a small car holding but thirteen persons. On arriving at Washington he was one of a hundred men who slept in the White house as a personal guard to the president. Immediately after the inauguration he was asked if he would accept an appointment as governor of Colorado, as he was considered the one indispensable man for the position. He immediately signified his willingness to do so.

At the first cabinet meeting the matter was brought up, and Colonel Gilpin was nominated by Blair for the position. Cameron being present seconded the motion, whereupon the appointment was filled out, and unanimously confirmed by both houses. He immediately received his commission from Secretary Seward. The time was indeed critical; the nation was on the ragged edge of dissolution, and every member of the administration was worn out with anxiety. Cameron had agreed to furnish Governor Gilpin with instructions, but finally told him to write them out himself, and he, Cameron, would sign them. The day previous to his departure from Washington, Governor Gilpin was unable to see any cabinet member, and at 12 o'clock at night he took up his post in front of the White house, where he rightly surmised they were holding a consultation. Shortly afterward three persons came out and stood on the porch conversing. Governor Gilpin recognized and spoke to them. They were

Cameron, Scott, and Lincoln. He informed Mr Lincoln that he had his commission in his pocket, and was ready to leave for Colorado. He further went on to say that it would be necessary for him to have money with which to pay expenses that must necessarily be incurred at the beginning. Said Mr Lincoln: "We have not a cent. I have just negotiated a loan of fifty millions of dollars from the banks of New York, and have called a special session of congress to meet on the 4th of July, to know if they will hang me for treason for this unconstitutional act. If you are driven to extremities you must do as I have done, issue drafts on your own responsibility."

"What shall I do for soldiers?" asked Gilpin.

"If you need them, call them out as we have done, command them yourself, send your pay-rolls to me, and I will see that they are paid," said Cameron. "We will give you the rank of command of brigadier-general." Both Lincoln and Scott acquiesced in this arrangement. He then bade them farewell and left them. Early in April he arrived in Denver. The only other member of the government then in the place was Secretary Weld, who had been residing here for some time. On alighting from the coach he was greeted by a dozen or so of his old acquaintances, the first comers to Colorado, who welcomed him heartily. Waiting upon him later in his room, they presented commissions from Medeira and Denver, governors of Kansas, expressed their faith in Gilpin's ability and firmness, and requested him to renew their commissions. Said their spokesman: "If you want a legislature, call it and we will fill it for you, and we expect to have you on our side." But theirs was not the side of loyalty and integrity; it was not Governor Gilpin's side; neverthless, it was deemed better to make propositions to neutralize their influence than to provoke open hostilities. Therefore he said to them: "Gentlemen, I am much obliged for your kindness, but there is ample time to consider

this matter after I look around a little." The secession flag was at the time flying from the Criterion, a theatre and gambling-house on Larimer street, between 15th and 16th streets. The bill creating Colorado had been introduced by Green, a strong secessionist in congress, and this was done for the purpose of establishing slavery in Colorado, and the powers granted were pure despotism. Gilpin was present at the time the bill was passed, and it originally was to establish Jefferson Territory, but at Gilpin's suggestion the name was changed to Colorado.

The newly appointed governor found the secession element in full blast; he found also a provincial government, and a regiment of mounted riflemen, sixty-nine strong, organized and furnished with arms. Governor Gilpin found the situation a trying one; and just how to use the power which had been conferred upon him could only be determined by careful consideration; but his plans were ultimately formed with methodical exactness.

He despatched a man who was secretary to Russell, one of the owners of the stage line, to Central City, where were the most of the men he had to deal with, a nest of secessionists, to say that on Thursday, at three o'clock, he would be there to address the people. This was on Tuesday. Promptly at the hour appointed he was on the spot, and delivered a lengthy address upon the political and social condition. An Irishman named Kavanaugh attempted to reply to the governor's speech, but he had proceeded only a few moments when the assemblage took offence at his remarks and prevented his continuing.

Subsequently Governor Gilpin made a tour to the principal settlements and mining camps throughout the territory, speaking in them, and advocating the cause of the union. On this trip the marshal of the territory accompanied him for the purpose of taking a census. In summing up results after his tour of speech-making, he found that he could rely on the

people to stand by the union cause by eight hundred and fifty majority. Then he had the secessionists to deal with, and he prosecuted this work with vigor and promptitude. He mustered in a few soldiers, but they were without arms, while the secessionists were well armed. He managed to gather from the loyal people a number of old rifles and muskets, many of them broken and useless, and pistols without locks; and with these he made a fair showing for a time. The mails had been stopped, and provisions were very scarce. The secessionists were recruiting constantly, and many enlisted with them merely because they were starving. All eyes were upon the chief executive, and by a judicious display of the useless arms he succeeded in keeping matters quiet for the time.

The second regiment of United States dragoons had been stationed at Fort Crittenden in Utah during the Utah war. That being over, the troops started east. When they arrived at Laramie, Governor Gilpin made known his situation to Pleasanton, who was in command, and he at once placed at the governor's disposal eighteen wagons containing 1,800 new Mississippi rifles, with a large supply of fixed ammunition. By this means Colorado was saved. A man named Slough, who had been mayor of Denver, was appointed captain of the forces, and Logan was appointed first lieutenant. Camp Weld was constructed near the city, and here the troops were drilled daily. The government was thus fully established. The governor made a code of laws, which was received by the people with satisfaction. This was early in December 1861. In procuring supplies for the one company of infantry, and two companies of cavalry which were now mustered in, Governor Gilpin was obliged to follow Lincoln's plan of raising money for the United States. He drew what was necessary from the merchants of Denver, giving them therefor drafts upon the United States government. At the end of every thirty days a special mes-

senger took them to Washington, where payment was at first refused; but finally a government agent was sent to Colorado, and all the indebtedness paid. The total amount of drafts drawn and paid during the campaign was $227,500, which covered all the expenses of the government.

The Texan army under Sibley marched up and took possession of Santa Fé, and friends of Governor Gilpin immediately brought the news to Denver. The forces here at once pushed on to Fort Union, marching over Raton pass in the dead of winter. General Rene Paul, a first cousin to Governor Gilpin's wife, was in command there, and received the Colorado troops, re-armed and re-clothed them, all in a single day. The Texan army, having captured Canby and his forces, were at Santa Fé resting and preparing to move upon Fort Union, where there were thirty thousand stand of arms. In Slough's command was a man named Collins, who had guided the American troops into Chihuahna, and who was familiar with all the mountain trails around Apache cañon. With a portion of Slough's men he went over a trail, got in behind the Texans, and at daylight camped where they had left their wagons, they in the mean time having advanced through the cañon. They were attacked at the mouth of the cañon by Slough with such vigor that they were forced to retreat. Arriving at their camp they found it destroyed, all their supplies and provisions having been found by Collins, whereupon they broke up and scattered. This was the battle of Glorietta.

Toward the latter part of 1862, Governor Gilpin received a request from President Lincoln to come to Washington, if he could be spared, which was complied with. Notwithstanding all that Governor Gilpin had done for Colorado, essentially saving the country to the union, his enemies were ever actively at work circulating false statements and stirring up strife, and it was deemed advisable to make a change.

Governor Gilpin set out for home on the 8th of January, 1862. Soon after his return to Colorado, he received a letter from Seward, saying that the territory was in a very dangerous condition, that they did not know what would become of it, and requesting him to remain as governor until his successor should arrive at Denver. He was succeeded by John Evans, of Illinois.

On his return from the Pacific coast in 1844, Governor Gilpin had stopped for rest at Bent's fort, and while there he had familiarized himself with the Mexican system of grants, and especially with the location of four large tracts, among them being the Sangre de Cristo rancho consisting of a million acres granted to Don Carlos Beaubien, and located in San Luis park. Returning to this country after the Mexican war, he had secured a floating grant of one hundred thousand acres, which he succeeded in locating in December 1862, along the northern boundary of New Mexico and the southern boundary of Colorado. While engaged in perfecting this title, he received a message from Don Carlos Beaubien, whom he had met some time before, requesting that he might see him at Taos on a matter of importance. He immediately proceeded to Taos, accompanying the messenger on his return. He found Beaubien, and held a long conference with him. Beaubien stated that he was now sixty-three years of age, had lived upon the frontier the greater part of his life, and desired to return with his wife to his birthplace, a few miles below Quebec, Canada. He stated further that he had a perfect title to the Sangre de Cristo grant of a million acres, and that he desired to dispose of the same. Governor Gilpin was familiar with the location and character of the land, and was desirous of securing possession of it. They fixed the price, and he was given the refusal of the land until the 4th of March, 1863, while in the mean time he would endeavor to raise the requisite money from his friends.

He returned to Santa Fé, where he concluded arrangements which perfected the title to his float, which he had located, and then proceeded to Denver, arriving here on the 21st day of February. While engaged in writing letters to his friends for the purpose of raising money, Bela M. Hughes arrived and proposed to him that he should accompany him to Salt Lake City, whither he was going to defend a brother of Ben Holladay, who was in prison on a charge of murder.

Thinking he could return in time to receive answers to his correspondence, which would be in about thirty days, Governor Gilpin consented to this proposition. But instead of returning direct from Salt Lake City, he was persuaded to accompany Frank Clark, treasurer of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express between Salt Lake City and San Francisco, to Sacramento. While driving in the latter place with Clark one day, they were thrown from their carriage, and Clark was killed, Governor Gilpin being so seriously injured that his recovery was despaired of. For forty-seven days he lay in bed in Sacramento, requiring assistance even to turn over. As he convalesced, he remembered friends of his in San Francisco, the Donahoes. When Donahoe and a friend of his were on their way to California in an early day, they were both taken ill at Independence, and Governor Gilpin had there rendered them valuable assistance. He now wrote to Donahoe, stating his position, and requesting a loan of a thousand dollars. The money came by return mail, as did also an invitation from Donahoe to visit him at his home in San Francisco. As soon as he was able to be up he accepted the invitation, and was elegantly entertained. On leaving San Francisco by steamer via Panamá for New York, Governor Gilpin received from Donahoe a letter to a friend in New York, and through his influence he secured a loan of thirty thousand dollars from the banking house of Duncan Sherman & Co., with which

to make the payment on the Sangre de Cristo grant. Early in March he left for Colorado, bearing with him thirty certificates of deposit for a thousand dollars each. Arriving in Denver he at once started for Beaubien's home, accompanied by an acquaintance from Denver, and on arriving at the entrance to Sangre de Cristo pass, he met an old friend, who informed him that Beaubien was dead. He inquired of his friend if he thought there would be any use of proceeding farther, and was informed that Beaubien, just before his death, had called his wife and children around him, and instructed them that the grant belonged to Governor Gilpin, and that it must be transferred to him in case he paid the money. Encouraged by this report, the governor hurried on and met the family. The deeds were drawn up, the money paid over and divided among the wife and children of Beaubien, and the transaction was complete. The summer of 1863 Governor Gilpin spent upon his million-acre tract, with five surveyors and seventeen prospectors, running out the lines and prospecting for minerals. They found thereon a great many gold mines. The next winter he went to New York and there endeavored to negotiate a sale of the land; but while New York capitalists favorably entertained the proposition, they did not have sufficient confidence in the resources of the country to invest their money in the wild lands of the Rocky mountains. He then consulted with Morton Fisher, a friend of his who had assisted him in securing the loan of thirty thousand dollars, and they decided that it would be best to place the land upon the London market. Finally it was decided that Fisher should go to London, while Governor Gilpin should return to Colorado and look after the property there.

Fisher put forth every effort to find a sale for the property in London, but was unsuccessful. He then determined to go to Holland, at the suggestion of an American who was practising law in London, and

who had been very successful in placing along the Rhine the bonds of the eastern division of the Union Pacific railway, and see what could be done there. They went to Amsterdam and were successful in selling 500,000 acres at a dollar an acre. Governor Gilpin was at once telegraphed for, and immediately proceeded to Amsterdam. Some little delay was caused by the breaking out along the Rhine of the war between Bismarck and Napoleon, but this was terminated by the battle of Sedan, and by the 17th of January, 1871, the money was deposited in the bank of England, and the sale consummated. The novelty of this transaction went abroad among the brokers, and attracted wide-spread attention. General Palmer arrived in Amsterdam just after the completion of the sale, and succeeded, through the influence of Governor Gilpin, in raising $60,000 to assist in constructing the Denver and Rio Grande railway, which was to run near the grant.

Thus we have presented before us the varied experiences of an active and useful man, of one who through a long period of public service performed many acts of the highest importance to the commonwealth, saving the country from bloody wars and revolution, and preserving it for a glorious reign of peace; and small was his reward.

The true patriot, instead of enriching himself at the cost of his country, too often brings down upon his devoted head the enmity of all. But it is the province of history to vindicate the just. There were times after the expiration of his term of office in Colorado when the former governor of the territory, he who had saved to the nation millions of dollars, had not twenty-five cents with which to buy his breakfast; nevertheless, when once his talents were directed toward himself, and for the provision of his family, he found no great difficulty in making a million or two of dollars.

Governor Gilpin married on the 12th of February, 1874, Mrs Julia Pratt Dickerson, of St Louis, widow of Captain Dickerson of that city. Mrs Gilpin had four children as the result of her first marriage, and of the second marriage there were born William and Mary, twins, May 12, 1875, and Louis, July 10, 1877. William and Mary are delightful children in every way, filled with the ethereal atmosphere in which they were born and have always lived. Mary has undoubted musical talent, and possesses a fine physique, graceful as Diana or Minerva. She has all the ideas, judgment, and caution of a woman of mature years; she is gentle, wholly without guile, affectionate, and a patient student. She commands every one who surrounds her, but in a gentle and sweet manner. She is an enigma of goodness. William is very bright and studious. He has a fine mechanical mind, full of courage and vigor. His father selects for him interesting and instructive books, such as *Plutarch's Lives*, and in studying, he is required to give particular attention to arithmetic.

Louis, the youngest child, has all these tastes. He is very graceful of movement, impetuous and full of energy and self-reliance, gentle, affectionate, and attentive to words of advice.

Governor Gilpin has strong domestic tastes, is warm-hearted and kind in his family, and exceedingly devoted to his children, who are his pride and joy. His studious habits he continues, delighting in generalizations from the immense store of knowledge treasured up in his mind. He is specially partial to biography, the *Life of Agricola* by Tacitus, the *Life of Cromwell* by Carlyle, *Plutarch's Lives*, *Count Wallenstein* by Shiller, *Southey's Nelson*, *Shakspeare's Hamlet*, *Napoleon's Julius Cæsar*, *Voltaire's Peter the Great*, and *Thiers's Napoleon* being among his favorites.

In 1860 Governor Gilpin published a work entitled *The Central Gold Region*. Three hundred copies were printed and distributed to the leading statesmen and

scholars of the day. In 1874, when slavery had been for some time abolished, and peace restored had began to perfect itself, he wrote a kind of peroration as to how these and kindred powers of evolution should result, in the form of a book entitled *Mission of the North American People, Geographical, Social, and Political; Illustrated by six charts, delineating the Physical Architecture and Thermal Laws of all the Continents.* In it the mountain formation of North America is first given; then the cordillera of the Sierra Madre; the plateau of North America; the Sierra San Juan; the South pass of America; the great basin of the Mississippi; pastoral America; the system of the parks; thermal America; a chapter on power; concluding with three chapters on the North American mission. In an appendix are given a few of the more conspicuous speeches of Mr Gilpin, on such subjects as the Mexican War; the Pacific Railway; and the geographical features of the Rocky mountains. The maps delineate the mountain system, the thermal belts, and the system of parks of North America, and a map of the world delineating the contrasted longitudinal and latitudinal forms of the continents, the isothermal zodiac and axis of intensity round the world, and the line of the Cosmopolitan railway and its longitudinal feeders.

The theories which we find elucidated in this work may be epitomized as follows: We represent English stock that runs back to the time of Alfred, and to the time of the formation of the Roman provinces in the reign of Claudius. We belong to a people who early accepted christianity. Our ancestors were devotees and followers of Cromwell, and held by him until he established the commonwealth of England. There was reconstructed a Roman empire with christainity, education, and science, as bases of progress, an empire of 350,000,000 of people with Queen Victoria at the head.

The American people are here on a fallow conti-

nent, and all their institutions are based upon the development of the people: First, democrary, rightly understood, reduced to practice—the sovereign power placed in the people. We have this continent which is able to feed mankind; we have no occasion, like the Romans, Greeks, or Spaniards, to make conquests or massacres, but we move on, and here are the Europeans swarming on one side and the Chinese on the other; but we shall take care of ourselves, and develop upon this intermediate and sublime continent a master nation, and do our work, and if the outside world pleases to attack us, uniting as they did against Napoleon, they could not even land on our continent; and in the mean time we are giving a successful example to Ireland and France, and to the socialists and nihilists. We are now by progressive experiments in possession of all the elements of political and social science.

Under the leadership of Washington and Franklin, of Jefferson, Jackson, and like men, the American people have brought democracy to be rightly understood and reduced to practice. First they have absolute sovereignty; the people decide everything; we have 11,500,000 votes cast in one day, where each man expresses his opinion of the government. The first thing the people did, the first use they made of this relegation of sovereignty which it took three generations standing under fire to protect, has been to establish universal, perpetual, and compulsory education; and we are now becoming matured in our declaration of independence, the federal constitution, and the constitutions of the states. We have a peculiar system of balance in choosing the presidential electors, which was the best that could be invented by the men who did it; and the people, understanding this, are adapting themselves to the enlargement and extension of society and its wants. Every thirty years a new generation comes in, and if there is anything not suited to the times, they elimi-

nate it; and if there is anything newly invented, they put it into their constitution as a discovery, whether it be of political or social science.

We have all kinds of population, the pioneer population making farms, the manufacturing population producing for us, and the laboring population. We have a broad belt of temperate zone extending from sea to sea. In Europe there are monarchies and barbarisms which are perpetually fighting and slaughtering one another. Here our genius takes another turn. We are a complete nation, living in harmony; we have tried a great many things that never were tried before. Our mission is to plant empire in the wilderness. When we cross the Atlantic and come here our world opens to the way, our arena of effort widens. We have this great concave continent, with the modifications of the temperate zone, the semi-tropical zone, and the arctic zone. In the semi-tropics we can cultivate the semi-tropical fruits, oranges, bananas, etc., and rice and sugar, and cotton for our summer wear and for the summer clothing of the world; and then above that comes the region of Indian corn and pork; the broader belt of wheat, cattle, and horses; and wool for the winter clothing of the world; hides for the leather of the world; also wine, liquors, and tobacco; and above that the belt of oats and hay; and then we have barley. These belts are all united by the longitudal rivers; and now we are putting railroads on all their banks. Then belts of temperate warmth are thus *echeloned* across our continent, from east to west like the streaks of the rainbow. Various atmospheres envelope us, the cloudy, or aqueous, covering about four fifths of the earth's surface; then at a height of four or five thousand feet, the aerial atmosphere, to which the heavier clouds cannot attain. Here is the only ethereal or continental climate that the human race can profitably enter. The Cosmopolitan railway across Bering strait will connect the systems of America with the systems of Asia and Europe; that

this is possible you have only to ascertain the facts regarding the physical features of that region. Indeed, we are now in the very midst of this new departure, we are now upon the plane of this higher civilization, and yet all the while advancing and expanding.

We have abolished aristocrats and plebeians, and have established patrician democracy, and this has been done by universal suffrage and perpetual education, which are the elements that expand and preserve it, until we find what is wrong and weed it out, and what is right and congeal it. Literature preserves and creates lives; while the bad dies out of all we have from antiquity, the good only has lived. Evolution proves this.

America is now getting her continental dimensions, and the people who control the North American island are forming themselves into a pioneer army which plants empire in the wilderness, not by slaughter, as did Cæsar and Alexander and the Spaniards; it takes the nations of the world which they slaughtered and peoples the wilderness under a policy of peace and industry.

In regard to the plateau of North America, the author says that it is little understood, even by those who travel over it, extending from Tehuantepec to the polar sea, with a genial altitude of 6,000 feet, the mountains on either side being 12,000 feet high; it has an area of 11,000,000 square miles, and is almost everywhere easy of access. It has seven great basins, namely, the valley of Mexico, the Bolsom de Mapimi, the Rio Bravo del Norte, Colorado, Great Salt Lake, the Columbia, and the basin of Fraser river. The climates are dry, altitude and aridity tempering the heat toward the south, and the cold toward the north. The soils are fertile, both for agricultural and pastoral purposes.

Governor Gilpin did much to advance the idea of a Pacific railway, and at a time when the prospect was

SPITZBERGEN
NOVA ZEMBLA
NEW SIBERIA IS
WHITE SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
ST PETERSBURG
EUROPE
RUSSIA
SIBERIA
ASIA
COSMOPOLITAN
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SCOTLAND
FRANCE
GERMANY
ARAL SEA
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CHINESE EMPIRE
SEA OF JAPAN
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
HINDOOSTAN
ARABIA
SEA
ARABIAN
BAY
BENGAL
AFRICA
EGYPT
BORNEO
NEW GUINEA
COSMOPOLITAN RAILWAY
INDIAN
OCEAN
MOZAMBIQUE CHANNEL
MADAGASCAR
AUSTRALIA
CAPE COLONY
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
GILPIN'S
AM
ECONOMIC, JU
MAP
OF

170 180 170 160 150 140 130 120 110 100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30
BAFFIN BAY
GREENLAND
BEHRING STRAITS
PEALBERT LAND
BAFFIN LAND
COSMOPOLITAN RAILWAY
BEHRING SEA
HUDSON BAY
NORTH AMERICA
LABRADOR
ISOTHERMAL AXIS
NEW FOUNDLAND
DENVER
BOSTON
SAN FRANCISCO
UNITED STATES
PACIFIC
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMAS
WEST INDIES
SANDWICH ISLANDS
OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
COSMOPOLITAN RAILWAY
BRAZIL
RIO JANIERO
NEW ZEALAND
RICAN
AND CORRECT
WORLD
70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

thought by many to be chimerical, giving it the aid of both tongue and pen. In a speech delivered at Wakerusa, now Lawrence, Kansas, and again at Independence, he says: "We perceive in the formation of the American continent a sublime simplicity, an economy of arrangement singular to itself, and the reverse of what distinguishes the rest of the world. The continents of the old world resemble a bowl placed bottom upward, which scatters everything poured upon it, whilst northern America, right side up, receives and gathers toward its center whatever falls within its rim. In geography the antithesis of the old world, in society it will be the reverse. North America will rapidly attain to a population equalling that of the rest of the world combined, forming a single people identical in manners, language, and impulse, preserving the same civilization, imbued with the same opinions, and having the same political liberties."

In a speech delivered at St Louis on the 8th of January, 1850, on the then existing Indian policy, Colonel Gilpin said: "There is observable an arrangement of our people, in general, in these proportions: Agriculturists in the middle, southern, and central states, producers of articles for foreign export, are seventy per cent of the whole population of the union; agriculturists of the commercial states, producing food for the immediate consumption of their commercial cities, twenty per cent; commerce proper, which also includes manufactures, ten per cent." After the lecture a number of resolutions were offered and passed.

In London, in 1870, was published *Notes on Colorado; And its inscription in the Physical Geography of the North American Continent, by William Gilpin, Governor of the Territory of Colorado.* It is a 16mo brochure of 52 pages, and its contents were spoken before a large audience, under the auspices of the

British Association of Science, at Liverpool, on the 26th of September of that year.

It was one of Mr Gilpin's ablest efforts. It opens in this wise: "A glance of the eye thrown across the North American continent, accompanying the course of the sun from ocean to ocean, reveals an extraordinary landscape. It displays immense forces characterized by order, activity, and progress. The structure of nature, the marching of a vast population, the creations of the people, individually and combined, are seen in infinite varieties of form and gigantic dimensions. Farms, cities, states, public works, define themselves, flash into form, accumulate, combine, and harmonize. The pioneer army perpetually advances, reconnoitres, strikes to the front. Empire plants itself upon the trails. Agitation, creative energy, industry, throb throughout and animate this crowding deluge. Conclusive occupation, solidity, permanence, and a stern discipline attend every movement and illustrate every camp. The American realizes that progress is God. He clearly recognizes and accepts the continental mission of his country and his people. His faith is impregnably fortified by this vision of power, unity, and forward motion."

In another place it says: "It fell to my lot, during the years from 1840 to 1845, alone and in extreme youth, to seek and chalk out, in the immense solitudes filling the space from Missouri to China, the lines of this dazzling empire of which we now hold the oracular crown, to have stood by its cradle, to be the witness of its miraculous growth."

Thus in perusing the life of William Gilpin, the philosophic reader cannot fail to have noticed underlying principles governing all; strong currents of original and practical thought sweeping before them old-time dogmas and superstitions. His great mind, like Humboldt's, absorbing and retaining all knowledge, in his elucidations thereof he seems like one

perched above the world, and taking in at one glance all lands and all times.

He sees the several continents surrounded by the several oceans, the continents of Europe and Asia being convex in their configuration, thus isolating peoples and products, and engendering diversity of interests and general distraction, while the continent of America is concave in its structure, tending to homogeneity and harmonious unity.

He sees the mountain and river systems of the old world running with the latitudinal lines, thus restricting animals and plants each to their climatic zone, and preventing that free social and commercial intercourse which tends to the highest development; while in the new world the mountain and river systems run longitudinally across isothermal lines, thus breaking the barriers of configurations and climates, and throwing together the various productions of earth and man.

He sees extending along the summit of the great American Andes a system of plateaux and parks, high in ethereal air, where men or gods may dwell and achieve their ultimate endeavor. Along this line extends the natural course for a continental railway connecting the railway systems of America with those of Europe, thus bringing the whole world together by continuous iron track with only the ferriage of the strait of Bering.

He sees the power of population trailing in from the old world, and overspreading the new, whose elevation of intellect and extension of capabilities with all the collateral comforts and blessings attendant thereunto it is the mission of the American people to accomplish. The pioneer army are already here at work, absorbing and assimilating to our advanced ideas and institutions the effete civilizations of Asia and Europe.

He sees the great heart of American society palpitating with new fires impelled by a universal instinct, inspiring discipline in action and rectitude of purpose.

He sees a divine light issuing from the obscurity

of the past, shining upon our country and our people, illuminating alike the recesses of nature and the intellect of man.

He sees that in the first three centuries now rolling over our race upon this continent, from nothing we have become one hundred millions of people. From nothing we have grown to be in agriculture, commerce, and native ability the first among existing nations; and this is but the beginning. We have yet vast areas of the continent to subdue, and to perfect the industries and institutions of the parts whose occupation is begun.

Such is the mission of the North American people, to animate their own future millions and cheer them upward, to establish new order in human affairs, and regenerate superannuated nations, to confirm the destiny of the human race, to perfect science, to emblazon history with the conquest of peace, and shed a new and resplendent glory on mankind.

Physically and intellectually Governor Gilpin presents a striking figure. Full six feet in height, weighing 160 pounds, graceful in his movement, courteous in manner, fine Greek head well set on good square shoulders, big brain pan, dark brown hair turned grayish, dark hazel eyes still bright and penetrating, nervous-sanguine temperament, and a decided military bearing, he carries us back to the old school of thorough-bred soldiers and statesmen of continental times. And if ancestry, birth, and breeding, if ability, activity, and integrity throughout the course of a long and checkered life, count for aught, then shall the name of William Gilpin forever be entitled to proud distinction.

He has a strong and retentive memory, a brilliant imagination, and an invigorating and elastic mind replete with learning. Both manners and intellect are redundant, even perhaps in some respects to eccentricity; but clear, and for the most part cool, collected, and sensible and practical. He has ever

been a great student, no less of nature than of books. It was during his travels in the mountains, with such books in his knapsack as the *Cosmos* of Humboldt, the *Vegetable Chemistry* of Liebig, *Tacitus*, *Shakspeare*, and *De Tocqueville's Democracy in America*, that the facts regarding their anatomy came to his mind, configurations, soils, climates, and the evolution of the race being almost continually in his thoughts.

In reading the published life of Governor Gilpin's ancestor, of three hundred years ago, Bernard, the Apostle of the North, I was struck by the similarity of many of their salient characteristics. "His person was tall and slender," the book goes on to say, "in the ornament of which he was at no pains. He had a peculiar aversion to the fopperies of dress. In his diet he was very temperate, rather abstemious. His parts were very good. His imagination, memory, and judgment were lively, retentive, and solid. His acquirements were as considerable. By an unwearied application he had amassed a great store of knowledge, and was ignorant of no part of learning at that time in esteem. His temper was actively warm; and in his youth we meet with instances of his giving way to passion; but he soon got more command of himself, and at length entirely corrected that infirmity. His disposition was serious, yet among his particular friends he was commonly cheerful, sometimes facetious. His general behavior was very affable. Never did virtue sit with greater ease on any one, had less moroseness, or could mix more agreeably with whatever was innocent in common life. He had a most extraordinary skill in the art of managing a fortune. Extravagance with him was another name for injustice. Amidst all his business he found leisure to look into his affairs, well knowing that frugality is the support of charity. His intimacies were but few. His sincerity was such as became his other virtues." Thus are the traits of a good man who lived three centuries back found so vividly reproduced in a descendant of to-day.

A later, and probably the most important literary work of his life, is *The Cosmopolitan Railway, Compacting and Fusing Together All the World's Continents,* published in 1891.

"The purpose of this book is to throw a stronger light upon an obscure region, and invest with fresh interest a fascinating subject. In the consummation of the grand scheme of a Cosmopolitan Railway will be forged another link in the great chain of progress, which is slowly, but surely, uniting in one race, one language, and one brotherhood all the people of the earth.

"It will unfold to man a field of new possibilities, such as from the beginning nature has ever been revealing, as the human intellect was prepared to understand them. For although nature abounds in resources, and is lavish of her gifts, it is for man, civilized man, to utilize and draw from them wealth to economize, and so multiply even these abundant resources."

Governor Gilpin is a good scholar; his learning is broad and deep, his fund of information remarkable. He is a striking speaker; with nervous energy and gesticulation he drives home his arguments, while his generalizations are most brilliant. Like Montaigne, knowing himself, the world, and books, he talks with much shrewdness, dealing throughout in the positive degree, and uses liberally sarcasm and invective.

"Intellect," says Plato, "is king of heaven and earth." The world of nature is at the disposition of mind; philosophy penetrates all surfaces, while inspiration sweeps them. Theories may be defective, but mountains and oceans remain. Nature gives the law; intellect perceives it.

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY INFLUENCES DOMINATING THE NORTHWEST.

British and American Occupation—The Great Monopoly—Government, Society, and Progress of Oregon—Life of William S. Ladd—Boyhood and Education—Early Struggles—His Influence on the Destinies of Oregon—Marriage—Banking—Stock-raising—Phenomenal Success—His Benefactions—William M. Ladd—Characteristics.

The Northwest Coast, as the Oregon region was early called, had long been claimed by Spain on the ground of contiguity, and especially under the title of prior discovery and exploration, to which she had been driven by jealousy of Russian entry from Siberia. When its rich fur resources attracted trading fleets toward the close of the eighteenth century, she hastened once more to assert her sovereignty by seizing English vessels as intruders, and attempting to establish a fortified station at Nootka. The consequent dispute resulted in the convention of 1790, whereby the British were allowed to trade and settle on the coast at will, without prejudice to Spanish territorial claims. Spain cared little for this region, and finding mythical the long rumored strait to the Atlantic, which had been here her chief concern, and that her California colonies would evidently be safe for the present, she withdrew, making no further attempt to flaunt her colors in the north.

This abandonment left the field open to other nationalities, particularly traders from the United States, who soon absorbed most of the fur-gathering from the English vessels, suffering as these did under

the monopoly of the Oriental markets by the East India and South Sea companies. The trade was attended by official exploration on the part of their government, by an attempted colony under Winship, and by permanent establishments under Astor, whose aim was to eclipse the rival companies of Canada, to form a line of posts across the Rocky mountains, and gain glory as the founder of a United States Pacific empire. His expeditions established in 1811 the entrepôt Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia river, and then planted stations in the interior.

Meanwhile Canadian competitors had entered the same field, after a fierce rivalry on the eastern slope, first between the original French founders of the fur trade and the Hudson's Bay company, a struggle from which the latter issued triumphant by the cession in 1763 of all French territory to England. Now the strife burst forth among the British traders, or rather licensed associations, to which the crown restricted the business, vainly hoping thereby to check irresponsible disorders. Of these two stood preëminent the old Hudson's Bay company, and the recent Northwest company, the latter composed, in its active elements, of men selected with great care, by vote, for their experience and energy, backed by a few capitalists, who figured as agents and purveyors, and who took care to sustain the zeal of able workers by promotion and a share in the profits. The Northwest men quickly outstripped the older firm, encroaching upon the domain claimed as exclusive under a doubtful charter, advancing beyond it into the unexplored northwest, and finally crossing the Rocky mountains, establishing between 1805–10 several stations from Peace river to the Okanagan. War breaking out between England and the United States, they seized the opportunity to buy Astor's possessions, and obtain sole control of the new field.

Donald McTavish, one of the oldest members of the

company, came over to organize the new department of the Columbia. Bold and blunt, sincere as a friend, undisguised as a foe, he was skilled in the artifices of trade and Indian intercourse, and neglected no means to assure the one and harmonize the other. As interior manager he selected Donald McKenzie, lately of Astor's party, who subsequently became governor of the Red river colony, while men like D. W. Harmon attended to the New Caledonia district. Such was their success that by 1817 over 300 Canadians kept three vessels busy in bringing supplies, and transporting the peltry of this slope, and promised to afford scant opportunity for the rival company, which was then preparing to contest this field. The prospect of a renewal here of the bloody feuds marking the eastern competition, led the government to mediate, and the two opponents were united in 1821, under the title of the older name of the Hudson's Bay company, and with a license for exclusive trading in British hyperborean America for twenty-one years. This privilege was subsequently extended into the sixties, the crown retaining the right to cancel it, or to withdraw any tract for settlement, and to appoint magistrates and obtain the surrender of criminals. In 1869 the company transferred its territorial rights to the dominion of Canada for £300,000, reserving only a small tract round each station.

The company divided its domain into four departments, three in the east, and the fourth, that of the Columbia, comprising the Pacific slope. This was subdivided into the Oregon and Western, the former covering all of the subsequent United States territory, and these, in time, into eight districts, with thirty posts in 1857. The northern received the largest attendance of Indians, with the best and most abundant peltry, the south being valued chiefly for its beavers.

There were nine grades of offices and service, two more than in the Northwest company, headed by an American governor, residing at a central point in the

east, and subject only to the London governor and directors. Next to him stood the chief factors, twenty-five in number, in charge of departments or factories, and classed as full shareholders; third, the chief traders, or half shareholders, twenty-eight in number and in charge of important posts; fourth, chief clerks, in charge of union posts, or expeditions; fifth, apprenticed clerks, a kind of forest midshipmen; sixth, postmasters, usually promoted from the ranks, and often in charge of small posts; seventh, interpreters, generally laborers; eighth, voyagers or boatmen; ninth, laborers, who attended to any rough work, including artisans' tasks. The laborer could rise only to postmaster; but apprentices became, after five years of good service, entitled to a full clerkship; afterward they might be promoted to the rank of chief trader and factor, or even governor. The board of proprietors of the Northwest company had absorbed the office of governor, the latter term being applied to commanders of posts or districts. Chief factors were ex-officio members of the general council, seven, with the governor, forming a quorum, at some central point. At all principal stations a local council sat annually, composed of shareholders, to assign posts and duties, settle disputes, and punish infractions.

Higher servants, a title which none below the rank of postmaster could receive, enjoyed commissions in addition to a salary, the income of chief traders ranging between £400 and £800. Laborers received on an average £17 a year; apprentices began usually with £20, obtaining as clerks £100 or £150; some took rations instead of the usual board. No traffic for personal profit was allowed. Two factors and two traders might annually retire in rotation; wintering in the field for five years entitled them to half profits for six years; leave of absence was liberal. Subordinates must above all be obedient. The company managed to furnish their employés with Indian

wives, who must in return for their rations do some slight work. After the expiration of their term, fifty acres of land could be had on condition of a month's service annually for seven years, but this gave little hope for comfort or independence. Disobedience was punished with heavy fines, which often left little surplus from the pittance, and liquor and extravagance placed many at the mercy of the monopoly. The latter took its risks in the advances of goods and provisions to hunting parties of employés or Indians, the repayment of which depended generally on results. Most of the servants were Scotchmen, with a few Irishmen and fewer English, while the lower ranks were drawn chiefly from French Canadians and half-breeds. In 1846 there were over 500 articled men and 55 officers; but the total force was larger, reaching in 1857 about 3,000 men, the proprietors numbering nearly 240. Post commanders received appointment as justices of the peace from the crown, thus rendering the company additionally autocratic, for appeals were difficult to obtain.

Monopoly undoubtedly tended to serfdom among the employés, although business prudence checked injustice and maletreatment, and it also sought to keep back settlers and prevent farming or other civilizing agencies; they could make more money out of savagism. Decided advantages were, however, conveyed by licenced exclusiveness in the prudent administration of territorial wealth, and in the humane treatment of the natives with the attendant preservation of order and security, restriction of drunkenness, and the healthy emulation in hunting and purveying, with other practical incentives to industry and improved habits of life. The Spanish religio-military method of civilizing lacked the means of improvement, and reduced the native in position and ambition to a child, of which soldiers and the succeeding settlers took advantage, enslaving and teaching them vice. The Anglo-Americans were still worse in their selfish

dealings, when not controlled by hope of gain, using them as tools or regarding them as pests, partly from a fear of just retaliation from outrages; or driving the aboriginal holders by force from tracts desired for themselves. The United States government accepted them as wards, but surrendered them to the mercy of politicians and corrupt agents, who neglected to carry out stipulations. The British government kept better faith and more responsible agents.

The policy of the fur companies differed. They sought no gold or land; they depended upon the Indians for trade, for food, and for the safety of their scattered parties. Hence they courted them with gifts and credit, with considerate treatment, keeping all promises and threats. The conspicuous defect of the Indians was their disregard for property rights, which led to many other troubles. Harmonious and safe intercourse required this to be checked with inexorable strictness, yet without the wanton infliction upon guilty and innocent alike which has marked the Indian policy in general, and engendered wide ill-feeling. The United States has spent some five hundred million dollars and countless lives in wars, while in British territory, where Indians are amenable to and protected by law, bloody battles were rare. A common procedure on the part of the hunters was to interdict an offending tribe from all traffic, with its coveted liquor and baubles and blankets, until culprits were surrendered. This made the entire band jealously observant of the conduct of each member. Occasionally the effect of a cannon shot was demonstrated, or chiefs were seized for hostages. The threat to fire the powder magazine saved more than one post from attack, as did jugglery with pretended Pandora-boxes containing small-pox and other dreaded scourges. Intrigue was added to array tribes against one another, to prevent alliances, to withhold arms, to favor ambitious and friendly leaders above insolent chiefs, to tickle the vanity of influential men with

honors and authority to be exercised for the safety of whites, to circumvent the obdurate by winning over their children. Traders who had encountered trouble were also moved to other districts, so as to lessen the cause for discontent.

The company favored the taking of concubines or wives from among the Indians, mainly to win their alliance or good will, and partly to obtain half-breed servants, who could be relied upon for their devotion to the fur-traders, and for their influence with the natives. The half-breeds generally unite the aboriginal sluggishness of mind with civilized proclivities to drink and disease, those of French descent being more frivolous than children of staid Scotchmen. In the far interior, they enjoy a contented position, despite their lack of practical energy, but with the approximation of Anglo-Saxon settlers, they begin to feel their inferiority and bitter disadvantage.

Liquor-dealing was not advocated, because it undermined the industry and efficiency of the natives as hunters, and made them quarrelsome, but its potency as a medium for trade was unequalled; with the field to itself, however, the Hudson's Bay company generally suppressed the traffic.

Under consolidated sway, the administration of the fur-traders upon the slope assumed a fresh and vigorous phase. In 1818, the United States' flag was raised anew and officially over Astoria, without prejudice to territorial claims over the Northwest coast, to which the citizens of both the contending nations were to have free access until later negotiations should decide the title. Nevertheless, the British assumed that the southern region must fall to their opponent, and that the Columbia would be the boundary. With this idea, and the natural objection of living under a foreign flag at Astoria, the Hudson's Bay company, in 1825, founded new headquarters at Fort Vancouver, on the north bank of the river, selecting a fertile

site opposite the Willamette, central for interior operations along this great boat route, and adapted for a prospective capital. Agriculture was started here, and toward Puget sound, on a scale sufficient to meet an export trade to Alaska and the Hawaiian islands. At the latter point, an agency was opened for exchanging flour, lumber, and fish for groceries and other necessaries, and at San Francisco bay another branch, to barter European goods for hides, tallow, and peltries. The market among the Russians, northward, for imported as well as home products, was increased by the lease of the southern shore line of Alaska, which permitted also the more energetic British traders to encroach upon districts beyond, and outbid the Russians. These and other measures served to sustain the large revenue drawn from the Pacific slope. While the returns from the posts in Oregon declined, stations were advanced into the remote north by way of compensation.

The supreme board of directors at London had little influence upon the management of the American field, so long as revenues were maintained, if possible with prudent dignity and order. Experience had shown them that trade must be left largely to find its own channels, guided by men directly engaged therein. Hence, even the superior council and governor residing on the Canadian slope gave only general directions and suggestions, leaving to annual local meetings the more essential as well as subordinate control.

This governor was George Simpson, a natural son of the uncle of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic explorer, who gaining the good-will of the earl of Selkirk's family, was given an appointment in the Hudson's Bay company's service. He needed nothing more; a bright, clear intellect and native shrewdness did the rest, sustained by a strong constitution and physique, not exactly imposing, but of a medium size, well-knit, with redundant animal spirits reflected in the finely chiselled features and clear blue eye. He ad-

vanced quickly, to the position of governor of a district in 1820, and soon after to governor-in-chief. Entering upon work when the association was prostrated by long and ruinous competition, by his keenness and activity he brought order out of confusion, and raised the company to the highest pitch of prosperity. Absolute in many respects, he was responsible only to the board at London. In 1839 he received a baronetcy for his services in organizing the Arctic expedition under Dease and Simpson. He bought Isle Durnal, for a place of abode, and built there a splendid residence, where, in 1860, he extended the courtesies of the company to the prince of Wales. He died the following year.

Simpson crossed the Rocky mountains on three occasions, in 1824, to reorganize the department, in 1828–9, and in 1841. He suggested many improvements, and approved the plans for carrying trade to the adjoining coasts. On the first and second journeys he returned as he came, across the British Columbia section of the Rocky mountains; the third journey was extended to Alaska, California, and the Hawaiian islands, and through Siberia to Russia, round the world, as published in his *Narrative*. His journey was like the march of a monarch, with a numerous train, and with salvos, bunting, and processions at the stations, particularly at St James, the capital of western Caledonia, and at Vancouver. It was well to impress the attending native tribes with such pomp, and the fort-dwellers were only too glad of such diversion. At the Islands receptions were tendered by Sir J. H. Pelly, sometime the London governor of the Hudson's Bay company, who was succeeded by A. Colville, the patron of Simpson.

The Pacific had also its governor, who, owing to remoteness from Canada and direct communication with London, became quickly the most prominent of the department commanders, and in time almost independent of the American governor-in-chief, and

accountable to the directory. At this period of the consolidation, the charge at Fort St George or Astoria was held by James Keith, partner in the Northwest company, who was now given the superintendency of the Montreal department. He soon retired to Aberdeen, Scotland, with a fortune, and married, there to meet his death by slipping upon an orange peel, after passing unscathed through the perils of a long career in wild and savage lands.

His successor, John McLaughlin of Fort Francis, Rainy lake, arrived on the Columbia in 1824, in company with Governor Simpson, with plans for reörganization. He had entered the service of the Northwest company early in the century as physician; but a quick perception and natural aptitude for business commended him to the management for various commissions, and he gradually abandoned drugs for peltries. Bright and educated, he stood conspicuous above the mercenary fur-trader or coarse immigrant, and impressed white men and red-skins alike by his commanding intellect and presence. Body, mind, and heart were all carved in gigantic proportions. His tall, powerful figure, over six feet in height was usually arrayed in black, and crowned with long snow-white locks, which made singularly appropriate the name of White Eagle given him by the natives. His associates styled him the Emperor of the West. His eye bore indeed the eagle stamp, fiery at times with rare momentary outbursts, but more frequently beaming with innate goodness of heart. His influence over the savages was remarkable. Before his coming the coast was not safe except for armed bands. His wise and benign policy changed this, and transformed the savage into a steadfast friend. He treated him as a human being, not forgetting he was but a child; and as to a child he spoke to him, kindly yet firmly, rewarding the deserving, punishing the wrong-doer, surely if not severely. Equally strict was he over the company's servants.

In some directions he displayed the Englishman's fondness for pomp, chiefly in the presence of the natives. He was given to sociability and free-heartedness; nor would he tolerate profanity or inappropriate levity. So determined was he in character, and so bent upon having his own way when he knew it to be right, that the directory at London had difficulty in controlling him. Unswerving in integrity, he was no less so in following the path outlined by conscience, in the interests of justice and humanity.

On his arrival he was chief trader, but was soon made chief factor, and not long afterward governor of all the Hudson's Bay company's affairs west of the Rocky mountains, with ever increasing power and importance. He deserved indeed this confidence, for little fault was found in him save a questioning of the policy of combining with fur-trading agricultural and other pursuits, undoubtedly profitable, yet in the end fatal to exclusiveness. One other so-called infirmity was his humane treatment of the United States immigrants, which created the outcry that he was becoming more American than English, more farmer than trader. Blind to the fact that Yankee immigration was inevitable and resistance futile, so that a considerate attitude was politic as well as humane, the shareholders called for a less philanthropic manager. As a primary step to his deposal, they associated with him in the management two other members; and then, on the strength of certain unfavorable reports, made partly by his colleague and protégé, Douglas, they undertook to reprimand him. He resigned, and retired in the spring of 1846 to Oregon city, where he died eleven years later, embittered by misplaced confidence and litigation. Like most fur-trading officials, he took to himself a chief's daughter, whom he subsequently married under clerical prompting. His daughters married prominent traders. John McLaughlin was too great and good a man successfully to serve a monopoly.

Lying to the northwest of the United States, between the Rocky mountains and the Pacific ocean, and extending northward from the forty-second parallel of latitude, is situated the vast region to which was given in early days the name of Oregon, an appellation now applied to about one-third of the original area. A glance at the physical features of the present state of Oregon will result in the recognition of an extreme diversity of surface and consequent variety of climate. Intersected longitudinally by the lofty Cascade range, and transversely in the northeastern portion of the state by the Blue mountains, the country presents wide variations in configuration, soil, and resources.

West of the Cascade range, between it and a lower chain which rims the seaboard, stretches from north to south the beautiful and fertile valley of the Willamette, into which open innumerable others of smaller size, like the affluents of some great river. In the south lie the devious valleys of the Umpqua and Rogue rivers, resting in a conglomeration of hills and mountains, the silent proofs of terrestrial turmoil. East of the Cascade range extend elevated plains, some rich in pasture grounds for cattle, others waterless and barren. Still farther east, among the Blue mountains, and beyond them to Snake river, lies a mining region intersected with cañons and innumerable gulches and small streams. There are forests also, not spread over vast areas of level surface, but covering the mountain sides, and the lowlands along the rivers and streams. Few countries, in the distribution of woodlands and prairies can offer more attractions and greater advantages to the agriculturalist than western Oregon.

Previous to 1834, there were no people in this country, except a few Canadian settlers in the Willamette valley, who were retired servants of the Hudson's Bay company. Nature was bountiful to the Indians of Oregon in her supplies of subsistence.

Herds of elk and deer pastured in great numbers in the valley meadows; bears were plentiful in the forests; water-fowl of many kinds were abundant; and the woods and groves dotting the prairies were rich in wild fruits and berries, and alive with game birds, grouse, pheasant, and quail. The rivers were well stocked with salmon, and the streams and brooks with trout. Such were the natural resources.

The people to whom all this was originally given may be divided into three classes, namely, those of the coast, those of the mountains, and those of the plains. Each class exhibited marked characteristics, consequent upon surroundings, habits of life, and food. Lowest in the scale were the coast dwellers, the mountaineers and people of the plains being both above them. Hearing of the Christians, and how heaven favors them, four Flathead chiefs went to St Louis about 1832, and asked for teachers. Two years later, the methodists sent missionaries, who, instead of the rugged Flathead country, chose for a mission site the Willamette valley, near the settlements of the Canadians, with other stations elsewhere. The presbyterians next erected buildings near Fort Walla Walla. Missionary work did not pay, however, either with the white men or the red; whereupon the apostles to this region began to attend more to their own affairs than to the saving of savage souls. They broke up their establishments in 1844, and henceforth became a political clique, whose chief aim was to acquire other men's property.

Meantime colonization set in, encouraged by the aspiring missionaries. As long as the boundary question remained undetermined, the position of the settlers was anomalous. They were on debatable ground; neither the United States nor the British government could extend jurisdiction over them. Some form of rule was necessary, and in 1843 a provisional government was organized. Political factions followed. There was the methodist party, which hoped to con-

trol affairs, and the catholic party, determined it should not if the latter could help it. Among the settlers, numbers of influential persons were opposed to the formation of a government, so long as peace and harmony existed, while the new settlers did not relish the idea of a governor being appointed from the methodist missionaries. Again, others objected to the scheme on the ground that the majority of the population being catholic would elect officers of that creed. The methodists, however, by the exercise of some diplomacy, carried the day.

In 1845 three thousand persons arrived, doubling the white population. The same underlying causes for this migratory movement existed as in the previous years, namely, dissatisfaction with home, want of a market, and distance from the sea; to which may be added antagonism to the British, and a determination not to allow that nation to come into possession of Oregon. This and other migrations were worked up by eastern politicians to save Oregon to the United States, as they termed it. With their representations of rich lands for nothing, they induced a large number of persons to emigrate.

In 1846 the boundary question was decided, and Oregon became a portion of the United States; in August 1848 the territory of Oregon was created by congress. The slavery question caused delay. Meantime Oregon was engaged in a bloody contest with hostile Indians.

The people of Oregon at this time were industrious, honest, and hospitable. They constituted a new and novel community, whose condition and requirements evoked a moral tone. They had to labor in order to live; most of the settlers having passed through the ordeal of destitution on their arrival, and having been received with generous assistance, were ready to extend the same to others. In due time came prosperity Their farms yielded grain and vegetables abundantly; cattle and sheep were brought from California.

Some little trade was carried on with the Hawaiian islands, but it was of small benefit to the farmers, owing to the exclusiveness of the Hudson's Bay company's rules, which made it obligatory that their vessels should carry none but the cargoes of the company. As their vessels were almost the only ones at this time plying up and down the coast, and to and from Honolulu, the want of means for exportation was severely felt. A few other vessels there were belonging to merchants, who adopted the same rule, refusing to take freight on shipper's account. They were thus able to keep down the price of wheat, and load their vessels with it at small cost, to their own great profit. Thus the flouring mills and granaries were overstocked, while lumber and shingles were made in quantities that could not be disposed of. Much inconvenience, also, was caused by the nature of the currency, which consisted of government scrip, orders on merchants, and drafts on wheat; for of gold and silver coin there was hardly any. But a change in the condition of affairs was near.

When the news of the gold discovery in California reached Oregon, quite an excitement followed. Many went southward, while some increased their productions to meet an extended market. Henceforth Oregon had nothing to complain of as regards her trade and industries. But apart from material advantages derived from the gold discovery, a change was effected in the habits of the people. An advance was made from straitened circumstances, necessitating thrift and economy, to a more comfortable prosperity. Had California continued to plod along in her former pastoral life, Oregon would have long remained in a measure isolated. The settlers' children, with poor educational facilities, would not be what they now are, intelligent and enterprising. Another consequence of the rush to California was the exploration of the southern portion of Oregon, the discovery of gold there, as well as in the region east of the

Cascade range, the influx of new comers, the founding of towns, and the settlement of the Umpqua and Rogue river valleys. This consummation was not accomplished without trouble from the savages.

In September 1850 a donation act was passed, granting 640 acres to each married settler, a citizen of the United States or intending to become such, and 320 acres to a single man. At a later date amendatory acts were passed which provided that the widows of men, who had they lived would be entitled to claim under the act, were granted all that their husbands would have been entitled to had they lived; and to each of the orphan children of the earliest settlers 160 acres were granted. Any immigrant who became a resident before December 1850, could avail himself of the privileges of the donation law, and the opportunity thus presented of obtaining land free of cost attracted no small number of immigrants, and materially aided in developing agriculture.

With regard to British possessory rights, which according to the terms of the treaty were to be respected, so undefined were their claims, and so determined were the American squatters, that the Hudson's Bay Company was glad to sell to the United States for what it could get. In 1853 the region north of the Columbia was segregated, and the territory of Washington created. When Oregon was made a territory, the local political cliques declined, and the two great national parties, the whigs and democrats, came forward. For a time the democrats dominated; and it was not until 1857 that the republicans, who had taken the place of the whigs, began to lift up their heads. The democratic party had so conducted affairs during the Indian war of 1855–6, as to alienate a number of influential supporters. The question of admission as a state arising, the point to be determined was as to whether it should be a free or a slave state.

In 1859 Oregon was admitted into the union as a

free state. As the time approached when the great struggle between the north and south was to commence, anti-slavery ideas gained ground; and in the election of 1860 the state went republican, and continued in favor of the union throughout the war. After the conclusion of the war the political elements gradually readjusted themselves, and democracy again became dominant. While the contest lasted, the state had to depend on her own resources for defence against the Indians, who were hostile in eastern Oregon, which had been opened by the discovery of mines on the John Day and Powder rivers, and in Idaho. Several campaigns had to be undertaken for their subjugation, not always attended with success. There followed the Shoshone war in 1866–8, succeeded later by other troubles with the natives, whom it was difficult to keep on the reservations to which from time to time they were removed.

But these troubles, though grievous at the time, could not arrest the onward march of the young state. Agriculture on the west side of the Cascade range, and cattle-raising on the east, have progressed since 1870 in an extraordinary degree; flocks of sheep pasture on the mountain slopes and hills, and wool has become one of the staple productions of the country. Coal mines are worked in the neighborhood of Coos bay, quartz mining is carried on in the northeastern portion of the state, and gravel mining by the hydraulic process in the southwestern. Hand in hand with agricultural and pastoral success the manufacturing industries have advanced. Saw and flouring mills continue their great work; foundries and machine shops are increasing; commerce has expanded in due proportion.

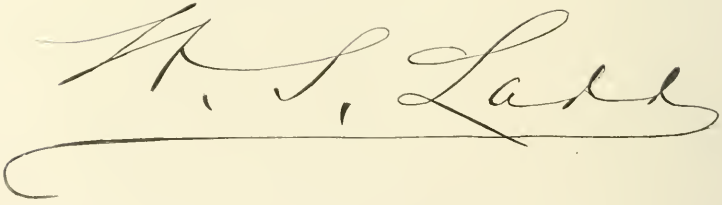
In a social point of view progress is equally marked. Universities and colleges have been founded; a public school system has been brought to high perfection; benevolent institutions have been erected; and societies and associations have been organized, all tending

to the advancement of the state. Libraries, churches, and a widely extended press exercise their usual influence as factors in the elevation of the people. A spirit of brotherhood in public benefactions was early displayed, leading to the most beneficial results.

And here we may find it profitable to pause in this analysis, and give one or two examples from among the individual experiences of those who came early hither to take a part in the building of this commonwealth, to supplement the work of those who had reclaimed the country from savagism as well as from British sovereignty, and assist in and carry forward that marvellous development which has placed the state of Oregon in one of the most enviable of positions.

The missionaries and pioneer settlers of the northwest did much to secure the country to the United States. Had there been no movement of the kind, England would have extended her claim over the whole territory with a fair prospect of making it her own. But the missionaries and farmers alone never would have made Oregon; they never would have poured out wealth so lavishly to erect churches, establish institutions of learning, make roads, clear the streams for navigation, and build a beautiful metropolis. The early merchants of Portland were the principal builders of the commonwealth of Oregon, particularly in its later development. It was, indeed, some time before the merchants themselves could enlarge their field and enter upon this comprehensive work; they had first to make their wealth. The growth of the country about them was slow, and it suffered a long period of isolation; but there was a quiet power and depth of purpose inherent in these men such as are sure in the end to outstrip evanescent effort, no matter how strong or brilliant it may be.

William Sargent Ladd took a place among these



men of character at once, and from the time he secured a foothold he has gone forward in advance of many other competitors, doing more as a builder for himself and family, and in so doing contributing more to the growth of the country than most other large factors in his community; so that at the close of the year 1889 he was clearly recognized as the most prominent figure in the northwestern states, possessing greater resources and power, and capable of exercising greater influence and control than any other citizen in that section.

Seldom is seen preëminently conspicuous throughout the incipent stages and later development of a progressive commonwealth, one man to whom is accorded continuously a foremost place by general consent. New countries, under the latter day impulses of steam and electricity, go forward often in plunges, rather than in the steady advance of older communities, so that during the period of a quarter or half century it is not unusual to find the men of strength and influence rising and falling by the way, new issues being met by new leaders, those who laid the earlier foundations of society feeling their hold on affairs gradually relaxing as time runs on. Oregon is an exception to the rule, in the colonization particularly of gold-bearing lands, and Mr Ladd is an exception to the rule in Oregon. True, others who came earlier to the country took their position in the front rank, and, with integrity unimpaired, lived honored and successful lives. There are four men, who arrived there in the spring of 1851, who have probably done more than any other four men on the Pacific coast to elevate the tone of politics and society, and keep pure the moral sentiment of the community. Proportionately more of the prominent merchants and bankers of early Oregon than of the prominent early Californians retained their grip on destiny, and controlled themselves and their business in such a way, as still to be able to control the

affairs of the country up to the later period of their lives. Those who now are proud to call themselves Oregonians, came originally to Oregon to do exactly what they have done—to Americanize the country, and prepare the soil for the growth of free and enlightened institutions, on which to rear intelligent and virtuous societies.

Such species of colonization has been the good fortune of the eastern seaboard, but the fate of by far the largest portions of North America has been at the first to draw in a population coveting only immediate wealth, people from all quarters of the globe, intent on securing gold or furs, or encomiendas, for their quick enrichment, then to depart and enjoy their wealth elsewhere, caring nothing for the country or as to what should become of it thereafter. The effect of the high integrity and pure lives and spirit of home-building of some of the leading men of Portland, and other cities and towns throughout the state, which have naturally made the metropolis their model in the various lines of development, has been most beneficial. In the accumulation of wealth, power, and position there is a selfishness that considers only the individual and his more immediate belongings; and again, there is a nobler selfishness which ever guards the purity of society and the best interests of the state.

The name of Ladd, or Lade—both spellings belong distinctly to the same family—is essentially a Kentish name. It is found, originally, nowhere beyond the limits of county Kent and county Sussex, England, and all the documents point to the existence of but one family of Ladd previous to the 17th century. The origin of the name cannot be precisely determined, either as to date or the circumstances that suggested it. In fact the source of most Anglo-Saxon family names can rarely be determined satisfactorily, even where special pride or peculiar circumstances have tended to keep their genealogical history clear.

It is noteworthy that people of this blood, which is that which gives character and body to civilization in the United States, have looked more to the substance of things than to the details of heraldry; in contrast with the people of Latin origin, especially the Spaniards, who devote more time and care to such history than any other nationality. I commend them for it, though I am aware that if it comes to a question of work or the genealogical tree, they always lean toward the latter. Our people incline the other way; too much so, perhaps. The later day scions of Anglo-Saxon stock on this side of the Atlantic have, as a rule, rather acted on the idea that a man's life begins and ends with himself, which is not true in philosophy or in fact. The popular spirit prevails in our society and government, and a man's name, of itself alone, gives him no title to consideration. This is as it should be; and I hope the day will never come in this republican land of ours when it shall be otherwise. But there is an aristocracy of character in the United States, as well as in every other country inhabited by mankind, regardless of rank or condition. True worth everywhere gives vitality to the name of its possessor. By his usefulness and example he makes the name he bears honorable; it commands respect and has a force peculiar to itself. As an expression of definition of the man, his name becomes by virtue of his career a living power. A good name fairly earned is not less prized in America than in Europe, for pride of character, which is inseparable from pride of name, is universal, natural, and manly. It is only just that a fair name acquired in a republic should be as scrupulously guarded and as highly appreciated as anywhere else under the sun. Distinction achieved through talent and industry, and crystalized in a name is a sacred inheritance. There is no other heirloom half so precious. It is the duty and should be the ambition of those to whom it descends to honor it by maintaining it in its integrity and, if possible,

by enhancing its lustre by their own efforts. History abounds in incidents of virtue, courage and heroism to which men have been inspired by regard for a name inherited. I can conceive no motive for enterprise that is more just, no incentive to good works that is more commendable than this. In the acquisition of a good name through the vicissitudes of toil and struggle, a force is engendered that ought to be comprehended and preserved. To the extent that such a force or power is appreciated, it is a tonic. It is helpful in religion and morals, society and government. Wendell Phillips, who was one of the fairest exponents of the republican spirit that ever lived, charges us to garner up the experiences of our ancestry. Says he: "I can conceive of nothing more unfortunate than a lack of desire to understand the early foundations of our societies, or to explore the sources of individual power, which are the sum of national greatness. To neglect the merits of our fathers is a disgrace." Hence no one is called upon to apologize for cherishing a worthy family name. I should rather say it is inexcusable not to foster such an influence for the good that it is capable of at home and abroad, now and forever. Even if it only encourages others to go and do likewise, this of itself is a lesson from real life. It is an argument which every sensible young man heeds, because it interests and convinces him. It has been said that there is nothing in a name. Yet, withal, Archbishop Trench, certainly a high authority, says: "One word will often be found to contain more history than the narrative of an entire campaign." Sometimes a single word properly studied furnishes a text in morals which may be expanded into a better sermon than those ordinarily preached. And if this be true, how potent is a name about which cluster the associations of a long, active, and valuable life—a name which is the index to character. There is a charm in the very labor of tracing it to its source.

The estate of Bowyck in the Hundred of Boringsborough and the parish of Eleham was in very ancient times the residence of the Ladds. It is definitely known that this estate was in possession of the Ladds before the time of Henry VI, as various wills mentioning the fact executed by members of the family are still to be found in the prerogative office Canterbury.

Thomas Ladd died in possession of Bowyck Manor in 1515; so did his grandson, Vincent, in 1563. It passed, in 1601, through the marriage of Sylvester Ladd, daughter and co-heiress of Vincent Ladd, into the Nethersole family.

In 1730 John Ladd, a direct descendant of the above Vincent, was created a baronet by George II. In the next generation the baronetcy became extinct.

These facts are obtained from the following authorities: *W. H. Ireland's History of Kent*, 1, 199; *Hasten's Kent*, 11, 815; *Berry's Kent Geologies*, 342; *Berry's Sussex Geologies*, 248; *J. and J. B. Burke's History of Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1844.*

The *America Heraldica*, published in the year 1889, records the coming to America of Daniel Ladd and John Ladd, the former arriving in New England in 1623, and the latter in New Jersey, with other members of the Society of Friends in 1678. It is safe to assume, from documentary evidence already referred to, that these early immigrants, from whom many descendants have come, were from one and the same Kentish family originally. The early court records of Gloucester county give a connected history of the Ladd family in England, but prior to the dates referred to, little is known definitely.

John Ladd was a practical surveyor and, it is said, was employed by William Penn in laying out the city of Philadelphia, the tradition being that when he produced his bill for services rendered to the patroon, he declined to receive in payment a square of land in

what is now the heart of the city, preferring £35 sterling instead, which was the amount of his bill.

In 1688 John Ladd located a large tract of land in Gloucester county, comprising about 6,000 acres, and on it built a dwelling, known in the family as Candor Hall. For two or three generations a portion of this tract, about 2,000 acres, has been known as the Howell estate, coming into the latter family by the devise of John Ladd, junior, to John Ladd Howell, a son of Katherine Ladd, who married John Howell.

At the time of his death, John Ladd, as is shown by his operations in land, was one of the largest holders of real estate in the colony. He was also a man of good education, and held positions of responsibility.

He held a prominent place in the society of Friends; and although he adhered to plainness of dress and simplicity of habit, yet about his home could be seen evidence of things generally attendant upon wealth and liberality. His slaves, his plentiful board and his well-appointed household showed that the creature comforts were not neglected.

The grandson of his daughter Katherine, Joshua Ladd Howell, finally inherited the Candor Hall property, afterwards named by him Fancy Hall, by which title it has been known ever since, and a large part of the tract still remains in the Howell family.

The history of Daniel Ladd has not been written, except in the lives of his later descendants, whose traits, derived from him, would indicate that he was no less substantial in character than his relative John Ladd.

We have in William Sargent Ladd a conspicuous reproduction of those qualifications which have characterized the founders of his name—qualifications that have enabled him to give fresh vigor to it in a new country.

When Mr Ladd arrived in Oregon the country was young and strong; so was the man. Society was

immature and impressionable, and the young man's character was early stamped into it, as the image and superscription upon true metal, which should determine its value. He exercised at once a powerful, though unconscious, force for good. He was one of the four of 1851, reaching Portland on the 8th of April.

He was then in the twenty-fifth year of his age, having been born in Holland, in the northern part of Vermont, on the 10th of October, 1826. Full six feet in height, slim, sinewy, weight say 125 pounds, with large head well set on broad shoulders, high forehead of intellectual cast, dark brown hair, large and well-lighted gray eyes set back under prominent arched eyebrows, fine Grecian nose, and well-outlined mouth and chin, he dropped himself upon the bank of the Willamette like another Siegfried, whose presence should go far to dispel the gloom of moral mists incident to the approaching transformation.

Back in his old home, during the period of adolescence, he had been preparing himself for the battle of life, this very preparation forbidding him to remain at ease away from the conflict. His father was Nathaniel Gould Ladd, a man whose life and character are worthy of notice. Like all other New England boys of his generation, he was brought up in an atmosphere of labor and economy, a waste of substance and time being looked upon as disgraceful and ruinous. Labor was respectable and idleness a sin; frugality was part of the moral law, the fear of God governing all. It was a severe school, but it turned out men equal in body and mind to endure any hardship and overcome any obstacle; men who have been conservators of the country in every emergency, and the foremost agents in enterprise, invention and progress. Among them there was no distinction, except that which was based upon merit; no royal road to preferment. The soil was unfriendly, the climate inhospitable; a necessitous region, in

which the struggle of living began almost at the cradle. It has sometimes seemed to me that providence ordained this condition of things just so, in order that men of iron frame, indomitable spirit and severe morality might grow up in New England as a nursery from which to go out in their strength to settle and build up civilization in the wildernesses and waste places of the United States.

In this school of toilers Nathaniel Ladd, who was to offer a son of typical character for this work, was reared. He learned the lessons of his times well, both in manual labor and in the rudiments taught in the district school. He was ambitious beyond the rest of his companions, and not being contented to live the life of a farmer, he helped himself to higher education. By working at whatever his hands found to do in the spring and summer, he saved enough money to pay for attendance upon medical lectures in the winter, until he was entitled to and obtained his diploma as physician and surgeon in the medical department of Dartmouth college. He was very proud of the profession and grew strong in it, acquiring a large practice. He was a man of angles, possessing very little of what is styled policy. He was outspoken and blunt, and would never cater to the people to promote his practice. It was not in his nature to humor his patients, especially if they thought they were sick and he knew they were not. He was radical in his thinking, and had decided convictions on all matters that engaged his attention; in the maintenance of a principle he was independent and fearless, never stopping to count the cost of his words or his acts. Human slavery was revolting to his sense of manhood and justice, and he was an abolitionist at a time when it was anything but popular or politic to advocate such a sentiment. Convinced that it was a sin and a crime for one human being to hold another in bondage, he never hesitated, at any time or place, to stand up in defense

of this humane doctrine. He was severe in his ideas of right and wrong, and would never resort to or tolerate in others anything indirect or frivolous; a hard man in some respects, but conscientiously so. In whatever appeared to him to be right he was inflexible. In the government of his children, of whom he had ten, he applied the same discipline as that which he himself had passed through. "A healthy mind in a healthy body" was his ambition for them, and he did not conceive that it could be secured in any other way but that by which he had attained it. His dictum was that labor and study should go forward together hand in hand. As exemplified in himself, it had much to commend it. He was a small man in stature, but perfect in health, strong and active. He was still an athlete when over sixty years of age. He was very desirous that his son William should study medicine, but there were reasons why this was not to be—primarily, perhaps, on account of the manner in which it was proposed he should pursue his studies. The truth is that Doctor Ladd, without realizing it, was rigorous in the matter. He had ample means to educate his son in such a manner as would have made his proposed medical studies agreeable, but he saw no other mould for his son than the one in which he had been formed for the profession. It was not, I apprehend, that he was disposed to be ungenerous, so far as the expenditure of money was concerned, but that he thought it best for the boy to travel over the same rocky road that he had traveled to become a practitioner, and that any milder process would be to cheapen it in his son's appreciation and really to render it less valuable than it ought to be.

His wife, whose maiden name was Abigail Kelley Mead, was a native of New Hampshire, born August 7, 1806, his own birthday being July 13, 1798. He died at an advanced age, but at the close of 1889 his widow was still living, at Malden, Massachusetts, and, considering her great age, was well preserved. She

was of a modest, retiring disposition, and an exemplary member of the methodist church, to which her husband also belonged. She was quiet and undemonstrative, devoting her whole life to her family, and doing otherwise whatever good it was in her power to do. Her only apparent temporal ambition was that her children should grow up to be moral, religious and useful members of society. She was of very devout temperament, and it would have gratified her if her sons had become active ministers of the gospel in the methodist church. Her influence over her children was that of sympathy and affection, and very marked by reason of the example she set them. In personal appearance and way of living she did not differ greatly from many other good women of New England. Her family were among the very early settlers of that section of the country, whose characteristics for morality, thrift and intelligence have been eulogized by almost every American writer of note. Of her it need only be said that in her sphere she did her whole duty. Had her responsibilities been greater and her opportunities proportionate to them, it is not unlikely that she would have developed capabilities that were latent and not perceived. The only criterion, therefore, by which she could be judged was her surroundings. Her larger life may more properly be looked for in that of her children, whose field of labor has afforded them an opportunity for the development of that which is good in them and inherited from her. The virtues transmitted to them from her and confirmed in them by her example during life have probably been more instrumental than any other moral agency in forming their character and influencing their lives. Her impression upon her son William is unmistakable; for while he appears to be the counterpart of his father in decision of character, aggressiveness and will power, underlying these his mother's affectionate temper, religious fervor and sympathy with her fellow-beings are stamped upon him. The characters

of parents are thus constantly repeated in their children, though in such a manner as sometimes to escape the notice of the superficial observer. Acts of affection, discipline, industry and self-control which they daily exemplify live and act when all else that may have been learned has long been forgotten.

When William was about four years of age his parents first moved to Meredith village, New Hampshire, and three years later to a place called Sanbornton Bridge, in the same state, now known as Tilton, a village comprising two manufactories, two or three stores, two blacksmith shops, two wheelwright shops and the postoffice, with farms all around it. There the boy was reared and taught in those ways of body and mind which lead to success. There were good educational facilities in the place, which had a free school and an academy. Afterward a seminary was established there. William went to school during the winter, the rest of the year making himself useful in whatever way he could. This was the idea prevailing at that time as to how a boy should get an education. He could fairly compass what was to be taught in the schools of his neighborhood by studying at that season of the year when boys could be best spared from the farm—that is, in the winter; in other words, it was considered a matter of course that he should earn his tuition.

Doctor Ladd could readily have kept his son at school continuously during the year, but to do so was in conflict with the spirit of the times and contrary to his own views of utility, besides his ideas of thrift and saving were extreme, and if it had been suggested to him that his son should go to school uninterruptedly he would not have been able to see anything in it less than a violation of the laws of economy—such economy as makes men independent and self-reliant, but has a tendency also to make them hard and unsympathetic.

William was an apt scholar and fairly diligent, but

he was never cut out for a bookworm or a "dig," as the word is in college parlance nowadays; still, being a boy of good parts, he got his lessons with little difficulty, and always stood among the first in his class. Ideas he grasped readily, and when he came to demonstrating he knew what he was talking about. Some of his classmates depended upon him largely. A story is told of a heedless fellow who stood near him in the class one day, and when it came his turn to read he encountered a hard word that he could not pronounce. In a whisper he asked Ladd what it was. "Skip it," was the reply, also in a whisper. Being confused, and also convinced that anything Bill told him was right, he read the word as he got it from the latter's lips—"Skip it."

Young Ladd was full of animal spirit, and after having faithfully done the tasks set for him, he delighted to take part with the other boys in the sports that were in vogue at that time, and he played as he worked, with all his might. He was among the first to start and among the last to stop. He was very popular with his companions, and they would come around frequently and help him out with his "stint"—a word which we seldom hear now, but which was full of meaning then and there—in order that he might go with them to the ballground. It has been stated that his father wanted him to be a doctor, but he did not take kindly to medicine. His sympathetic nature made him dread contact with distress and pain such as the practitioner encounters; this, however, was his boyish idea of it; besides, the manner in which it was proposed that he should be educated for the profession did not offer him a pleasant prospect. His real ambition was to be a sailor and work himself up to the command of a ship; but back of this he was full of energy, active and eager to go out into the world and do something on his own account. These are the reasons why he did not follow in the professional footsteps of his father and become,

perhaps, a fixture in the neighborhood or state, in which it is hardly credible that he could have grown to such large usefulness as characterizes his life in the northwest, even though fortune had favored him and he had won a most commanding position in his native state. William would have gone to college, because other boys whose parents were no better off than his were sent there, but it was his father's theory that Latin could be learned at home as well as at college, so William was given this task to perform under the paternal roof coupled with such exactions that he finally lost all relish whatever for this classic.

It was not until he was fifteen years of age that William was really made to apply himself in earnest to labor; and then, the father having no farm of his own, let the boy try his hand at a neighbor's, who worked him very hard, calling him at half-past three in the morning, and keeping him going until eight or nine o'clock before the milking would be done. As the man for whom he worked paid him little or nothing, the father thought the boy's labor might as well be bestowed on land of his own as on that of another. So he bought fifteen acres of land on which were possibilities for labor equal to any other fifteen acres in New Hampshire. It was the roughest, rockiest and stumpiest spot that could be found in all that region, and William was set to work to clear it up. He had some help, but what was the help of one or two men when the rocks grew faster and faster the more the land was tilled. Nevertheless, those fifteen acres were made, in time, to yield wheat, oats, corn, hay and potatoes more than many another fifty acres thereabout.

Reaching the age of nineteen an unexpected honor was thrust upon the youth. Few New England boys or girls of moderate fortune have escaped the *experimentum crucis* of school-teaching at some period of their lives. One winter's day, on going to school as usual, the professor in charge called him and

requested him to step into the vestibule for a moment, where he introduced him to two strangers. "These gentlemen," said the professor, "are from Loudon, and they want a school-teacher for their district."

"I do not see how I can help them," said Ladd.

"The place is offered to you," continued the professor.

"But I have no desire to teach school," Ladd replied, "besides I am not competent."

"I will vouch for your ability," urged the professor.

"What school is it?" exclaimed Ladd, now becoming interested. On being told, he replied, "Oh, yes; nice place; three teachers already pitched out this winter." It fact the school was notorious as the roughest in all that region, with quite a fighting record. The young man accepted the place, however, undaunted by the difficulties he knew he had to encounter. He had a curiosity to see how he would behave when cornered by boys and girls bigger and stronger than himself. Besides he wanted to make a record for the honor of the district he represented.

Meanwhile tidings of the new turn in affairs reached the seat of learning, and the pugilistic pupils awaited the coming of the master. Forty-four boys and girls were present as the new pedagogue entered the school-room. Two boys, past twenty, and one girl, their sister, were generally leaders of the rebellion. The teacher sought by hard work and tact to keep the attention of the school fixed on interesting and improving studies, and as a rule he succeeded very well. He thus diverted their minds for awhile and staved off the evil day. But storms will brew in the moral as well as in the material universe, and long before it broke upon him the teacher felt it coming. First it became necessary to bring forward the girl for misbehavior and stand her on the floor before the school. On the morning following the two big boys came shuffling in and took their places by the stove. They were great swaggering fellows, either of whom

could take up the school-master with ease and pitch him out at the window.

"The school will come to order," said the master. All went to their places but the elder of the two loaferish brothers, who still stood by the stove. "Take your seat," said Ladd.

"I will take my seat when I get ready," was the reply. It was now or never. Pale as a ghost, though quick as a flash, Ladd was upon him. Before he was aware of it the fellow's heels were tripped up, and his face was churning the floor at such a vigorous and rapid rate that he soon roared lustily for mercy. The next day the father of the ringleaders in the rebellion came around. He did not care about the thrashing his son had got, but it nettled him sorely that his daughter had been made to stand up, and he was going to resent it. The school-master paid no attention to him, and when the hour arrived for opening school he rapped on the window for the boys to come in. He came in with the rest of them. Said the teacher to him, "Mr Blank, if you come here as a visitor just come up and take a seat in my chair and I shall be glad to see you. If you come as a pupil, however, be kind enough to take a seat with the other pupils and I will furnish you with a book and slate."

"Well," said he, but he got no farther, Ladd continuing: "One of three things you must do, you must be either visitor or pupil, or you must leave the schoolhouse."

The man glared at the master for a moment, but the latter's determination and courage overawed him. He went away quietly, and ever afterwards was as good a friend as the teacher had in that neighborhood Thus was discipline established, and the school became one of the most orderly and efficient in the county. This wholesome result was due, from beginning to end, much to Ladd's ability to keep his pupils' minds at work on practical problems. His

skill in thus interesting his scholars, and his conquering will, made him their master and friend.

Railroading was the next move. The Boston, Concord, and Montreal railway was approaching the town, and there were a number of young men who applied for a lucrative place, of high position, with little to do. Ladd was as ambitious as any of them, but he did not regard theirs as the right way to secure lasting preferment. So when the superintendent came along one day, Ladd plucked up courage and accosted him. "Mr Elkins," said he, "as trains will soon be running, I thought I would ask if you will not want some one to work about the freight depot."

"Work?" replied the superintendent, "you want to work?"

"Yes, if you will give me the opportunity," was the reply.

"And you don't want an office; you dont want a pleasant and respectable position; you don't want to be superintendent or president?"

"I would rather first make myself competent before attempting to fill a responsible position," replied Ladd.

"Here, Dodge," called out the superintendent to his deputy, "give this young man a place in the freight-house."

His experience in railroading was mainly that of freight and passenger agent, for which position he soon qualified himself by strict application to business. He did his work thoroughly and looked after the interests of his employers with the same care that every zealous man devotes to his own affairs. Active, intelligent, and conscientious in the discharge of his duty, he won the respect and favor of his employer. In this, his first association with men of the world, he earned the confidence and appreciation, and gave evidence of his ability to make his own way, at the same time, establishing a reputation for integrity in

word and deed which is the very cornerstone of all business transactions. In the humblest, as well as the most exalted walks of life, there will always be found scope for the exercise of this uprightness of character. Such has been his experience, his later years confirming his youth; for it may be truly said of him as Hugh Miller said of the mason with whom he served his apprenticeship: "He put his conscience into every stone he laid."

The work at Sanbornton Bridge did not fill out his time after he had got it well in hand and he was sent to the head of the line and put in full charge of the freight department. Always anxious to learn and extend the scope of his usefulness, he was not there more than a month or two before the superintendent found that there was no other man in his employ who could make up a train as quickly as young Ladd. Without knowing why, he was unexpectedly ordered back to Sanbornton Bridge station, where he found his duties almost a sinecure. It was only years afterward that he learned that Dodge thought that he was getting on too rapidly, and not wanting him in his own way, had caused him to be put back out of the line of preferment. This had never occurred to Ladd; all that occupied his mind was how to do his work to the best advantage and save time. Being ignorant of the fact that he was in anybody's way, and being disturbed only by the lack of employment at Sanbornton Bridge, he told Mr Elkins he thought it would be better for him to go elsewhere if he could not get more to do as he did not feel easy in his position. Soon afterward the superintendent of the Boston and Maine railroad wanted some twenty or thirty young men to go west, selecting Ladd as the only one from his road, but then he was on the verge of coming to Oregon. In all probability, however, he had gone far enough in railroading, in which he acquired valuable information and developed a tact in handling men that have stood him to great advantage

ever since. His service with the railroad company was not marked by any incidents that need be specially recorded unless, perhaps, a conversation which the young agent enjoyed with Daniel Webster and his wife, who stopped at his station on their way from Franklin to White mountain. He found the distinguished orator to be a man of very plain, simple manners and easy to talk with, or rather to listen to. This meeting was an event in the young man's life, but it is not an occasion that would be noticeable at the present time, for that portion of the United States in which he is prominent is often visited by the great men of the nation, and Mr Ladd is always counted among those whose duty it is to receive and entertain them. This shows in the most practical, and at the same time in a very happy, way, that our country is one in which a man who has the capacity and character to build himself up, need not be discouraged even if he has to begin at the foot of the ladder, for, as Mr Webster himself said: "There is always room at the top."

'Forty-eight and 'forty-nine were now at hand, and Ladd rembered that he had read in his *Olney's Geography* about cattle-raising in California, and the hides and tallow there, the trading vessels and the lazy Mexicans. Besides he had read the eloquent letters of Thurston descriptive of the Oregon country. Olney was well versed in California affairs, while Oregon cut but a small figure on his map. For all that, young Ladd cared little for California, but he thought much of Oregon. "Gold," he argued, "that can be picked up from the ground, cannot continue to be of much value, while good farming land is a sure basis of progress and prosperity."

And the discovery of gold completely ruined that country for him, while the garden fields of Oregon, with their products, would drain the southern placers of their gold. There was a young man, named Charles Elliott Tilton, who had been a schoolmate of Ladd's.

Tilton had been permitted to make a voyage to Santo Domingo and South America, up the Orinoco river, after which he went to California. This was prior to Ladd's engagement on the railroad. A Mr Carr, who was a general storekeeper at Sanbornton Bridge, went to San Francisco, and from there took a stock of goods, amounting to about $3,500, to Portland, where he sold it at a good profit, returning home with a fortune of $10,000, January 1851. That was a large amount of money in the interior of New Hampshire in those days, and Carr became a conspicuous personage. Ladd held many conferences with Carr respecting the Pacific coast, where labor was high and fortune quickly made. He also corresponded with Tilton, who was in San Francisco selling goods sent to him by his brother around Cape Horn.

"Carr," said Ladd one day, "I can do better than work here at thirty dollars a month, when they are paying six dollars a cord for chopping wood over there, and I can cut two cords a day." So he concluded to go to Oregon, and gave notice to the superintendent that he should terminate his railroad engagement two months hence, and engaged passage by the steamer leaving New York the 27th of February 1851. The superintendent would not listen, at first, to his quitting the service at which he was doing so well, but he was finally forced to reconcile himself to it.

Like most young men first coming to the country, Ladd had his ideas of a fortune. Twenty thousand dollars he thought would satisfy him, on starting out; later he would have taken ten thousand for his chances. At San Francisco he found Tilton selling his consignment to jobbers. "Charles," said he, "why sell to jobbers; why not you and I go into business and sell these goods ourselves?" But Tilton was afraid, and Ladd went on to Oregon. Had he entered into business with Tilton at that time,

and remained in San Francisco, he would have escaped fire and failure, such as attended many merchants of that day, only by a miracle.

The manner in which many allow themselves to be sacrificed to a craving for immediate riches, reminds one of the cupidity of the monkey—that caricature of our species. It is related that: "In Algiers the Kabyle peasant attaches a gourd well fixed to a tree, and places within it some rice. The gourd has an opening merely sufficient to admit the monkey's paw. The creature comes to the tree by night, inserts his paw, and grasps his booty. He tries to draw it back, but it is clenched, and he has not the wisdom to unclench it. So there he stands until morning, when he is caught, looking as foolish as may be, though with the prize in his grasp. The moral of this little story is capable of a very extensive application in life."

At the time of Mr Ladd's arrival in Oregon, important political issues were before the people and the legislature; towns were laid out, newspapers were established, and new counties created. But the paramount aim of the young man from New Hampshire, for the moment, was how to get a start, which being obtained, the future would be assured.

If disappointment had attended him in San Francisco, things looked darker still at Portland. That $20,000 seemed very far away during the first months of his sojourn, while living from hand to mouth trying to get a start in a new and strange country. He had brought a few articles with him, and kept a store until he had sold his things out. One day the supervisor came around and assessed him for road tax. "How much is it," he asked. "Six dollars," was the reply—that is, two day's work at three dollars per day. Ladd's finances were then low, and this sum would make serious inroads. Pointing to two stumps standing in front of his store, opposite the ground now occupied by the Esmond hotel, he asked, "What

will you allow me for digging them up?" "I will give you your tax receipt," was the reply. Mr Ladd spent two or three nights and mornings cleaning the dirt from the roots, and then burnt them out. It was the easiest $6 he had ever earned.

After a trip through the country for the purpose of buying chickens, eggs, and other farm products, he returned to find that a vessel had arrived with goods on board belonging to Mr Gookin, to whom he presented himself, asking if he did not want some assistance in landing and selling his goods. "Where are you from?" Gookin asked. "Sanbornton Bridge, New Hampshire," was the reply. "Did you know Samuel Tilton?" "He lived near my father's." "Did you know Doctor Ladd?" "He was my father." No further introduction was necessary. Mr Ladd engaged to work for Gookin for three months for $250, which seemed to him, being new in the country, very handsome wages, though the fact is Gookin purchased his services far below the ruling rates. Gookin had at first expected to sell his goods from the vessel's deck, and during that time Ladd had cleaned up $1,000. He then arranged to carry in stock some goods of his own, to sell for his own account. He bought tobacco, powder, shot, and bar lead from H. W. Corbett, J. Failing & Co., and Allen & Lewis, while Tilton sent him goods from San Francisco, so that he soon found himself worth $2,500.

Mr Ladd was now on the high road to prosperity, wealth, and honor. The struggle had been made, the battle had been fought and won. The first thousand dollars, the most difficult of all in the achievement of fortune, had been made. The floor of the new school of experience in Portland had been churned by the face of the big boy adversity, and the schoolmaster was again triumphant. We have seen how he conquered. But take a still closer view of the matter. Other men who have risen to prominence in com-

merce in his neighborhood had something to begin with. Now, whether this were much or little, it was a great help to them. It is the first step which costs; and the severest test is oftentimes in the first struggle. This is not said in disparagement of any of those other broad-gauged and good men, for whom no one has a more just appreciation than Mr Ladd himself, but, while conceding to them all the great credit that is their due, it would not be quite fair to him or historically just to pass by this fact. In 1852, painted on the oilcloth lining that came out of a case of boots, was raised the sign. W. S. Ladd & Co. Gookin conducted his affairs in a loose kind of way, though he was often more fortunate than more prudent men. He offered the remnant of his stock to Ladd, first proposing that Ladd should buy it, and then that he should take it on sale, which the latter finally did.

Meanwhile Mr Ladd had taken a run down to San Francisco, in July, to arrange for his future engagement in a mercantile career with C. E. Tilton. Gookin's funds had accumulated in San Francisco up to $60,000 in coin. This he desired Ladd to bring for him to Portland, with which to purchase gold dust to take to New York. He took this large sum of money in gold into his stateroom, on his return to Portland, to save paying freight on it. After the money had been successfully conveyed and delivered to its owner in Portland, Ladd receiving nothing for his trouble, though Gookin had saved several hundred dollars by it, the young merchant reflected on the risk he had run of losing the money, and involving himself in unpleasant complications, and he resolved never to place himself in such a position again. The matter occupied his thoughts to such an extent that he spoke to Gookin about it. Said he: "You are a much older man than I am; but I want to offer you a piece of advice. This money I have brought up here all safe. Suppose I had been robbed

of $10.000, you would always think I stole it. And suppose I had taken it and gone off to China. Don't ever put such a temptation in a young man's way again."

It was now that the sound principles inculcated in his early training brought fruit, to the lasting benefit of the man and the state. Mr Ladd was at his post early, retiring early, and so economizing his strength. He was not afraid of work, and was at his place by four o'clock in the summer mornings helping his customers load their wagons, so that they could get away in the cool of the day. He never frequented saloons or went out on night carousals. He always attended church at least once on Sunday, and he manifested a healthy interest in public affairs. He was a shrewd trader, meeting loss with the same equanimity as profit. Receiving word from Tilton that turpentine was running low in the San Francisco market, Ladd made a shipment by the steamer *General Warren*, which was wrecked on the bar of the Columbia. The morning after news of the loss had reached him, and almost before other merchants were at their places of business, Ladd had all the available turpentine in Portland purchased and in his store. This at San Francisco brought ten dollars a gallon, the profits more than covering his former loss. In 1852 Ladd and Tilton entered into partnership, and in 1853 Mr Ladd's brother, Wesley, came out.

While thus plodding along the path to fortune, Mr Ladd's heart and mind were not so taken up in his work that he ceased to loyally remember a young lady back in New Hampshire to whom his faith had been plighted; in truth, it was no small part of his ambition as a pioneer to so acquit himself as to be worthy of her. He thought of her much and tenderly, and his most cherished ambition was to make her his wife, but his love and enthusiasm did not interfere with his taking a sensible, practical view of

the situation. Before soliciting his betrothed to leave her home and friends, where she was surrounded by the comforts and refinements of life, to come out to be his partner in a new and crude community, he would first establish himself and make it certain that she would have the least possible to regret in relinquishing ties and associations that bound her strongly to her native place. But when he felt that the tide in his affairs had been taken at the flood, and that he had passed through his period of personal probation honestly and manfully, so that he could offer himself to her in good faith, he was eager to secure the prize. He had not known the lady of his choice, Caroline Ames Elliott, while at school, except as a member of the class in algebra. He had observed and admired her, but had never enjoyed the pleasure of an actual acquaintance. The rigid rules of decorum in mixed schools of that day were not calculated to facilitate intercourse among the girls and boys. He saw her nevertheless and admired her, though at a distance. After their school-days were over, and she had become a teacher and he had gone to railroading, the artificial barrier between them was removed, and a friendship grew up which ripened into love. When Mr Ladd left Sanbornton Bridge they had betrothed themselves to each other and corresponded very regularly from that day, and we may be sure that, as the mails arrived in Portland but once a month, "steamer day" was one of extraordinary interest to Mr Ladd. If he had hitherto acted in a wise and judicious manner with regard to the matter, it was now Miss Elliott's opportunity to manifest the same discretion. He wrote and laid before her very plainly the embarrassment and loss that would result to his business if he should go east and lose, say, three or four months in order to be married, and that his affairs were in such a condition that it would be only with the utmost difficulty that he could leave at all; and he appealed to her generosity to consent to make the

sacrifice and come to him. The propriety of taking this step was discussed for several weeks by the family, but Mrs Elliott recognized the philosophy of Mr Ladd's request, and gave her consent. Mr Ladd's brother, Wesley, had engaged himself to proceed to New Hampshire and escort Miss Elliott to San Francisco. The voyage was quite a trial for the young lady, but she was supported by the additional companionship of Mrs S. G. Reed of Portland. Miss Elliott sailed from New York September 28, 1854, and on reaching San Francisco she found her future husband waiting to greet her, where they were married, October 17th of the same year, in the presence of a pleasant party, consisting of her cousin, Mr Charles E. Tilton, and his wife, John Wesley Ladd and a few other Portland friends who happened to be in San Franciso at the time. On the 6th of November following Mr and Mrs Ladd arrived in Portland An incident occurred in connection with the marriage which is very suggestive of the times. It so happened that just before the steamer on which Mr Ladd was to take passage for San Francisco sailed he was subpœnaed to serve on a jury.

"But I am going to San Francisco on the steamer," protested Ladd.

"Can't help it," replied Judge Olney; "it is just such men as you are that I want for jurors."

"I have business—I must go to San Francisco on the steamer."

"If you do I will fine you to the full extent of the law. I am going to put a stop to this evasion of jury duty by men like you; you are needed for this work."

"See here, judge," exclaimed Ladd, becoming desperate, "I will let you into a secret. I am going to San Francisco to be married to a young lady who comes all the way from New Hampshire to meet me there."

"Oh, ah!" exclaimed the judge, "that is a different matter. He who brings to Oregon a good wife serves

his country more than in sitting on any jury. Go, with my heartiest congratulations."

Ladd and Tilton continued their mercantile business together until the spring of 1855, when the former bought out the latter, who thereupon returned to New Hampshire. Three years later Tilton returned, tired of the east, and wanted to associate himself again with Ladd, who had, in the mean time, given his brother an interest in the business. But Ladd said, "No, Charles, there is no room. I have all the money requisite for this business, and more. But a bank is needed in Portland, and if you will join me, I will sell my mercantile business and we will open in the spring." Tilton hesitated, but finally consented, the institution being ready for operations in April 1859.

Thus was the first bank on the Pacific coast north of San Francisco established. It was started on a capital of $50,000, but in 1861 this capital stock was increased to $150,000. Thereafter its earnings were turned back into the business until its capital amounted to $1,000,000; from that time dividends were paid, and it would be superfluous to add that they have been satisfactory. When the partnership of Ladd and Tilton was dissolved, Mr Tilton retiring in 1880, its bills receivable amounted to $2,500,000. Its coin deposits were at first exceedingly small, but steadily increased, until at the close of 1889 they amounted to approximately $4,000,000. It has always done a sound and select business, which is largely due to the policy of keeping below the current interest rates as these have become less and less. The rate of interest when the bank started was from three to five per cent per month, but it accepted the best loans at two and one-half per cent; and it is now operating on rates proportionately lower than those which are current. As is evidenced by these facts, the bank of Ladd and Tilton has grown steadily and rapidly, until it stands in the front rank, if not at the

head of all others in the northwestern states. It has large banking interests in Seattle, Tacoma, Walla Walla and Port Townsend in Washington. It is pertinent to enquire how the banking house of Ladd and Tilton has attained to such proportions; how it has kept in the lead of other banks in the Pacific northwest. These other banks are sufficiently numerous, and their standing, as a rule, is as good as in any other community, doubtless better than in most, for stability in all departments of industry in this portion of the country is a decided characteristic. From what source did this particular bank derive its impetus, and how are we to account for its present momentum? Necessarily its management has been competent, and it is not fair to ascribe any great portion of its success to fortune. Has not superior talent controlled its destinies? A high degree of success in banking presupposes special aptitude, good judgment of men and affairs, promptitude of action in emergency, self-control and moral courage. May not a blending of these and other like forces account for such a marked success in finance? How else can the spirit of one man make his bank distinct and superior to others, which, but for comparison with it, would be regarded as successful in an extraordinary degree? That he possesses individuality among men, and also a distinct individuality among bankers, is evident, but above all he must possess character, which is itself "an estate in the general good-will and respect of men;" reliableness which convinces men that its possessor can be trusted; that he can be relied on; that when he says he knows a thing, he knows it; that when he says he will do a thing, he can do it, and does it; reliableness that thus becomes a passport to the general esteem and confidence of mankind. The banker, above all others, must be honest, in the broadest sense of that word, because of the sensitive relationship he sustains towards the public as the custodian of money, which is second in importance only to life itself among the

generality of those with whom he deals. The bank in question never solicited business; its character has been its advertisement. It has treated its customers with exact justice and liberality. It has not only never practised usury, but, on the ground of equity as well as expediency, it has not accepted more than the legal rate of interest, preferring rather to go below it. Yet the history of this bank begins and ends chiefly with the personality of Mr Ladd; he is the bank. Instances might be adduced to show how, in the ways indicated, the bank has been the creation of his labor and intelligence, but I confine myself to the following remarkable instance, which shows something of his close business calculation and powers of financiering. Upon the dissolution of his partnership with Mr Tilton he had an understanding with him that none of their customers should be crowded or forced to pay their indebtedness to the bank sooner than would be convenient. As stated, the outstanding indebtedness was $2,500,000, and when the bank made its statement in 1888 there was less than $1,300 of that balance still outstanding, and over $100,000 previously charged to profit and loss had been collected, and in 1889 the balance of the $1,300 just mentioned had been practically wiped out, or perhaps converted into a small balance on the other side of the ledger, by an increase of value in the property by which the debt was secured.

The bank has been the main feature of Mr Ladd's business activity, but he has had enough to do outside of it to keep an ordinary man fully occupied. There has scarcely been a single enterprise of any consequence proposed or undertaken in Portland since his identification with the city that he has not taken a greater or less part in, contributing to its promotion his time, experience and money. A mere list of these would occupy considerable space, and to discuss them all would fill a volume; the most that can be done, therefore, is to note such as are characteristic and

serve to show the manner in which his energy has been devoted to the development of the country in its material, moral and social aspects.

The first notable undertaking of which he was a part was the Oregon Steam Navigation company, to which—organized first in Washington Territory December 29, 1860, and reorganized in Oregon October 1862, first with a capital of $271,000 and afterwards with $2,000,000—so much is due for opening up the country by improving the means of internal water transportation. Among the contributors to its funds his name appears on the list as second in amount of subscription, and he continued his interest in it until the control passed into the hands of Jay Cook and his associates; when they failed he and other principal factors in the enterprise repurchased the stock from the receiver of Cook's estate, and in 1879 resold to the Oregon Railway and Navigation company.

Mr Ladd contributed in the early days to test the extent and quality of the ore in the property now owned by what is known as the Oregon Iron and Steel company.

In the midst of his other engagements Mr Ladd has found time to devote himself personally to farming, and it has been one of his chief sources of relaxation and pleasure. Besides always having a general interest and lending his aid to the promotion of agriculture in the state, he owns four farms individually in the neighborhood of Portland, and five others in Clarke county, Washington, and in Washington and Yamhill counties, Oregon, in connection with another enterprising citizen. The largest of the latter is known as Broad Meads, about four miles from Amity; it contains over three thousand acres and is a model in all respects. He is president of the board of regents of the agricultural college, located at Corvallis, in which he is much interested. The benefit derived by the community from his efforts in this sphere are much greater than the advantage accruing to himself, and

he looks upon his farming less as an investment than as a relaxation. One of his farms, comprising about four hundred acres, is situated on the outskirts of east Portland. He has greatly improved it with the idea of making it a model in every particular, on which experimental farming may be done for the gratification it affords him personally, and to assist in furthering the interests and progress of agriculture. Farm life has great attractiveness for him, and he derives much entertainment as well as solid rest from the cares of his business, by making frequent and regular visits to this suburban farm. He has been considerably interested in the importation of thoroughbred Clydesdales and Cleveland Bay horses, Cotswald and Leicester sheep, shorthorn cattle, and Berkshire hogs, and on his own account has given special attention to the importation and breeding of Guernsey and Jersey cattle for dairy purposes. They have studiously kept up the breed on their own farms, and it would be difficult to estimate the extent to which they have in this way contributed to the wealth of the farmers throughout the northwest. Mr Ladd has given up the breeding of fast horses because he has no relish for racing, though some of the horses formerly bred by them have made fine records on the track. They began the importation of thoroughbred stock as early as 1870, being pioneers in this enterprise and investing a large amount of capital in it; that is, before anybody else had undertaken stock-breeding on such a broad scale or with such a high standard. From that day to this the ever-widening beneficial consequences of this nursery of fine stock have been so great that it would be almost impossible for the people of Oregon to fully appreciate how much they owe to Mr Ladd in this direction. Within the last few years Oregon has taken a prominent position as a horse-breeding community for draft and light harness horses. A number of Oregon horses have been shipped to Denver and some of them as far east

as Chicago, in competition with eastern bred horses. The breeding up of these horses into their present excellence was started by the importation into the state of the stallions brought in by Mr Ladd. Some idea of the value to the people of this breeding up of the quality of horses can be had from the fact that prior to the year 1870 the generality of Oregon horses were cayuses, of no special value at home or abroad. From that foundation the present stock has been brought about. What has been said of horses in this connection may fairly be said of the other kinds of stock. On the Broad Meads farm there is by far the finest herd of shorthorn cattle on the Pacific coast, perhaps as large a herd, and certainly as thorough in breeding also, as anywhere else in the world.

After the Portland fire in 1873 in which a number of furniture dealers and manufacturers were burnt out, it was proposed to combine and form a strong company for the manufacture of furniture. Mr Ladd was one of the principal founders and promoters of the enterprise. Under the name of the Oregon Furniture Manufacturing company the business of manufacturing and selling furniture was begun April 1, 1874. From small beginnings the house has grown until now it is the leading establishment of its kind in the north Pacific. Mr Ladd has felt very much concerned in it from the first, watching its course with interest, and giving it always the benefit of his influence, judgment and capital. He has not taken any active personal part in the management of the company's business further than this; what he has done is of the greatest importance, and shows him to be a man of very broad and unselfish views. Among the men of great wealth in the community he was the first appealed to for aid to this enterprise, which may fairly be set down as the rule when the countenance and aid of leading men are needed in such cases. Being a citizen of public spirit, he was pleased with the opportunity to encourage this effort at home

industry. He has never hesitated at any time to do what he could to help forward the development of the state and the city of Portland, in which he has unswerving faith. He did not go into this manufactory chiefly because of the profits to be derived from it, although he would not have put his money in it unless he had felt reasonably sure that it would be a success; the inducement for him was that it was an advantage to the community in encouraging home industry. From beginning to end, in Portland, in Oregon, in the northwest, he is everywhere a builder. Instead of going in with others to lay the foundation and staying with them to erect the superstructure of the Oregon Furniture Manufacturing company, he could have done much better with the funds invested. With his opportunities and ability for handling large sums he could have put out the same amount of money to a much greater advantage. He was the only one of the very wealthy men of Portland who identified himself with this manufacturing interest at its inception; hardly anybody but himself knows how many interests he is connected with. He is ready at all times to listen to a legitimate business proposition which is calculated to promote the public good and advance the industrial development of the city or the state, whether or not the enterprise proposed offers him personally sufficient immediate returns is of secondary importance if he is convinced that it is of general value to others.

In 1883, after a most disastrous season to the flour milling industry, Mr Ladd found that a great many of the large flour mills in Oregon were nearly ruined. Most of the milling companies were indebted to him largely, but with his accustomed generosity he volunteered to advance sufficient funds to keep the business going, provided that the other stockholders would do something commensurate with their means in the same direction. The milling industry generally was in such a hopeless condition, however, that with-

out an exception these men refused to do this. Now then if anything were to be done it must be done by the one man. He took a view of the question that was at once charitable as well as wise. He saw that if these mills were closed down upwards of one hundred families would be deprived of the means of support. This was really the first view of the case that interested him deeply. It is true that the mills were in his debt, but he could have secured this indebtedness and ended his accounts in that way, but here was a chance to exercise a wide and practical charity. Again Mr Ladd, in this instance as in so many others, evinced a characteristic foresight. He appreciated the value of this industry to the commercial prosperity of the state, and he could see that the disaster to milling was but temporary. He therefore boldly and confidently purchased all of the larger mills and combined them into one corporation, under the name of the Portland Flouring Mills company. By the help of his means and judgment the new corporation has kept its mills in continuous operation. Mr Ladd wants to have everybody at work, and does not desire any mill idle at any time; they must be doing their best and kept at work always. It is a great pleasure to him to contemplate the success which has crowned his efforts. From time to time as new processes and methods of milling have been invented he has improved his mills and kept them modernized, and he has also built new mills whenever required for the proper prosecution of the trade, until his company now produces more flour than any other milling company on the Pacific coast. It has been his policy to reach out in every direction that would tend to add to the growth of the business and the development of the country. There is a home market for the company's products, but the chief market is in Europe, where its brands are well known. With his accustomed principle of giving full weight and good goods his shipments have always

been up to the samples and of full weight, in consequence of which his foreign brands have obtained a reputation second to that of no other American flour. At a competitive test in the year 1888 in London it was conceded that the best loaf of bread was made of flour one-half Pillsbury brand and the other half the Portland company's flour. The company's brands have such a reputation in Europe that its flour is sold two or three months in advance ; it is really sold on its reputation. The company's plant is large and is kept running to its full capacity. There are six mills, located at Portland, Oregon City and Salem, in Oregon, and Tacoma and Dayton, in Washington. Their daily capacity is 3,500 barrels. At present there are over one hundred and fifty families dependent upon the wages of laborers in these mills for their support. Mr Ladd is personally entitled to the credit for this whole scheme of re-creating the flour milling industry in Oregon and Washington, as indicated, for taking it up when everybody else was in despair, and not only saving it for the time, but reëstablishing it then and carrying it forward ever since in the spirit of modern progress at every point. It is the largest manufacturing corporation in the northwest states, its volume of business being greater than that of any other and requiring a greater amount of capital to handle it. There is no other bank than that of Ladd and Tilton which could afford to do what he has done for it. He was determined to carry the undertaking to success, and though sometimes it was difficult to see what might be the final result of an outlay at this or that point, he never faltered. The nominal capital invested is $300,000, but the actual value of the plant in 1889 was $1,500,000, with an unmistakable prospect of continuous and indefinite growth. In view of such activity as this, it is not surprising that all those who know Mr Ladd by his works agree that he is the most enterprising man among all his neighbors in Oregon and the northwest.

But to revert to another branch of industry, an attempt has been made to establish a cordage manufactory in Portland, resulting in failure. Mr Ladd and others seeing here an opportunity to carry forward this enterprise in a conservative way, as an investment for themselves and as a means of offering employment to a large number of laborers, purchased what there was of the plant in 1888, and formed the Portland Cordage company. It was not specially lucrative at the outset, but it was soon vitalized and strengthened in their hands, and began to grow into an institution of profit to them and value to the city. In the year following the demand for the product of the manufactory had increased to such a degree that it became necessary to double its capacity. It is now in a thrifty and progressive condition, and is looked upon as a permanent industry, the usefulness and benefits of which will grow wider and wider from year to year. He was interested years ago in testing the capabilities of woolen manufacturing.

Incidentally, Mr. Ladd has taken part in shipping, owning sundry vessels at various times, and utilizing them in the carrying trade along the coast.

He has done but little in gold and silver or coal mining, though of late years he has owned some mining property. This industry he holds is important and helpful, if legitimately conducted.

He figures with others in a company which is successfully carrying forward the manufacture of linseed oil. Even this undertaking affords a history that is not unimportant in the building up of the metropolis of the northwest, in contributing to the civilization and welfare of the commercial emporium, the influence of which is felt over a wide extent of country; but to the reflecting mind a suggestion to this effect is sufficient. The benefits derived from energy so concentrated are complex, but the one fact with which we

are all familiar is enough to emphasize its beneficence, which is that every undertaking such as he has been identified with, is a source of bread and meat, education and comfort, to worthy men, whose wives and children are made glad by their labor. Men of such enterprise and vigor enlarge whatever they touch; they are benefactors in the most substantial sense, in this, that they create opportunities for others to earn a living, which, to my mind, is better than to contribute proportionately of alms. I am aware that men who are impelled to self-aggrandisement by keen and eager ambition are not classed among philanthropists, yet their every energy is spent in creating that without which philanthrophy is helpless. It need not be hinted that in order to give one must have, and it is a pleasing feature in the character of Mr Ladd that he not only works indirectly for others in the manner referred to, but that the needy are given by him a clear title to a generous share of his accumulations.

For a long time Portland had suffered for the want of two accessories to the general health and comfort. These needs were an adequate supply of pure water, and a hotel commensurate with the size and dignity of a city such as Portland. The legislature in 1886 enacted a law creating a water committee of fifteen persons, and empowering the city to issue bonds to the amount of $700,000 for the purpose of supplying itself with water, and chose the members of this committee in accordance with the views of representative taxpayers and citizens. It was an affair involving the expenditure of a large sum of money, and requiring ability and good faith in the management. Mr Ladd has served from the beginning as a prominent member of this committee, taking a leading part in all its deliberations. He had had it in mind for many years to bring it around in some way so that the city could furnish itself with water, control the supply and regulate the cost, and he finally devised and outlined the

legislation just described, and pressed the matter forward until it took this shape. He looked upon water as a necessity of life which should be as nearly as possible free to all; and it was abhorrent to his mind that it should be held in the hands of a private corporation. He could not rest, therefore, until steps like these had been taken to secure water to the citizens at a nominal cost.. He made enemies of strong men in the community who, though friends before, did all they could to injure him on this account; but he had done what he felt sure was his duty, and he had no regrets. The money appropriated was found insufficient to construct a gravity system, and the plant of the Portland Water Company on the Willamette river five miles south of town was purchased on behalf of the city, pending the introduction of a better supply. Under the committee's administration, however, water rates have been reduced to fifty per cent below previous figures. The operating expenses have been met and a portion of the gross actual proceeds applied to new construction. The purpose was to construct a pipe line to Bull run, a mountain stream rising on the western slope of the Cascades, from which pure water in abundance could be obtained. Since the passage of the enabling act it has been determined that an additional outlay of $2,000,000 is necessary. The authority of the legislature will have to be invoked again, but without doubt it will revise the law in this respect, for no guarantee is needed that every dollar appropriated will be judiciously expended. I deem it of interest to note, in passing, that the personnel of the water committee is superior; that they are all men of substance and character who are above collusion and jobbery. This I set down as creditable to the constituency whom they represent, for there are cities that I wot of in which the selection of men for the discharge of such a function would have been influenced to a greater or less extent by politi-

cians who have friends to serve or axes of their own to grind.

As to the hotel, a magnificent building had been projected by Henry Villard, with large European capital behind him; but when he fell the hotel project, as did many others immaturely undertaken by him, was brought to a standstill. As a monument to his sanguine temperament, a massive stone wall of the proposed caravansary, one story high, stood upon the square bounded by Morrison, Yamhill, 6th and 7th streets. Up to 1887 much had been said but nothing done toward completing the building; nobody of sufficient energy and influence seemed willing to step forward and take the initiative, when one day Mr Ladd invited a number of the leading men and principal property holders in the city to meet him at the parlors of the Ladd and Tilton banking house to discuss a business proposition; whereupon in a brief characteristic speech he set forth the loss that Portland had suffered in not taking advantage of this opportunity to provide itself with an essential convenience. He pointed out to them the damaging effect of tourists coming to Portland, and for the want of proper accommodations passing on to Tacoma; going anywhere else to find a hotel. Said he, "If you will organize a company with a capital of $500,000, I will take one-fifth of the stock on condition that Mr. H. W. Corbett, a man in whose zeal, business ability and integrity every one has confidence, is made president of the corporation." With this impetus given to the project there was little further delay encountered, and early in the year 1890 The Portland, inferior to no other hotel building on the Pacific coast, was opened to the public to the great joy of travellers, and much to the benefit of the city.

Thus, after we have looked into the industrial history of Portland as seen through the principal features of Mr Ladd's activity, the reader may fairly judge what manner of man he is in business, and

what his factorship has been in its advancement. The fruits of his commercial labor are not all his own, for while he is in actual and undisturbed possession of his enormous estate, his property, all of which he has earned, remains in the community for its enrichment and enlivenment. But, coming more to those things the direct aim of which is for the public advancement, he has been a noteworthy friend of education. In the year 1864 the Portland library association was formed and started with a fund of $2,500, contributed by a number of men, among whom the name of Mr Ladd was prominent. At the beginning of the year 1865 it contained 577 books, and at the beginning of 1878, 8,724, and in 1890, 17,600. It has grown healthily, and now fills such a place in the city that to very many persons it has become almost a necessity. It contains information to satisfy the student of literature, history, politics, religion and science, and it furnishes a cheap and convenient means of forming the best opinion which the state of knowledge on these subjects permits. For many years without resources or aid save the faith and true friendship of comparatively a few persons, it kept its doors open and increased its property and usefulness. At this date it is in a more flourishing condition, and its prospects are very bright. It is safe to assume that it has been among the potent and effective agencies in culture and information, and that is has done a good part in influencing the character of the community. The president of the association, February 5, 1876, in his report expressed his hope as follows: "That ere another five years have been numbered with the past it shall be found no longer dependent upon the shelter of one good friend." That good friend has given it shelter ever since, however, and consecrated the valuable quarters in which its books are contained to the indefinite use of the association in rooms above his banking-house, in the heart of the business portion of the city. It was the expectation

that a separate building would be provided for the library during the year 1890. He has ever been earnest in his efforts to advance the cause of education in every way. In the earlier days he was several times director of the public schools. His gifts to educational institutions have been numerous and discriminating, among which may be mentioned a scholarship in the university at Salem, and the endowment of a chair in the medical department of the state university in Portland. Several who have risen to prominence in the state owe the opportunity of an education to the facility afforded by the scholarships above mentioned. As to whom shall be the beneficiaries he allows the professors of the university to determine, believing that they are the most disinterested and capable persons to choose among the candidates for the privilege.

In the year 1886 the presbyterians of the Pacific coast undertook to raise the sum of $50,000 for their theological seminary in San Francisco. After much labor they secured subscriptions of from $4,000 to $5,000, when Mr Ladd came to their relief and endowed the chair of practical theology with $50,000, on condition that he would pay the sum when a like amount was raised by the synod of California to put with it for the endowment of another chair, which was effected. It is a peculiarity of Mr Ladd's in giving that, while he does so freely, he makes his own gift a nest-egg for others; thus, it may be said, multiplies his own donation. He never gives blindly, but always with a specific object in view, and for a tangible reason. He was not able to preach himself, and he gave of his abundance to the theological seminary that others might be enabled thereby to fit themselves for the ministry. Through a wide extent of country few churches have been built without aid from him. It would be hard to find one in Oregon, Washington or Idaho that he has not a brick or shingle in. In responding to appeals for assistance, which come to

him oftener than to most others, and which he never neglects, it is a peculiarity of his to offer the amount which he feels he can afford to contribute with the proviso that his donation alone, or together with others; must cover the indebtedness of the church receiving it; in other words, that he makes it a rule not to give to a church in need unless its indebtedness ceases with the act of his giving. If this original idea of Mr Ladd's be properly considered, together with his liberality as a helper of churches, it will be seen that he does a great deal for needy congregations with his own money, while at the same time he contrives to have much contributed to the same object by others who, without his action, would be slow to move in the matter.

In 1886 he published a brief and unpretentious, but an apt and useful, pamphlet, entitled *Facts and Thoughts for Business Men on Profitable Investments*, in which he sets forth clearly the great religious as well as material benefits derived from a discriminating encouragement and support of churches generally. These teachers often he regards as the well-spring of good conduct among the people in this life, and as the best means of securing that reward in the future which is above price. He was reared in the methodist faith, and his father and mother were strict and self-denying. He did not identify himself with any denomination, however, until he had been a resident of Portland some twenty years, though, as intimated before, he attended strictly to his religious duties.

In the year 1873 he became a member of the presbyterian church, thinking it better for the sake of example to his children to have one particular church for regular family worship; being induced to adopt this denomination on account of Mrs Ladd's membership. He never lost his sympathy with or affection for the methodist church, however, and it has known him as a warm substantial friend at all times. His views are broad, and he entertains charity for all religious

beliefs. No creed or sect appeals to him in vain for assistance in its labors for the elevation of mankind, in so far as this, recognizing the universal aim of the churches to rescue fallen humanity, whether it be protestant or catholic. His christianity is so much more of the practical than of the theological kind that he lays but slight stress upon creed distinctions or denominational differences, the aim and basis of all Christian religions being essentially the same, man's true advantage now and forever. His mind dwells little upon the outward mechanism, the mere hulls and superficial accidents of the object and much upon the object itself. Regarding charity as the chief duty, he has striven to cultivate this virtue. It has been his custom to set aside one-tenth of his income every year with which to meet the next year's demands upon benevolence, and he has always disbursed it. This money so set apart ceases to be his own, but is held by him in trust for others. To the Master he is responsible for his stewardship. These tithes would by this time have aggregated a vast fortune.

Yet the mere giving of alms is not all of Mr Ladd's charity. He is willing to lend a helping hand, giving time, which to him is often very precious, counsel and personal assistance in more than one direction. Many young men have been helped by him to a start in business. When these turned out well it was a source of great satisfaction to their benefactor; if they turned out badly, it was a source of sorrow to him. There was one person, formerly in the bank, and who left it to go into business for himself, who was completely ruined in 1876, through no fault of his. Mr Ladd was east at the time, and to him he went with his troubles. He told the man to go back and see his creditors, and tell them if they would let him alone and give him time he would pay every dollar; if not, he was to settle with them on the best terms he could make, and Mr Ladd would let him have the money. Most of them gave him the time he asked for. Then

said Ladd to him, "If, now, you have the courage to attempt to recuperate your fortunes in business, go forward and do so; if not, you can take your former position with me." He went to work, and for thirteen years fought his battle, winning it in the end, saving his reputation, paying all he owed, and having over $100,000 besides.

In order that Portland might have a proper field of rest for her dead, Mr Ladd, with active public spirit and reverential feeling of duty to our relatives, friends, and neighbors, who crossed over the river in advance of us, took great pains to select them an eligible place for a cemetery. A considerable sum of money was needed to improve it, but only two others, Mr Corbett and Mr Failing, could be found to coöperate with him. To these three people Portland is indebted for the beautiful River View cemetery, a spot charmingly cultivated and delightful in its surroundings. On an elevation several miles south of the city, near the west bank of the Willamette river, it commands a magnificent view, and is reached either by water or by drives over a delightful road.

As regards politics, Mr Ladd entered upon his majority as a democrat. Just why he adopted the views of the democratic party it might be difficult to determine, except that he believed its policy to be the best; certainly he did not inherit his political sentiments from his father, as most young men do. He is not a copyist. Very few young men who have to earn their bread are likely to make a sufficient study of the history and doctrines of political parties to comprehend them fully. There is no cause to doubt, however, that there seemed to him good reasons for the choice he made. He was born and bred in a community in which the greatest interest is taken in governmental affairs, and great reverence for republican principles entertained. Whether he was right or wrong in allying himself with the democratic party of that day, perhaps the wisest men who have studied

the political economy of the United States would find it difficult to determine. It was only later in life, when his material interests had become enlarged and his mind had matured, that he began to think more deeply with reference to politics, and he then took his stand among those to whom the credit is due for establishing the integrity of the states. During the civil war he was a war democrat, retaining his ideas of general policy as a democrat, but being in sympathy with the republicans on all matters tending to the preservation of the union. He voted for Douglas as against Lincoln in the latter's first candidacy, but his opposition was not against him so much as against Breckenridge and the incendiary ideas of which he was the exponent. When Mr Lincoln was a candidate the second time, and national issues had become sharply defined, Mr Ladd voted for him, and has continued ever since strong in his republicanism as regards national politics, although he is not a partisan or bound to any system. In political affairs of a local nature, that is to say, state, county, and municipality, he votes according to his estimate of the fitness of the men who are candidates. In national politics, where men are selected as representatives of certain principles or policy, he does not regard individual qualifications as so serious, and he therefore usually casts his vote for his party nominees. His participation in politics has been that of the citizen intelligently endeavoring to do his full duty as an elector. He filled the office of mayor of Portland in 1854, but apart from this he has never been a candidate for any political office. If his tastes had inclined him that way he might have commanded any position within the gift of his state, but he has not only never sought, but has declined everything in the nature of political preferment. His private affairs have engrossed his entire time and attention.

His views of the relations of capital and labor, or of monopolies to toil, are practical and sound. "No

business," said he, "should be conducted so as to be a burden to the community; and if it is so managed, the people should demand and require protection through legislation. On the same principle labor should not combine against and embarrass capital. There is a just equilibrium between the two, and it is the duty of citizens to see that this is determined and maintained. In all departments of life there should be a *quid pro quo* for everything. He takes the ground of high moral sense as an arbitrator, and thinks there would be but little trouble if irrational, selfish, and unprincipled elements did not agitate and control our politics. While a capitalist himself, he is a friend of the toiling masses. He wants to see American labor fully protected. He is independent. He does not follow in the current of those who rage against the Chinese. He sees much good in them, mixed with whatever may be bad. He thinks if they could vote and would spend their earnings for whisky and beer they would be more popular; that they would then seem to the politician, as they now seem to him, as good in morals, industry and intelligence as the degraded anarchical class of immigrants that are coming to our shores from the slums of European society. Mr Ladd is really an American in politics. His motto is "None but Americans on guard." No foreigner should vote until he has resided in this country for twenty-one years, the same probation that our own boys, natives to the soil, have to pass through, and understand our institutions as well as these boys usually do at fifteen or sixteen years of age; nor yet until he is able to read and write the constitution of the United States; and no man, native born or other wise, should hold office unless he is a freeholder and taxpayer and substantially identified with the interests of the community.

He is decided in his convictions in all such matters, fearless in voicing his sentiment, and he does not hesitate to act upon his judgment of right, giving lit-

tle heed to consequences, though, unlike his father, he possesses sufficient policy to arrive at his ends ordinarily without undue friction.

In the early days the large majority of the people of Oregon were from the south and southwest, and Portland had its share of them. They brought with them the idea that the negro's lot was to be that of a slave; this and nothing more. Colored children seated among white children at school was to them an abomination. There was quite a number of colored people in Portland, and they craved the privilege of the public schools for their offspring. Mr Ladd was school director. They appealed to him for advice after a mischievous attorney, however, had counseled them to make a test case in the courts. He said to them: "I think just as much of a black man and neighbor, as I do of a white man and neighbor so long as he behaves himself well. I want to see your children have all the benefits of education, but do not go to law. The prejudice against you here is very strong. It won't do to call in the police to protect your children when they are entering and coming out of the schoolhouse. I guarantee that you shall have a separate school in the lower grades. Let your boys and girls enter there, and by diligence prepare themselves for the higher departments, then you will find the question solved by the test of their merit. As fast as they fit themselves for promotion they will slip into the upper grades, and then nobody will dare object." Sure enough, this was the happy result, even before the shackles were struck from the slaves in the United States by Lincoln's immortal proclamation. It is worthy of record that Mr Ladd was a democrat, but his democracy did not influence him to go contrary to his convictions of humanity and justice.

During the entire course of his enterprising life, in which he has utilized the services of hundreds of laborers he has never had but one controversy with them,

and to this he refers with good-humor as a joke on himself. The bricklayers engaged in building a store for him, which, by the way, was the first brick building erected in Portland, on Front near Stark street, where laying about eight hundred bricks a day in straight walls when they should have laid from fifteen hundred to two thousand. He demurred to this and they struck. He was caught at a disadvantage, for he had a stock of goods coming and they had to be housed upon their arrival. The reconciliation was effected on a basis entirely satisfactory to the bricklayers, for they proceeded to work and thereafter averaged less than five hundred bricks per day!

Since leaving Sanbornton Bridge Mr Ladd has spent almost his entire time in Portland, travelling little, too much absorbed in business to think that he could afford himself the leisure for such diversion; nevertheless, accompanied by Mrs Ladd, they visited the eastern states two or three times. In 1858, on the occasion of their first trip, they went down to New Orleans and from there north, stopping in the Red River country to visit his uncle, who had gone there and become one of the principal planters in his section. Mr Ladd was much impressed with the farming that was done there on a large scale, but his life had been cast in another field. The following incident of his travels will show the disposition of the man to observe closely and to measure things with reference to their future value. At Chicago he met Mr Gookin, whom he worked for in '51 and who went up to St Paul and St Anthony's with him. One day Mr Ladd said to him: "I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but for anybody that has money this water power is the best investment in the world. You can just put up a sawmill on one side and a gristmill on the other and make things hum. Think of Lawrence and Lowell and then think of this water power." They extended their trip to New Hampshire, renewing their acquaintances there. At

Bangor, Maine, he saw a house that struck his fancy, and making a drawing of it, he erected its counterpart in Portland, which was enlarged and improved in 1878.

Speaking of Mrs Ladd and their home life, one writer speaks of her as an estimable lady of far more than ordinary good sense and domestic qualifications, and who during the succeeding years has proved a noble wife and mother. Their home in Portland is one of the finest in the city. Wealth and good taste have united in beautifying its surroundings, and their appreciation of the beautiful is evinced in their choice selections of statuary, paintings, etc., and those who are sufficiently fortunate to be classed among their friends find much within their home to interest and instruct them in arts and sciences hitherto, perhaps, unknown to them.

Mr Ladd ascribes a very great portion of his success to the coöperation and never-faltering sympathy of his wife. Says he: "I owe everything to her. Through all she has been to me emphatically a helpmate. In the best and highest sense a noble wife; a saintly mother to our children. I can place no adequate estimate upon her help to me in building up our fortunes in this state. Always patient, thoughtful and courageous, she has cheerfully assumed her part of whatever load I have had to carry. We both started together at bedrock, and from then till now we have taken every step in harmony." In the words of Solomon: "The price of such a woman is far above rubies. She looketh well to the ways of her husband and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed, her husband, also, and he praiseth her." Mrs Ladd has maintained a leading place in charitable, religious and educational work, and her spirit and material support has been a tower of strength in home and foreign missions. In all these things her views and plans

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have been those of her husband, and they have worked together always for beneficent ends.

Mrs Ladd, whose history is so interwoven with that of the principal subject of this study as to be inseparable from it, is a descendant on her mother's side from the Ames, the founders of which family were three brothers who came to America at a very early date, one of whom, her ancestor, settled in New Hampshire and the other two in Massachusetts. Her father's family, the Elliotts, were also early settlers in New Hampshire. Her paternal and maternal ancestors were alike of pure English origin.

Mrs Ladd's father was Ira Elliott, and her mother Rhoda Ames, both natives of New Hampshire. Seven children were born to Mr and Mrs Ladd in Oregon, five of whom are living: William M. Ladd, born December 16, 1855; Charles Elliott Ladd, born August 5, 1857; Henry Kendall Ladd, born July 4, 1859; Caroline Ames Ladd, born September 3, 1861, and John Wesley Ladd, born January 3, 1870.

William M. Ladd, the eldest, came early and efficiently to his father's aid in the management of his largely increasing interests. He inherits many of the traits which distinguish his father: strong will, aggressive temper, perseverance and sterling integrity. He is an admirable specimen of manhood physically and mentally, strong, energetic and intelligent, and there is no fairer sight under heaven than that of a noble son supplementing the life of a noble father. It is refreshing to see the former responding with not only the ability, but, what is rarer, the disposition to stand worthily as a representative of the latter. When sixteen years of age William, convalescing from typhoid fever, was sent abroad in charge of Mr Tilton, who permitted him to travel all over Germany alone. Self-reliant, free-hearted and free-handed, the young man, though he had never been out of Oregon before, was at home

anywhere. Having prepared himself for college at Andover, Massachusetts, he went to Amherst, where he graduated in 1878. Upon his return home he entered the bank as a clerk, but on the retirement of Mr Tilton in 1880 he was made partner. Five years later he married Miss Mary Andrews of Oakland, California. They have one son. Various interests besides his work in the bank have been transferred to him from time to time by his father, whose time for the last few years has been given up mainly to the management of the banking house.

The second son, Charles Elliott Ladd, who was fitted for college at Andover and graduated from Amherst college, class of 1881, is a young man of refined tastes and scholarly instincts. He differs somewhat from his elder brother, being less in stature and less rugged in habit of body and mind. Gentle in manner and speech, he is nevertheless positive and firm, and has developed excellent business traits. Both brothers made a fair record in college without crippling themselves by overstudy, and hence, having well digested the information they obtained, they took hold of business with minds well disciplined and cultured, yet fresh and vigorous. To Charles his father entrusted the flour milling interests heretofore mentioned. He married Miss Sarah Hall of Somerville, Massachusetts, in 1881.

The eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs Ladd was married September 7, 1880, to Henry J. Corbett, the son of Senator Corbett, both of whom form a part of my biographical study elsewhere in this work. They have three sons.

"On the evening of October 17, 1889," says the Portland *Oregonian*, "occurred the most notable society event that ever took place in the northwest, the wedding of Miss Caroline Ames Ladd and Mr Frederick Bailey Pratt, solemnized at Calvary church, Portland. Mr W. S. Ladd, the father of the bride, is unquestionably the wealthiest citizen of

the Pacific northwest, and Mr Charles Pratt, father of the groom, one of the principal officers and stockholders of the Standard Oil company, is among the wealthiest men on the Atlantic coast." Mr Charles Pratt is, like Mr Ladd, not only a man well known for his riches but for his beneficence as well. He is the founder of the large industrial institute or training school in Brooklyn, New York, in which young men and young women are taught in the various mechanical arts and trades, in order that they may become useful and respected citizens through the skill thus acquired. He is also the founder of the Astral flats in Brooklyn, in which are provided homes for laborers at a rent considerably below the rates for similar quarters elsewhere in the city. The income obtained from this source is applied to the industrial institute, which is free to all worthy young people. In these charitable institutions a very large sum of money is invested, and Mr Pratt has it in mind to extend his beneficence in other similar directions. His son, Frederick B. Pratt, is occupied in the management of his father's benevolent enterprises. He is a graduate of Amherst college, where a friendship was formed between him and William and Charles Ladd. It was in this way that the Ladds and the Pratts became acquainted, out of which grew this alliance, and thus the east and the west, the Atlantic and the Pacific, are happily brought together by the union of two families, each of which is characteristic of its abiding place in position, control and benevolence.

Thus, with the greatest brevity consistent with the nature of the subject I have endeavored to present the experience, the life-work and the intimate connections of my principal study among the builders of empire on the north Pacific coast. A few of his distinctive traits of character have been noted. It is desirable that such a force be thoroughly comprehended and measured in order that it may be perpetuated with the least loss of indviduality, so that here

on earth its beneficent vitality may still be recognized and felt even after the inevitable summons has been answered. "The life of every man is as the well spring of a stream whose beginnings are plain to all, but whose ulterior course and destination only the omniscient can discern. His influence, which has had a beginning, will never have an end." It is a pleasing thought, however, that we may control a life in the hereafter on this earthly sphere somewhat to the degree that we are able to fashion our temporal career.

Says Samuel Smiles in his work on Self Help: "There is indeed an essence of immortality in the life of man even in this world. No individual in the universe stands alone; he is the component part of a system of mutual dependencies; and by his several acts he either increases or diminishes the sum of human good now and forever. As the present is rooted in the past and the lives and examples of our forefathers still to a great extent influence us, so are we by our daily acts contributing to form the conditions and character of the future. No man's acts die utterly; and though his body may resolve into dust and air, his good or his bad deeds will still be bringing forth fruit after their kind and influencing future generations for all time to come." Herein I apprehend is revealed the supreme duty of the historian and biographer, the essence of whose labor it is to seize the spirit of the present as manifested in men and preserve it against the ravages of time. "How comfortable it is," says an eminent and earnest British author, "how inexpressibly comfortable, to know our fellow-creature, to see into him, understand his goings forth, decipher the whole heart of its mystery; nay, not only to see into him but out of him; to view the world altogether as he views it, so that we can theoretically construe him and almost practically personate him." "The life of the lowest mortal, faithfully recorded, would be interesting to the highest;

then how much more interesting when the mortal in question is already distinguished in fortune and natural quality so that his thinkings and doings are not significant of himself only but of large masses of mankind."

These words are peculiarly applicable to William Sargent Ladd, for the reason that he has made himself what he is. "Heaven helps those who help themselves" is a well-tried maxim, embodying in a small compass the results of vast human experience. The spirit of self-help is the root of all genuine growth in the individual, and exhibited in the lives of men it constitutes the true source of national vigor and strength. The lives of some men are almost equivalent to gospels—teaching high living, high thinking and energetic action for their own and the world's good. The valuable examples which they furnish of the power of self-help, of patient purpose, resolute working and steadfast integrity, issuing in the formation of truly noble and manly character, exhibit in language not to be misunderstood what it is in the power of each to accomplish for himself, and eloquently illustrate the efficacy of self-respect, in enabling men of even the humblest rank to work out for themselves an honorable competency and a solid reputation. He is a conspicuous example of what may be accomplished by one who, possessing native ability and actuated by a wholesome ambition, can achieve in the way of things that make a man powerful and respected. There are those who are respectable, but weak. There are those who are powerful and are not respected. The acquisition of influence in every department of life in the community in which he dwells manifests his intellectuality. His strict observance of the moral law, at any and all times, has been such that though he may be subjected to the envy of less successful neighbors, all concede to him a character above reproach. To say that he is without foibles would be to place him on a plane that no one

in the form of man has occupied save him who has been called "the only true and perfect gentleman." In his walk and conversation among men, if Mr Ladd has not lived fully up to this exemplar of christianity, it may be said that he has manfully striven, at least, to do so. His law of conduct in which his parents taught him, the bible, has ever been the lamp by which his feet have been guided. He has endeavored to do his full duty to his fellow-beings, not that he expects his reward in temporal credit, for such recognition is uncertain and unsubstantial. He has labored to be just and generous among men, while laying up for himself treasures where moths do not corrupt nor thieves break through nor steal; with conscience he has striven to meet his responsibilities on every hand. His charity, though beginning at home, has not ended there. While it has been impossible for him to hide the light of his charity altogether under a bushel and much is known of the good that he has done, by far the greater part of the blessings that he has bestowed must ever remain unrecorded and unknown save to himself; in many instances the simple "God bless you" of the unfortunate and needy has been his only reward, while oftener his beneficiaries have not known their benefactor. His children he has labored to bring up in the way they should go, and unquestionably he has succeeded. His ambition for them was, first of all, that they should be honest and true to themselves and just to others, and next that they should become useful and intelligent men and women in their sphere, respected and self-respecting citizens. His sons he warned at an early day against those evil associations that corrupt good manners, and his anxiety ever was to keep them, to use the words of St. James, unspotted from the world, not neglecting, however, those practical and material considerations which enter into the well-being of society. He would teach them the value of money by giving them actual lessons in earning a dollar. When, in the early days of Port-

land, less labor could be spared for the cultivation of extensive private grounds and dandelions were troublesome, he gave his sons such a lesson as is intimated, by setting them to pull up these weeds at a cent apiece or a dollar per hundred, and for other such like work as the lads were able to perform he paid them as he would have paid any one else hired for similar labor, inculcating in their minds a due observance of the terms of the agreement and paying them strictly in accordance therewith. We have seen something of the fruits of the care bestowed upon the children by himself and his wife, who was as zealous and as careful as himself in this serious duty. In their own conduct it was their chief aim to set them a proper example, which is so much more powerful than precept, especially among the young.

As merchant, he never misrepresented in order to sell, giving full weight and measure, and over rather than under. He never haggled. In all his experience as buyer or seller he was punctilious in having what belonged to him, and equally so that others should have what belonged to them. With him "business was business" strictly, and he was precise to the cent in his business figuring, and yet turn right around and give thousands to charity. His word on the street as merchant, banker, or in any transaction whatever, was always as good as his written obligation. Faithful, staunch and loyal in all his relations with others; a plain, practical, unassuming man, not puffed up nor conceited; economical of time, as quick in action as in thought, he is laconic, going directly to the pith of the matter in hand. Impatient of restraint and averse to circumlocution, his words at times may be short and sharp; not because of unkindness, however, but rather because delay or indirection is at war with his nature and habit. Unlike most men occupying such a place as he fills in the community, he is accessible to all, having no intermediaries between himself and the people, meeting strangers

with consideration and greeting old acquaintances with pleasant reminiscence. The hod-carrier is as much at liberty as the magnate to approach him.

Among men of affairs he is at home always, for he is a graduate in more than one branch of commerce. He is anything but pompous, pretentious or obtrusive anywhere. On the contrary, he is, like most men that are original, unconscious of his originality. In the days of his prosperity he does not forget his old associates. On occasional trips into the country it is his delight to meet with other pioneers who began the early struggle of life as his neighbors, to stop and talk with them about the times in the early fifties, and to exchange congratulations that the days of boiled wheat are over. Having thought less of things done than of the ways and means to do these things. he places a smaller estimate upon himself and his achievements than anyone else who studies him fairly,

Owing to his limited early education, and the lack of leisure for subsequent study, he feels a diffidence in meeting men of books, scientists or scholars; but, having overcome his hesitancy, people of culture find in him a fund of good sense and practical wisdom such, as Bacon says, is outside of books and above them; and they relish the sort of information that he can impart to them as much, perhaps, as he does the ideas he gets from them. Why should men of strength in letters and business stand apart? In what way the intellect required for success in business differs from that which commands success in science or art I confess I am unable to determine. I am convinced that the consummate man of business possesses capabilities that would have made him eminent in letters had his faculties been developed in that direction. In fact, men of business have won laurels in literature, and distinguished scholars have shown themselves to be excellent men of business. And, whatever else may be said, it goes without saying that the latter are the bone and sinew of the land,

and that they exercise the greatest influence in regulating and controlling the affairs of the states and nation, not only in bank or store, but in the legislatures and in Congress as well.

It must not be assumed that his way through life has been plain and easy. He has had his ups and downs, and he has not only had to struggle against the world, but he has had to contend for the mastery over himself. "But while he has had enough to encounter, there has been an inward force vouchsafed him whereby the pressure of things outward might be withstood. Obstruction abounded, but faith was not wanting. It is by faith that man removes mountains. While he had faith his limbs might be wearied with toiling, his back galled with bearing, but the heart within him was peaceable and resolved. In the thickest gloom there burnt a lamp that guided him. If he struggled and suffered he felt that it even should be so, knowing for what he suffered and struggled. Faith gave him an inward willingness, a world of strength wherewith to front a world of difficulty." It has been his lot to be tried as if by fire, and, perhaps, we would not know him as he is but for this ordeal.

He had been a ceaseless toiler from 1851 to 1875, unconscious that he was taxing his vitality unduly, and hence unable to appreciate the admonitions of his family and friends who observed that his health was failing. During the latter year he went east and was gone twelve months, but he did not consult physicians: he could not endure the idea that he was sick, and for the time his iron will sustained him Leaving Chicago with a pleasant party, on their return trip he was jovial, as usual, but suddenly there was a change and he became quiet, as though endeavoring to repress symptoms of physical distress. "Don't you feel well?" asked his wife. "Not exactly," was his considerate reply. Whether he realized at that moment that a shadow had fallen upon his life, no one

but himself knows. Never complaining, he reached San Francisco and by that time his lower limbs were so much affected that he walked only with the greatest difficulty. Physicians advised him to return east for treatment. His mind was made up to return to Portland, but on account of the ice blockade in the Columbia river, he was detained in San Francisco three months. After reaching Portland he remained there until the autumn of 1876, when, having had another stroke of paralysis, he went to Philadelphia, his wife accompanying him, and there subjected himself to the most heroic treatment under Doctor S. Wier Mitchell, an authority on nervous diseases. So obstinate was his struggle, so determined was the strong man not to yield up his strength that he submitted to everything that seemed to offer any hope of restoring him to health, but in vain, and he lost permanently all use of the limbs affected. This stroke coming upon him in the full flower of manhood and vigor was a great cross to him, doubtless the greatest that he has ever had to bear. He could not at first command sufficient philosophy or Christian resignation to accept the inevitable and bow in submission. The affliction seemed greater than he could bear, but in the darkest hour of distress words of light and consolation came to him from scripture: Whomso the Lord loveth he chasteneth. During his convalescence a poor laboring man, as if sent by providence as a messenger of peace, came up and greeted him as he was seated in a warm sunny part of the elegant grounds about his house with every comfort at command, and told him of a similar affliction through which he had passed without money, without friends, and with no help. With his recovery his wonted good-humor and cheerfulness returned, though at times when the memory of his former vigor comes upon him and he recalls the satisfaction of moving about in the pride of his former manhood, he has to have recourse again to that philosophy which is the

spirit of his religion. It is a grand spectacle of fortitude, resignation, and power that he presents at this time attending to the details of his tremendous enterprises, with intense and unimpaired intellectuality: a majestic exemplification of patience triumphing over suffering; his limbs failing him, he walks upon his courage. Surely such a man may stand before kings.

In closing this study, so rich in good lessons, I have only to remark how pleasant it would be if we were in possession of as much information regarding Daniel Ladd, of whom no sufficient record is left for the enlightenment of his descendants. Were the study of his life before me I can fancy what charm there would be in comparing the details of his colonization experiences on the eastern seaboard in the sixteenth century, with those of his exemplary scion on the western shore in the nineteenth century.

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